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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY
PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M. A., LL. M.
ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY; SENIOR ADVOCATE,
FEDERAL COURT OF INDIA; FELLOW AND VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE BOMBAY ASIATIC SOCIETY;
AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS' &c.

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PREFACE

It is a little over ten years since the first volume of my History of Dharmaśāstra was published. In the preface to that volume I expressed the hope that time and health permitting I might issue in a few years the second volume dealing with the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. For several years thereafter whatever leisure I could secure from professional work was devoted to the collection and orderly assortment of the vast Literature on Dharmaśāstra. After my return from a few months' visit to Europe in 1937 I commenced the work of writing the second volume. It soon became apparent to me that to compress within the limits of a single volume the development of the thousand and one topics that fall within the purview of Dharmaśāstra would present only a scrappy and faint outline of the whole field. To add to the difficulties of my task my old painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) recurred with far greater virulence than before, so much so that, partly on medical advice and partly out of despair, in October 1938 I gave up the work altogether. When relief did not come even after six months' total abstinence from literary labours I resumed, in spite of my extremely painful complaint, the work of writing, for fear that otherwise the extensive materials that I had been collecting for nearly two decades might be entirely lost to the world of Sanskrit scholars and that my labours might be altogether wasted. Being afraid that my strength and resolution may not last till the completion of the rather ambitious undertaking, I decided upon bringing out in two volumes the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. The present volume contains the treatment of varṇa and āśrama, the saṁskāras, āhnika and ācāra, dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga, and śrauta (vedic) sacrifices. The next volume (the last) will deal with the following topics: vyavahāra (Law and procedure), āśauca (impurity on birth and death), śrāddha, prāyaścitta, tīrtha, vrata, kāla, śānti, the influence of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā and other śāstras on Dharmaśāstra, customs and usages modifying Dharmaśāstra, the philosophical background of Dharmaśāstra, and future developments in Dharmaśāstra. Looking to my past performance I am unwilling to make any promise about the time when the next volume may be

expected to be published. I may state, however, that in view of the fact that at present I am in much better health than I have been for several years I shall try to publish it in three years more.

Excellent works dealing with distinct topics of Dharmaśāstra have been given to the world by eminent scholars. But so far as I know no writer has yet attempted single-handed to survey the whole field of Dharmaśāstra. From that point of view this volume partakes of the nature of a pioneer undertaking. It is therefore to be expected that such an ambitious project will manifest the defects of all pioneer work. The circumstances (adverted to above) in which this work had to be written and the great hurry with which it had to be rushed through are other factors that are responsible for the awkward or obscure expressions and the errors that it may contain. I mention these matters for lessening the surprise that such blemishes might lead my friends to feel and not for blunting the edge of adverse criticism. The critic is certainly entitled to mercilessly criticize the work for its shortcomings and mistakes. Some readers may complain that the present work is prolix, while others may say that the space devoted to several topics is meagre. I have tried to pursue a middle course.

There was great temptation throughout this work to compare ancient and medieval Indian customs, usages and beliefs as disclosed by dharmaśāstra works with those of other peoples and countries. But I have tried to omit, as far as possible, such comparisons. Whenever I indulge in them I do so for several reasons. It is the fashion among many writers, both European and Indian, to hold the caste system and the dharmaśāstra view of life responsible for most of the evils from which India suffers at present. To a very large extent I do not subscribe to that view. I have endeavoured to show that human nature being the same in essentials throughout the world, the same tendencies and evils manifest themselves in all countries, the same abuses prevail and the same perversions of originally beneficent institutions take place everywhere and anywhere, whether particular countries or societies are within the grip of the caste system or any other casteless system. Undoubtedly the caste system has in fact produced certain evils, but it is not singular in this respect. No system is perfect and immune from evil effects. Though I have been brought up in the midst of the Brahmanical system, I hope it will be conceded by scholars

that I have shown both sides of the picture and that I have endeavoured to write with detachment.

A few words must be said about the extensive quotations from Sanskrit works and the references to modern Indian Legislation and case-law. For those who cannot read English (most *pandits* and *śāstris* do not) the quotations will be of great help in understanding at least the trend of the arguments. Besides Indian scholars are as a class poor and cannot afford to purchase numerous books. Nor are there many good libraries in India where all works of reference can be had. For all these reasons thousands of quotations have been cited in the footnotes. The quotations are mostly drawn from published works and references to mss. are few and far between. I hope that the numerous quotations will not intrude themselves on the attention of those who want to read only the English portion of the work. Legislative enactments and case-law have been referred to for showing that many regulations of dharmaśāstra are still very much alive, that they govern the every-day life of Hindus and permeate all classes of Hindu society in spite of the fact that a considerable part of dharmaśāstra has become obsolete. Similar remarks apply to the numerous references to inscriptions on stone and copper. These latter serve to prove that rules laid down in the dharmaśāstra were throughout two thousand years observed by the people and enforced by kings and that such rules were not mere precepts composed by dreamers or scholastic pedants.

I acknowledge with great pleasure that I am under deep obligations to many predecessors and workers in the same and other fields and to many friends. Among the works to which I had to refer constantly and from which I derived the greatest benefit I must specially refer to the following: Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, the Sacred Books of the East edited by Max Müller (vol. II, VII, XII, XIV, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXX, XXXIIII, XLI, XLIII, XLIV). As I was handicapped by the fact that I know little German and less French, I could not fully utilise all the work done by modern European scholars. I am highly obliged to Paramahaṁsa Kevalānanda Svāmī of Wai for constant help and guidance (particularly in the śrauta portion); to Chintāmanśāstri Datar of Poona for assistance in the chapter on darśapūrṇamāsa and for carefully going through the other chapters on śrauta; to Mr. Keshav Lakshman Ogale for his work on a

portion of the Index; to Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokje for reading through the whole work and suggesting additions and emendations.

Besides, assistance in various ways during the progress of the work for over three years was very kindly rendered by a host of friends, among whom I should like to make special mention of Prof. H. D. Velankar, Prof. Rangaswami Ayyangar Prof. P. P. S. Śāstrī, Dr. Alsdorf, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Mr. G. H. Khare, Mr. N. C. Bapat, Pandit Rangacharya Raddi, Mr. L. S. Dravid (a Sāmavedī of Poona), Pandit S. D. Satavlekar, Mr. P. K. Gode. Thanks are due to all these and other friends for their help and interest in this volume. I must state, however, that I alone am responsible for the views and mistakes contained in this work.

In a work containing thousands of quotations and references it is very likely that many slips have occurred. Besides it is very much to be regretted that several misprints have crept into the footnotes by the loss or displacement of dots and other loose parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing.

15th June 1941 P. V. KANE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. I. R. = All India Reporter (edited by Mr. V. V. Chitaley of Nagpur).
Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series.
Ānan. or Ānand. = Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona.
Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.
Āp. gṛ. = Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra.
Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha.
Āp. Śr. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra.
Āśv. gṛ. = Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.
Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra.
Baud. gṛ. = Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.
Baud. śr. = Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra.
Bhār. gṛ. = Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra.
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series.
Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol. I–XII).
Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal).
B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Bṛ. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series.
Chān. Up. or Ch. Up. = Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
C. I. I. = (Volumes of) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal.
Com. = Commentator or Commentary (according to context).
Cr. ed. = Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes (Law Reports).
D. C. = Deccan College Collection of Sanskrit Mss.
Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.
Die Frau = Die Frau im Brahmanismus by Dr. M. Winternitz (1920, Leipzig).

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
E. R. E. = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (edited by James Hastings).
F. n. = Footnote.
Fick = The Social organization in North-east India in Buddha's time (translated from German by Dr. Shishirkumara Maitra, 1920).
Gaut. = Dharmasūtra of Gautama.
Gṛ. R. = Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara.
G. S. = Gupta *saṁvat.*
H. A. S. L. = History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Prof. Max Müller (1859).
Hir. gṛ. = Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra.
I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. L. R. = India Law Reports series.
Ins. = Inscription or inscriptions.
J. B. B. R. A. S. = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the* Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Jiv. = Pandit Jivānanda's edition.
J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Kāṭhaka S. = Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā.
Kauṭ. = Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.
L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals (decided by the Privy Council), the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.
Mait. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā.
Mānava gṛ. = Mānava-gṛhyasūtra.
Mārk. or Mārkaṇḍeya = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
Mit. = The commentary Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.
n. = footnote.
Pāṇ. = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.
P and M = Pollock and Maitland's History of English Law.
Pār. gṛ. = Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra.
Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
Pat. = Patañjali's Māhābhāṣya.

Q. = Quoted.

Rel. and Phil. = Prof. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.'

Ṛg. = Ṛgveda.

Rit. Lit. = Hillebrandt's 'Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber'.

Sam. K. = Saṁskāra-kaustubha of Anantadeva.

Sam. P. or Pr. = Saṁskāraprakāśa of Mitramiśra.

Sam. R. M. or S. R. M. } = Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā of Gopīnātha.

Śāṅ. gṛ. = Śāṅkhyāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.

Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Prof. Max Müller).

Sch. C. O. = Scheduled castes Order of 1936.

Sm. C. = Smṛti-candrikā.

Sm. M. or Smṛ. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.

Śr. P. N. = Śrautapadārthanirvacana.

S. V. = Sāmaveda.

Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

Tai. S. or Saṁ. = Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

Tr. = Translation or translated (according to context).

Up. = Upaniṣad.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya Saṁhitā.

Vaik. or Vaikhānasa = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

Viṣṇu. Dh. S. = Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra.

V. S. = Vedānta-sūtra.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

Yati. Dh. S. or Yati-dh. } = Yatidharma-saṁgraha.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschaft.

आप. गृ. सू. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र

आप. ध. सू. or आप. ध. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप. म. पाठ = आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ

आप. श्रौ. सू. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र

आश्व. गृ. सू = आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र

आश्व. श्रौ. = आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र

ऋ. = ऋग्वेदसंहिता

ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेयारण्यक

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्

कात्या. = कात्यायन

कात्या. श्रौ. = कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र

कौषितकि ब्रा.उ. = कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्
गृ. र. or गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर
गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र
छा. उ. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
जै. उ. ब्रा. = जैमिनीयोपनिषद्ब्राह्मण
तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक
तै. उ. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्
तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता
परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय
पा. = पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायी
पूर्वमी. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृति (as quoted in digests)
बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र
बौ. ध. or बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
ब्रा. = ब्राह्मण
मनु = मनुस्मृति
मिता. = मिताक्षरा (याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका)
मेधा. = मेधातिथि (मनुस्मृतिभाष्यकार)
मै. सं. or मैत्रा. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता
मैत्री. उप. = मैत्र्युपनिषद्
यति ध. सं. = यतिधर्मसंग्रह
या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति
वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता
वि. चि = विवादचिन्तामणि
विश्वरूप = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका of विश्वरूप
वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर
वै. स्मा. or वैखा. स्मा. = वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र
व्य. म. or व्यव. म. = व्यवहारमयूख
शतपथब्रा. = शतपथब्राह्मण
शां. गृ. = शांख्यायनगृह्य
शां. श्रौ. = शांख्यायनश्रौत
शूद्रक.म. = शूद्रकमलाकर
सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ
सं. प्र. = संस्कारप्रकाश
सं. र. मा. = संस्काररत्नमाला
स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका
स्मृ. मु. or स्मृतिमु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(of important works and authors referred to in this volume)

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and only tentative.

4000 B. C.–1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. It is possible that some hymns may go back to a period even earlier than 4000 B. C. and that some Upaniṣads (even out of those that are regarded as the principal and the earliest ones) are later than 1000 B. C.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta.

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrauta sūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhyāyana, Lāṭyāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa, Satyāṣāḍha) and some of the gṛhya sūtras (Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba &c.).

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—The dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, Gautama. Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara, Baudhāyana and some others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini.

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra.

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

150 B. C. —Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

200 B. C.—200 A. D.—Manusmṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

100 A. D.—400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Śabara, com. of Jaimini.

300 A. D.—500 A. D.—Bṛhaspatismṛti (not yet found).

300 A. D.—600 A. D.—Some of the extant purāṇas viz. Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma, Matsya.

400 A. D.—600 A. D.—Kātyāyanasmṛti (not yet found).

505 A. D.—587 A. D.—Varāha-mihira, author of Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

650 A. D.—750 A. D.—Tantravārtika of Kumārila.

788 A. D.—820 A. D.—Śaṁkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher.

600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the other smṛtis and some of the purāṇas.
800 A. D.—850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, com. of Yājñavalkya.
900 A. D. —Medhātithi, com. of Manu
1100 A. D. —Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.
1100 A. D.-1150 A. D.—Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara.
1100 A. D.-1150 A. D.—Jīmūtavāhana.
1125 A. D. —Aparārka.
1150 A. D.-1200 A. D.—Smṛtyarthasāra.
1200 A. D.-1225 A. D.—Smṛticandrikā.
1150 A. D.-1300 A. D.—Haradatta.
1150 A. D.-1300 A. D.—Kullūka.
1260 A. D.-1270 A. D.—Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi.
1310 A. D.-1360 A. D.—Caṇḍeśvara, author of the Gṛhastharatnākara and other Ratnākaras.
1300 A. D.-1380 A. D.—Mādhavācārya, author of Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
1360 A. D.-1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta.
1425 A. D.-1450 A. D.—Madanaratna.
1520 A. D.-1570 A. D.—Raghunandana.
1610 A. D.-1640 A. D.—Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu and Śūdrakamalākara.
1615 A. D.-1645 A. D.—Nīlakaṇṭha, author of Saṁskāra-mayūkha and other Mayūkhas.
1610 A. D.-1640 A. D.—Mitra Miśra, author of Vīramitrodaya.
1650 A. D.-1680 A. D.—Anantadeva, author of Saṁskāra-kaustubha.
About 1686 A. D.—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.
1700 A. D.-1750 A. D.—Nāgojībhaṭṭa.
1750 A. D.-1820 A. D.—Bālambhaṭṭa, author of Bālambhaṭṭī.
1790 A. D. —Dharmasindhu (of Kāśīnātha).

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

marriage. Purposes of marriage. Qualifications of a desirable bridegroom. Rules for the selection of a bride. Lakṣaṇas (indicatory characteristics), *bāhya* (visible) and *ābhyantara* (invisible or inferrible). Four or five grounds for preferring a particular girl. Selecting a girl by asking her to take one out of several lumps of clay gathered from various places. In ancient times brotherless maidens not accepted as brides. No unmarried woman was deemed in medieval times to go to heaven. Restrictions as to caste, gotra, pravara and sapiṇḍa relationship. Breach of these rules rendered a so-called marriage null and void. Age of marriage for men not fixed. Age of marriage for girls varied at different periods. In the ancient sūtras girls were married about the time of puberty. Reasons for insistence on pre-puberty marriages in Yājñavalkyasmṛti and other works not clear. Examples of inter-caste marriages in Vedic Literature, in dharma and gṛhya sūtras and smṛtis and in inscriptions. Anuloma marriages allowed till about the 9th century A. D. Sapiṇḍa relationship explained in the Mit. Rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapiṇḍa relationship. Conflict of texts as to these rules. Marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter. Conflict on this point among medieval writers and among several castes. Narrowing of sapiṇḍa relationship permitted by writers of digests only on the ground of usage. Meaning of '*viruddhasambandha*.' Sapiṇḍa relationship of the adopted son. Meaning of sapiṇḍa according to Dāyabhāga and Raghunandana. Marriage between sagotras and sapravaras forbidden. Meaning of 'gotra' and 'pravara' in Vedic works. Gotra and pravara of importance in several matters. Gotra in the sūtras and digests. Divisions and sub-divisions of gotras. Each gotra has one or more pravaras. Gotras of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Names of kṣatriya kings among gotras and pravaras. Marriage of sagotras and sapravaras void according to the writers of digests. Persons that have power to give a girl in marriage. Sale of girls in marriage in ancient times. Taking monetary consideration for one's daughter condemned. Father's power over his children. Conflict of views among writers as to ownership over one's wife and children. Infanticide, medieval and modern. Auspicious time for marriage. Medieval works introduced difficulties on astrological grounds. Forms of marriage. Meaning of rākṣasa and paiśāca marriages. *Svayaṁvara*. Only two forms of marriage in vogue in modern times. Procedure of marriage in the Ṛgveda and in the gṛhya sūtras. List of the several elements in the marriage rite and

Veśyā. The institution existed from Vedic times. The rights of concubines to maintenance.

Āhnika and ācāra. Importance of the stage of householder. Gṛhasthas grouped into śālīna and yāyāvara. Duties of householders described in detail in many smṛtis and digests. Various ways of dividing the day. Smṛtis usually divide the day into eight parts. Actions to be done on getting up from bed, such as hymns of praise to God, repeating the names of famous personages like Nala and of persons that are supposed to be *cirajīvins.* Auspicious and inauspicious sights on getting up from bed. Rules about answering calls of nature. Cleanliness of body (*śauca*) in various ways. Ācamana (sipping water). *Dantadhāvana* (brushing the teeth) existed from the most ancient times. What twigs to be used for it. Times when there is to be no brushing of teeth. *Snāna* (bath). Kuśas necessary in most religious acts. Rules about collecting kuśas. Snāna twice a day or thrice according to some. No bath at night (except on rare occasions). Natural water preferred to water drawn from wells or hot water. Procedure of bathing. Rules about the clay to be employed for smearing and cleaning the body. Ten good results of a bath. Six varieties of bathing with water. How one who is ill is to be purified. *Tarpaṇa* as a constituent part of *snāna.* Clothes to be worn by a householder. Making marks on the forehead after bathing. *Ūrdhvapuṇḍra* and *Tripuṇḍra.* Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarians condemning each other's marks. *Saṁdhyā* after bath. *Homa.* Two views about performing it before or after sunrise. Agnihotra twice daily. Three or five or six fires. When to begin maintaining gṛhya fire. Materials for *havis.* Homa to be offered by oneself or by one's son, pupil, brother, sister's son or a similar relative. Wife or unmarried daughter may offer homa in gṛhya fire if householder be ill. *Japa* of Vedic texts. What are maṅgala (auspicious) objects. The matters described so far occupy first eighth part of the day. In 2nd part revision of Vedic texts, collecting fuel sticks, flowers, kuśas &c. In 3rd part one was to find out means of maintenance and to earn wealth. In 4th part mid-day bath. Then *tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and *pitṛs,* A brief tarpaṇa is also prescribed.

dharma, though not on iṣṭa (vedic sacrifices). Charitable works for the benefit of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices. Procedure of dedicating a tank or well to the public in the sūtras. Procedure prescribed in purāṇas gradually superseded the sūtra procedure. Meaning of dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga. Trees highly valued in ancient India. Trees supposed to save a man from hell just as a son did. Worship of trees. Consecration of images in temples. Image worship in a public temple or privately. Procedure of consecration of images according to the Matsya-purāṇa. In later times other details added from Tantra works. Three kinds of Nyāsas viz, mātṛkānyāsa, tattvanyāsa and mantranyāsa. Consecration of the image of Viṣṇu from Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra. Practice of attaching dancing girls to temples is comparatively ancient. When re-consecration (punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā) becomes necessary. *Jīrṇoddhāra* (repairing or re-constructing a dilapidated temple &c.), time and procedure of. Founding of maṭhas (monasteries or colleges for teachers and pupils). Distinction between a temple and a maṭha. Maṭhas said to have been established by the great teacher Śaṁkarācārya. The origin of maṭhas in general. How property of maṭha devolves. Appointment and powers of the head of a maṭha. How rulers and courts in ancient and medieval times controlled administration of temple and maṭha properties. Modern legislation dealing with religious and charitable endowments. *Yogakṣema* is impartible. Control of founder on work dedicated to the public. Powers of a *shebait* to remove an idol or to establish another.

CHAP. XXVII. 917-929

Vānaprastha (forest hermit). Vaikhānasa, ancient word for vānaprastha. An ancient work called Vaikhānasa sūtra or śāstra. Time for becoming a vānaprastha. Principal points connected with being a vānaprastha. If he suffers from an incurable disease, he may start on the great journey till the body falls to rise no more. Intricate classification of vānaprasthas in Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra and others. Members of all varṇas except śūdras could become vānaprasthas. Members of princely houses as vānaprasthas. Ending one's life by starting on the great journey (mahāprasthāna) or by fire or water or falling from a precipice when and why allowed. Historical examples of this practice. This practice prohibited in the Kali age. Most of the duties prescribed for vānaprasthas

are the same as those for saṁnyāsins. So vānaprastha stage forbidden in Kali age by the Nāradīya-purāṇa and other works.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Saṁnyāsa (order of ascetics). Life of giving up worldly ties, of begging and contemplation on the Absolute known to the earliest Upaniṣads. Jābālopaniṣad prescribes rules for ascetics. The most salient features of saṁnyāsa gathered from the dharmasūtras and smṛtis. Tridaṇḍi and ekadaṇḍi ascetics. Four kinds of ascetics, *kuṭīcaka*, *bahūdaka*, *haṁsa* and *paramahaṁsa* and their characteristics. Popular notion that the paramahaṁsa is beyond all rules and prohibitions combated by ancient texts. Vidvat-saṁnyāsa and vividiṣā-saṁnyāsa. The *turīyātīta* and *avadhūta* kinds of ascetics. Opinions as to whether saṁnyāsa was allowed only to brāhmaṇas or to all three varṇas. According to smṛtis and medieval works a śūdra could not become an ascetic. Women in rare cases adopted the ascetic mode of life. The word saṁnyāsa conveys two distinct ideas. Some held that saṁnyāsa was meant only for the blind and the cripple. Ascetics were to give up wife and home and were not to revert to householder's life. Ten orders of *advaita* saṁnyāsins following Śaṁkarācārya's doctrines and their maṭhas. Disputes among the heads of these maṭhas as to properties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. How successors to the pontiffs of the maṭhas are appointed. How and why saṁnyāsins gave up doctrine of *ahiṁsā* in medieval times. A saṁnyāsin is severed from his family and loses rights of property in it. By custom certain saṁnyāsins called Gosāvis were allowed to have wives and concubines. Procedure of saṁnyāsa according to the sūtras. Procedure of saṁnyāsa according to Dharmasindhu. Principal elements are; eight śrāddhas, *sāvitrīpraveśa*, virajāhoma, declaration of leaving home, all wealth and desires and taking vow of ahiṁsā, giving up of topknot and sacred thread, teaching by guru of *pañcīkaraṇa* and *mahāvākyas* (like tat tvam-asi), giving of a new name by the teacher, yogapaṭṭa (p. 962), paryaṅka-śauca. Saṁnyāsa *in extremis* (ātura-saṁnyāsa). Controversies about giving up śikhā and yajñopavīta. Daily duties of an ascetic. No impurity on his death for his relatives and *vice versa*. Ascetic heads of maṭhas claim in modern times jurisdiction in matters of caste, excommunication, expiations for lapses. In ancient times *pariṣads* (assemblies of learned

men) exercised these functions and kings acted on their advice. The number of persons required to constitute a pariṣad for deciding a doubtful point about dharma. Śiṣṭas constitute a *pariṣad.* Meaning of śiṣṭa. The council of eight ministers established by Shivaji and the duties of the Panditrao, one of these eight. Panditrao took advice of the pariṣads of learned brāhmaṇas on questions of re-admission of converts, expiations &c. Many features of asceticism are common to all religions. It is a partial truth that Indians have the highest regard for the ascetic.

Śrauta (Vedic) sacrifices. Deep study of vedic sacrifices essential for the proper understanding of Vedic Literature, for appreciating the influence of that Literature on varṇas. Chronology uncertain. Works, ancient and modern, on Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini on interpretation of Vedic texts relating to sacrifices. Cult of yajña existed in Indo-Iranian period. Literary and epigraphic evidence for the performance of Vedic sacrifices by kings after the advent of Buddha. Grants made by kings for enabling brāhmaṇas to perform agnihotra &c. The references to sacrificial matters in the Ṛgveda. General rules applicable in all sūtras. Mantras of four kinds, *ṛk*, *yajus*, *sāman* and *nigada*. Different kinds of ladles. Sacrificial utensils. The several fires. The five bhūsaṁskāras. *Agnyādheya.* Choosing the devayajana (place of worship). Procedure of agnyādheya. *Punarādheya.* *Agnihotra* in the morning and evening. Rules about agnihotra when the householder goes away from home either alone or with his wife.

Darśapūrṇamāsa (New moon and Full moon sacrifices). Time for starting the performance of darśapūrṇamāsa. Anvārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi, śākhāharaṇa, barhirāharaṇa (bringing bundles of kuśa grass), idhmāharaṇa (bringing fuel-sticks), *Sāyamdoha. Upavasatha* day. *Sānnāyya. Brahmavaraṇa* (choosing the brahmā priest). *Praṇītā* waters. *Nirvāpa* (taking out sacrificial material). Prokṣaṇa (sprinkling) of sacrificial material, utensils &c. The *Haviṣkṛt* call. Beating the grains of rice. Baking cake (puroḍāśa) on potsherds. Construction of vedi (altar). *Patnīsaṁnahana* (girding up the sacrificer's wife). Barhirāstaraṇa (strewing the vedi with kuśas). Fifteen Sāmidhenī verses. *Pravaramantra* (invocation of fire). The two āghāras

(pouring of ājya in a continuous stream). *Hotṛvaraṇa.* The *Prayājas* (five offerings). Vaṣaṭkāra. *Ājyabhāgas* (two). The principal sacrifice of portions of the cake. Offering to Agni sviṣṭakṛt. Cutting off a portion of the cake called prāśitra (for brahmā). *Iḍā* cut off from puroḍāśa. A thin long slice of puroḍāśa for yajamāna. Invocation of Iḍā by the hotṛ. Brahmā eats prāśitra, hotṛ eats avāntareḍā, all priests together with the yajamāna partake of iḍā. Division of puroḍāśa for Agni into four parts and eating of the portions by the four priests. *Mārjana* thereafter. Cooking a mess of boiled rice (called *anvāhārya*) as fee for the four priests. The three *anuyāja* offerings. Recitation of *sūktavāka.* Throwing of prastara bunch and śākhā into fire. Śaṁyuvāka. Throwing the *paridhis* on fire. *Patnīsaṁyājas. Phalīkaraṇahoma.* Samsthājapa by hotṛ. Samiṣṭayajus offerings. Adhvaryu and brahmā leave the sacrificial hall. Yajamāna takes Viṣṇu strides. Final prayer by yajamāna. *Piṇḍapitṛyajña.*

CHAP. XXXI. 1091–1108

Cāturmasyas (seasonal sacrifices). Four Cāturmāsyas each called a *parvan*, viz. Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa, Sākamedha and Śunāsīrīya, respectively performed on Full moon days of Phālguna, Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and on the 5th full moon day from Sākamedha or two or three days before it. Observances on all *parvan* days such as shaving head and face, not using a cot, avoiding meat, honey, salt and sexual intercourse. Five offerings common to all Cāturmāsyas. Cāturmāsyas may be performed throughout life or for one year. Three special offerings in Vaiśvadeva-parva. Nine *prayājas* and nine *anuyājas* in Vaiśvadeva. Varuṇapraghāsa performed in rainy season outside the house. Two vedis prepared, to north and south, respectively in charge of adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ. Procedure is like that of Vaiśvadeva. Four special offerings in this in addition to five common to all. Procedure of Varuṇapraghāsas. The wife has to declare or indicate if she has any paramour. Concluding avabhṛtha (bath) in a river or the like. Sākamedha requires two days. Three iṣṭis and a *mahāhavis* of eight offerings to eight deities. Then pitṛyajña (called mahāpitṛyajña) on a separate vedi. Also Traiyambaka homa offered to Rudra. Śunāsīrīyaparvan has three special offerings to Śunāśirau, Vāyu and Sūrya. Iṣṭi called Āgrayaṇa (offering of first fruits) in Śarad on Full moon day. Other iṣṭis performed for some specific objects e. g. putreṣṭi for son, Kārīriṣṭi for rain &c.

of Soma stalks placed on antelope skin spread on a cart, that is brought to the east of the prāgvaṁśa. Recital of the Subrahmaṇyā litany by the Subrahmaṇya priest. A goat is presented to king Soma. Oxen are released from the cart, soma bundle taken out of the cart, placed on a couch of udumbara wood and brought to the south of the āhavanīya. Ātithyeṣṭi (iṣṭi for hospitably receiving king Soma) follows. Then comes Tanūnaptra (a solemn covenant of the sacrificer and priests not to injure each other). Pravargya and Upasad follow. Pravargya was a sublime rite supposed to endow sacrificer with a new body. Not necessary in every Agniṣṭoma. The heated milk is called gharma and the pot of heated milk Mahavīra or Saṁrāṭ. Wife was not to look at it (at least in the beginning), nor śūdras. On 2nd, 3rd and 4th days Pravargya and Upasad performed twice. How pravargya apparatus is discharged (udvāsana). *Upasad* is an iṣṭi. Mantras repeated in Upasad refer to sieges of iron, silver and gold castles. On 2nd day of upasads *Mahāvedi* is prepared, on which a quadrangular platform (called uttaravedi) is raised and a square hole called nābhi is made on which fire is brought on the 4th day from the original āhavanīya. Erection of the harvidhāna-maṇḍapa in which two carts are kept. Digging of four holes (called uparavas) below the forepart of the shafts of the southern cart. A mound (*khara*) to east of uparavas for keeping soma vessels on. Erection of sadas to the west of the havirdhāna maṇḍapa. Planting of an udumbara post in sadas. Preparing eight dhiṣṇyas (seats), six in sadas, one in the āgnīdhrīya shed and the eighth in the mārjālīya shed. On uparavas kuśas are spread, over which two boards of udumbara are placed and a hide thereon. On the hide are stones for crushing soma stalks. Offering of an animal to Agni-Soma. Then follow offerings of ājya called Vaisarjina to Soma. Fire is carried to the uttaravedi, and established on āgnīdhra dhiṣṇya. Bringing Vasatīvarī water in a jar and keeping it in āgnīdhra shed. Last day is called 'sutyā'. Repeating of a long prayer called Prātaranuvāka by hotṛ long before day-break to Agni, Uṣas and Aśvins. Making ready of five offerings. Filling of *ekadhana* pitchers by adhvaryu and of *pannejana* vessel by the sacrificer's wife. Extracting Soma from a few stalks, filling the upāṁśugraha and offering its contents. Then comes *Mahābhiṣava* (principal pressing). Offering soma from various cups to several deities. *Viprud-ḍhoma.* Priests come creeping towards the north corner of the great vedi, where the

Bahiṣpavamāna laud is to be chanted by the udgātṛ, prastotṛ and the prati-hartṛ. Some of the other priests and the sacrificer become choristers. The nine verses of the Bahiṣpavamāna stotra set out from the Ṛgveda and method of their manipulation when sung in the sāma chant exhibited. Notes on the parts and svaras of *sāmans*. Rites of offering the *savanīya* animal. The five savanīya offerings of cake &c. Offerings of soma from *dvidevatya grahas* (cups). *Camasonnayana* (filling of nine camasas) for the priests called Camasādhvaryus. The offering of soma from the cups called *śukra* and *manthin*. Two chips of wood offered to the asuras, Śaṇḍa and Marka. Acchāvāka priest's request and filling his camasa with soma Offering of *ṛtugrahas*. Kṣatriyas were not authorised to drink soma. The hotṛ performs japa, āhāva (hotṛ's call) to which there is *pratigara* (response of adhvaryu), hotṛ offers prayer called tūṣṇīm-śaṁsa, twelve clauses of *nivid*, then hotṛ recites the *ājyaśastra*. Enumeration and distribution of the twelve stotras and śastras of Agniṣṭoma. Explanation of *stoma*, *stobha* and *stotra*. Meaning of Rathantara and other sāmans. Chanting of stotras other than Bahiṣpavamāna near audumbarī post in sadas. Four ājya-stotras in morning pressing. The 2nd śastra called Prauga recited by hotṛ and three more repeated by maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṁsin and acchāvāka. At the end of morning pressing priests go out of the *sadas*. For the mid-day pressing priests again enter sadas. Procedure of mid-day pressing similar to that of morning pressing. The priest grāvastut wears the cloth, in which soma stalks were tied, as a turban and repeats many verses from the Ṛgveda. The chanting of the Mādhyandina-pavamāna-stotra. The dadhigharma rite, then the offering of paśu puroḍāśa and the five savanīya offerings (cake &c.). Distribution of dakṣiṇā to the several priests, sight-seers and others. The yajamāna throws antelope horn in cātvāla pit. Five offerings called Vaiśvakarmaṇa. The Marutvatīya śastra. Pṛṣṭha-stotra and Niṣkevalya śastra. Three more Pṛṣṭha stotras and three śastras recited by maitrāvaruṇa and two others. Procedure of evening pressing similar to mid-day pressing. Ārbhava-pavamāna chanted. Ṛbhus connected with third pressing. *Havis* prepared from savanīya paśu offered. Vaiśvadeva śastra. The Pātnīvata cup to Agni Patnīvat. Chanting of Yajñāyajñīya stotra also called Agniṣṭomasāman. Wife of sacrificer pours *pānnejana* water over her thigh and udgātṛ priest looks at her. Āgnimāruta-śastra recited by hotṛ. Hāriyojana cup offered to

Indra. All priests wait on āhavanīya with *Mindā* mantras. Avabhṛtha (final bath). All vessels except four sthālīs are thrown into water. Yajamāna casts antelope skin in cātvāla pit. Avabhṛtha sāman chanted. The *nidhana* of the sāman is repeated by all priests, yajamāna and his wife at three places on their way to reservoir of water. Yajamāna and wife enter water, rub each other's back. Handful of kuśa thrown in avabhṛtha iṣṭi. Puroḍāśa offered to Varuṇa and then to Agni and Varuṇa. The unnetṛ brings out yajamāna, wife and priests. They offer fuel sticks. The Udayanīyā iṣṭi (concluding). Anubandhyā rite (offering of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuṇa) or only *payasyā*. Then five offerings called Devikā to Dhātṛ, Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū. Udavasānīyā iṣṭi like punarādheya. Theories about the identity of the soma plant and its relation to the moon. In the Deccan a substitute called 'rānśera' is employed for soma.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1204–1223

Other soma sacrifices. Brief descriptions of Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atyagniṣṭoma, Atirātra and Aptoryāma. Vājapeya may be regarded as an independent sacrifice. Number 17 predominant in it. 17 cups of soma and 17 cups of surā for Prajāpati. A race with 17 chariots and 17 drums beaten. Vājapeya to be performed only by a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya who desired super-eminence or overlordship. Horses of the chariots are made to smell *caru* of wild rice. When race starts brahmā priest repeats Vāji-sāman. An udumbara post as the goal for the chariot race. Chariot of sacrificer is in front and the rest follow at a distance. Chariots go round udumbara post and return to sacrificial ground. The principal wine cup is held by the pratiprasthātṛ and other sixteen are held by those who joined in the race and they are drunk by those latter. Ladder raised against yūpa and the sacrificer climbs up and holds a dialogue with his wife. Animals for Prajāpati are offered at time of mid-day pressing. Adhvaryu declares yajamāna to be *saṁrāṭ* Certain observances after Vājapeya. Fees distributed are 1700 cows, 17 chariots with four horses yoked to each, 17 *dāsīs* &c. After Vājapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brāhmaṇa Bṛhaspatisava. Jaimini's conclusions about Vājapeya. Viśvajit, Gosava and Sarvasvāra among Ekāha sacrifices briefly described. *Ahīna* sacrifices extending over two to twelve days of soma pressing. Description of the twelve days of the Dvādaśāha. Differences between Dvādaśāha as an ahīna and as a sattra. *Rājasūya.* A

very complex ceremony extending over a long period (over two years), and comprising many separate iṣṭis, soma sacrifices and animal sacrifices. Rājasūya to be performed only by kṣatriyas. Its relation to Vājapeya. Dīkṣā on first day of bright half of Phālguna. The Pavitra sacrifice which is like Agniṣṭoma. One year thereafter Abhiṣecanīya. Five offerings one on each day after Pavitra sacrifice. On Full moon of phālguna iṣṭi to Anumati. Cāturmāsyas performed for one year, between the *parvans* of which darśa and pūrṇamāsa rites are celebrated. After Śunāsīrīya several rites. Twelve offerings called 'ratninām haviṁṣi' on twelve days in the houses of the *ratnas* (viz. the king, his queens, state officers &c.) offered to different deities. Abhiṣecanīya (consecration) rite on first of Caitra and follows procedure of Ukthya. Eight offerings called Devasūhaviṁṣi. Waters of seventeen kinds in seventeen vessels of udumbara from Sarasvatī river and other sources. Pārtha homas. Holy water taken in four vessels. Sacrificer recites *āvid* formulae. Four principal priests sprinkle him with water from four vessels and a kṣatriya, vaiśya and a friend of the king do the same. Story of Śunaḥśepa recited by hotṛ for sacrificer's benefit. King takes three strides called Viṣṇukramas. Remnants of anointing water handed by king to his son. Symbolic march for plunder of cows. Dice-play which is so arranged that best throw comes to the king. Avabhṛtha follows. For ten days after Abhiṣecanīya offerings called 'Saṁsṛpām haviṁṣi' are made to Savitṛ and other deities. The Daśapeya, in which each of the camasas of soma are drunk by ten brāhmaṇas (i. e. in all 100). Very large dakṣiṇās prescribed e. g. some say 240000 cows should be presented. After Daśapeya some observances are kept by the sacrificer for one year. At the end of the year, the keśavapanīya ceremony took place. Then two rites called Vyuṣṭi-dvirātra at the interval of a month. One month after 2nd Vyuṣṭidvirātra the Kṣatradhṛti rite. One month after that the Sautrāmaṇī iṣṭi.

Sautrāmaṇī and other sacrifices. *Sautrāmaṇī* is one of the seven Haviryajñas according to Gautama. Chief characteristic was offering of surā (wine) in it, in modern times milk being offered instead. Kokilī and Caraka-sautrāmaṇī. Procedure of both. Sautrāmaṇī takes four days, during first three of which wine is prepared from various ingredients and on last day, three cups of milk and three of wine were offered. Three goats

were killed in this and fourth to Bṛhaspati. Method of preparing wine described. Remnants of the wine offered were not drunk by the priests, but a brāhmaṇa was hired for drinking them or they were poured on an ant-hill. Persons for whom Sautrāmaṇī was offered. Avabhṛtha and then āmikṣa to Mitra-Varuṇa and an animal to Indra. *Aśvamedha.* Horse-sacrifice in vogue even in Ṛgveda. It was a sacrifice for three days, to be performed by a king. Time of commencement. The four queens accompanied by princesses and large retinue come near the king. Rules about colour and qualities of horse. Guards of the horse, when it is let off to roam over the country. During horse's absence for a year three iṣṭis every day to Savitṛ. Chants by a brāhmaṇa after the iṣṭis every day and also by a kṣatriya lute-player. Hotṛ recites to the king surrounded by his sons and ministers the narrative called 'Pāriplava.' Every day for a year four oblations called Dhṛti made in the āhavanīya. At the end of the year horse was brought back and sacrificer took dīkṣā. 21 yupas, each 21 aratnis high. Large number of animals tied to yūpas slaughtered. Horse taken to a lake, bathed in it, brought back and anointed by the queens on various parts of the body. Dialogue between hotṛ and brahmā. When horse killed, queens go round horse, fan it with their garments, crowned queen lies by the side of the horse and both are covered with mantle. Abusive and obscene dialogues between hotṛ and crowned queen, between brahmā and favourite wife, between four principal priests and chamberlain on one side and the queens and their attendants on the other. Fat and blood of the horse offered. *Brahmodya* (theological dialogue of questions and riddles). *Mahiman* offerings. Remnants of these sprinkled over the king and offering to 12 months. Avabhṛtha on third pressing day. Offerings on the head of a bald man who dips into water to 'Jumbaka' (Varuṇa). When sacrificer comes out of water after avabhṛtha bath, persons guilty of grave sins plunge into it and become free from sins. Large fees on first and third pressing days. Aśvamedha rare even in ancient times. Description of Aśvamedha in the Mahābhārata. Epigraphic references to Aśvamedha. *Sattras.* Their duration is from twelve days to a year or more. Dvādaśāha is the archetype. Sattras divided into two classes, rātrisattras and sāṁvatsarika. Gavāmayana is model of all sattras of one year or more. Scheme of the parts of Gavām-ayana. When dīkṣā commenced. General rules applicable to all sattras. Though all are yajamānas and

also priests in a sattra, one of them is called gṛhapati. Peculiar procedure followed as to dīkṣā. *Brahmodya* on 10th day or abuse of Prajāpati. Rules to be observed while dīkṣā lasts. Most interesting day is Mahāvrata, which is the last day but one in sattras. Harp with a hundred strings, brāhmaṇa and śūdra engage in praise and abuse of those engaged in sattra. Fight of ārya and śūdra for a white circular skin; abuse by harlot and brahmacārin of one another. Drums beaten on corners of vedi. Wives of sacrificers become choristers for chanting. Dance round mārjālīya by servants and slave-girls singing popular airs referring to cows. Sattras of a thousand years believed even by ancient writers to be mythical and Jaimini states that in such descriptions saṁvatsara means 'a day'.

Agnicayana (piling of the fire altar). This rite is the most complicated and recondite of all śrauta sacrifices. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is leading work on it. Fundamental conceptions underlying it are cosmological. Construction of fire altar in five layers is an aṅga of Somayāga. Five victims are first offered. Heads built up into altar. Clay for the bricks how brought, mixed and prepared. First brick called Aṣāḍhā prepared by wife of sacrificer. Ukhā (pan) prepared from same clay, from which he prepares three bricks called Viśvajyotis. Other bricks prepared. Description of the piling of the altar in five layers. Several forms of altar and of bricks. Bricks are of various sizes and have various names. Three bricks called svayamātṛṇṇāḥ. Ground measured and ploughed. Furrows sown with several corns. Several things such as a lotus leaf, golden ornament, golden image of a man are first placed, then a living tortoise is enveloped in moss and made motionless and then altar is constructed on it. Each of five layers contains 200 bricks according to Satyāṣāḍha, but others give larger numbers. Time required for piling varies. Peculiar mode of cooling altar. Numerous offerings. Procedure of Somayāga followed with a few variations. Observances for a year after *cayana*.

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(with references to editions &c.)

N. B. Works referred to only once or twice and most of those already set out on pp. 19n, 179n, 195n, 321n, 624n, 713n have been omitted.

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA
VOLUME II
CHAPTER I
THE TOPICS OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Manifold are the topics that have been included under Dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha deal in greater or less detail principally with the following subjects: the several *varṇas* (classes), *āśramas* (stages of life), their privileges, obligations and responsibilities; the *saṁskāras* performed on an individual (from *garbhādhāna* to *antyeṣṭi*); the duties of the *brahmacārin* (the first āśrama); *anadhyāyas* (holidays on which Vedic study was stopped); the duties of a *snātaka* (one who has finished the first stage of life); *vivāha* (marriage) and all matters connected therewith; the duties of the *gṛhastha* (house-holder's stage); *śauca* (daily purification of body); the five daily *yajñas*; *dāna* (gifts); *bhakṣyābhakṣya* (what food should one partake of and what not); *śuddhi* (purification of persons, vessels, clothes &c.); *āśauca* (impurity on birth and death); *antyeṣṭi* (rites on death); *śrāddha* (rites performed for the deceased ancestors and relatives); *strīdharma* (special duties of women) and *strīpuṁdharma* (duties of husband and wife); *dharmas* of *kṣatriyas* and of kings; *vyavahāra* (judicial procedure, and the sphere of substantive law such as crimes and punishments, contracts, partition and inheritance, adoption, gambling &c.); the four principal classes, mixed castes and their proper avocations; *āpaddharma* (actions and avocations permitted to the several castes in extreme difficulties); *prāyaścitta* (sins and how to expiate them); *karmavipāka* (results of evil deeds done in past lives); *śānti* (rites on the happening of portents or for propitiating the planets &c.); duties of *vānaprastha* (forest hermit) and *saṁnyāsin* (ascetic). All these subjects are not treated in any fixed or settled order in the sūtra works. To take only one example, the subject of partition and inheritance occurs at the end of the dharmasūtra of Gautama, while Vasiṣṭha places the same subject in the middle of his work (17th chapter) and Āpastamba deals with those topics after finishing

three-fourths of his work (in II. 6. 14). Further, some works on *dharmaśāstra* give very elaborate treatment of certain topics of which only faint traces are found in the ancient dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis. Such topics are *vratas* (which may be looked upon as extensions of the subject of gifts), *utsarga* and *pratiṣṭhā* (dedication of works of public utility and of temples and shrines), *tīrtha* (sacred places and pilgrimages to them), *kāla* (auspicious times, festivals &c.).

A glance at the above list will convince anyone how the conception of dharma was a far-reaching one, how it embraced the whole life of man. The writers on dharmaśāstra meant by *dharma* not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the gradual development of a man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence.

From this standpoint various divisions of *dharma* were suggested. Dharma was divided into *śrauta* and *smārta*. The first comprised those rites and ceremonies with which the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and Brāhmaṇas were chiefly concerned, such as consecration of the three sacred fires, the Full moon and New moon sacrifices, the solemn *soma* rites &c. The *smārta* comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the smṛtis and that concerned the various classes and stages of life.[1] The present work will concern itself principally with *smārta dharma* and *śrauta dharma* will be dealt with concisely in an appendix. Some works divide *dharma* into *śrauta* (Vedic), *smārta* (based upon smṛtis) and *śiṣṭācāra* (the actions of the respected in society)[2]. This classification is based on the three sources of *dharma* viz., *śruti*, *smṛti* and *śiṣṭācāra*, as observed by Baudhāyana.[3] Another and more comprehensive classification says that *dharma* is sixfold, viz. dharma of varṇas (injunctions based on *varṇa* alone such as 'a brāhmaṇa should never drink wine' or 'a brāhmaṇa should not be killed'), *āśramadharma*

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1. दाराग्निहोत्रसंम्बन्धमिज्या श्रौतस्य लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्च नियमैर्युतः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 144. 30–31, वायुपुराण 59. 31–32 and 39, 'अग्न्याधानादिपूर्वकोऽधीतमत्यक्षवेदमूलो दर्शपूर्णमासादिः श्रौतः । अनुमितपरोक्षशाखामूलः शौचाचमनादिः स्मार्तः ।॥ परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 64.

2. वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः स्मृतिशास्त्रगतोऽपरः । शिष्टाचीर्णः परः प्रोक्तस्त्रयो धर्माः सनातनाः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 65; वनपर्व 207. 83 'वेदोक्तः ...... धर्मशास्त्रेषु चापरः । शिष्टाचारश्च शिष्टानां त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥'; *vide* शान्ति 354. 6 also.

3. उपदिष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् । ... स्मार्तो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः शिष्टागमः । बौ. ध.सू. I. 1. 1–4.

(such rules as 'begging' and 'carrying a staff' enjoined on a brahmacārī'), *varṇāśrama-dharma* (rules of conduct enjoined on a man because he belongs to a particular class and is in a particular stage of life, such as 'a brāhmaṇa *brahmacārī* should carry a staff of *palāśa* tree), *guṇadharma* (such as protection of subjects in the case of a crowned king), *naimittika* dharma (such as expiation on doing what is forbidden), *sādhāraṇa dharma* (what is common to all humanity viz., *ahiṁsā* and other virtues).[4] This classification appears to have been an ancient one. Medhātithi on Manu II. 25 speaks of fivefold dharma (only omitting *sādhāraṇa dharma* from the abovementioned six) and quotes the explanations of them from the expounders of smṛtis. Hemādri (vrata-khaṇḍa p. 5) quotes 16 verses from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa on the six-fold dharma.[5] It will be noticed from the above that all matters (except *sādhāraṇa* or *sāmānya* dharma) have *varṇa* and *āśrama* as the pivots round which the whole of dharmaśāstra revolves. It is therefore that in ancient smṛtis like those of Manu (I. 2 and 107) and Yājñavalkya (I. 1) the sages are represented as asking the great expounders of those codes to impart to them instruction in the dharmas of *varṇas* and *āśramas.*

Before embarking upon any treatment of varṇas it would not be out of place to say a few words about dharmas common to all humanity. Our dharmaśāstra works do not enter into any subtle or detailed examination of the principles of ethics or of the moral standard, nor are the concepts of duty, happiness or perfection subjected to any searching analysis[6]. But

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4. इह पञ्चप्रकारो धर्म इति विवरणकाराः प्रपञ्चयन्ति । मेधा० on मनु II. 25; अत्र च धर्मशब्दः षड्विधस्मार्तधर्मविषयः । तद्यथा–वर्णधर्म आश्रमधर्मो वर्णाश्रमधर्मो गुणधर्मो निमित्तधर्मः साधारणधर्मश्चेति । मिताक्षरा on या. I. 1.

5. Kullūka on Manu II. 25 and the Kṛtyaratnākara pp. 9–10 do the same. It is to be noted that some of these very verses are quoted as from Sumantu by the Smṛticandrikā. (I p. 6).

6. Reference may be made to the 'Ethics of India' by Prof. Hopkins (1924) and 'Hindu Ethics' by Dr. John McKenzie in 'Religious quest of India' series. The former work is marked by a detached and fair attitude towards the ideas of the ancient Indians and their writings. The latter, I am sorry to say, is marred by the unsympathetic and supercilious attitude of a Christian missionary. Its key-note is perverse inasmuch as the foundation of the author's criticism is the notion that one is not really moral unless one is engaged in active social service. There is very little warrant for

(*Continued on next page*)

this does not at all mean that the principles of ethics were passed over by dharmaśāstra works or were not highly thought of by them. From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. Ṛgveda VII. 104. 12 says[7] 'True speech and

(*Continued from last page*)

this hypothesis in well-known works on Ethics. To expose the fallacies in Principal McKenzie's work would require a volume. But a few words must be said here. What particular brand of active social service the learned author has in view is difficult to follow. I would like to make him a present of the following lines from the Encyclopædia Britannica on Social Service 'The term social service is a comparatively new one in Great Britain. If it had been used previous to the 20th century it would have meant philanthropy and charity in the ordinary sense'. If the learned author means that ancient India never insisted on universal philanthropy and charity, he has read the Indian Literature in vain. Every house-holder was called upon by the Hindu Śāstras to offer food according to his ability to students, ascetics and to all beings including the untouchable cāṇḍālas and even dogs and crows. Every brāhmaṇa who could teach had to do so without demanding any fee beforehand. *Maths* were established in all parts of India for expounding religious books, feeding students and the poor. There are *annasatras* even now where hundreds are fed every day. No necessity arose throughout the ages for a Poor Law in India with its attendant evils well portrayed in Dickens' famous master-piece 'Oliver Twist'. The above were some of the different aspects of philanthropy and charity which are now dubbed social service. In the third century B. C. Aśoka had established hospitals not only for men but even for beasts and Yāj. 1.209 equates the free nursing of sick persons with gifts of cows. The learned Professor asks with an air of triumph and condemnation of all Indian morality (p. 251) 'Is there anything comparable to the movement which St. Francis of Assisi initiated and led?' The learned Professor has fallen into the frequent error of comparing a movement of the 13th century with Indian ideas over 2000 years old. Again I shall quote words from the Encyclopædia Britannica. 'It would be an anachronism to think of Francis as a philanthropist or social worker or a revivalist preacher, though he fulfilled the functions of all these. Before every thing he was an ascetic and mystic'. The particular brands of Social Service that are now in vogue are mainly due to the ravages of Imperialism and extreme capitalistic tendencies. Besides he forgets that even the movement started by St. Francis had schisms and was guilty of all the moral evils that are associated with Western monastic institutions. Vide the recent and lucid book of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer on 'Evolution of Hindu moral ideals' (1935, Calcutta University).

7. सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सच्चासच्च वचसी पस्पृधाते । तयोर्यत्सत्यं यतरदृजीय-स्तदित्सोमोऽवति हन्त्यासत् ॥ ऋ. VII. 104. 12.

false speech run a race against each other. Soma protects out of the two what is true and what is very straight-forward and strikes down what is false'. The conception of *ṛta* in the Ṛgveda is a sublime one and is the germ of the later doctrine of the rule of dharma. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 85) enjoins 'therefore let a man speak naught but truth'[8]. In the Taittirīyopaniṣad (I. II. 1), the teacher when taking leave of his pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood places truth in the forefront of his exhortation and dharma next.[9] In the Chāndogya (III. 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the dakṣiṇā (fee to be paid) is fivefold viz. the five virtues of tapas (asceticism), dāna (charity), ārjava (straightforwardness), ahiṁsā (non-injury to sentient beings), satyavacana (truthfulness). The Bṛ. Up. remarks that truth and dharma are in practical life identical terms.[10] One of the noblest prayers in all literature occurs in the Bṛ. Up. (I. 3.28) 'from falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness lead me unto light, from death lead me unto immortality'. The Muṇḍakopaniṣad says 'only truth is victorious and not falsehood; the path of the gods is spread out by (the pursuit of) truth'. The Bṛ. Up. inculcates on all the great need of three cardinal virtues, viz. self-restraint, *dayā* (compassion or love for all sentient life) and dāna (gifts or charity).[11] The Chān. Up. says that the world of Brahman is free from all evil and only those who have lived as chaste students can enter the world of *brahma*. The Chān. Up. V. 10 sternly condemns five sins, viz. theft of gold, drinking spirits, murder of a brāhmaṇa, defiling of one's guru's bed and association with these, as the greatest sins and in V. 11. 5 Aśvapati exultantly declares that in his kingdom there were no grave sinners. The Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 2.23) insists[12] upon cessation from evil

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8. Compare शतपथब्रा. I. 1. 1. 1. 'अमेध्यो वै पुरुषो यदनृतं वदति' and I. 1. 1. 5. 'स वै सत्यमेव वदेत्'.

9. वेदमनूच्याचार्योऽन्तेवासिनमनुशास्ति। सत्यं वद। धर्मं चर। तै. उ. I. 11. 1.

10. तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदतीति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदतीत्येतद्ध्येवैतदुभयं भवति। बृह. उ. I. 4. 14., तदेतानि जपेदसतो मा सद्गमय तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमयेति। बृह. उ. I. 3. 28.

11. तस्मादेतत्त्रयं शिक्षेद् दमं दानं दयामिति। बृह. उ. V. 2. 3.

12. नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः। नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात्॥ कठोप. I. 2. 23; vide also I. 3.7 and मैत्री उप. III. 5 for a list of qualities of darkness which the student of a high and sublime philosophy has to avoid.

conduct, peace of mind and concentration as essential for the seeker after the Self. The Udyogaparva 43.20ff. speaks of the twelve *vratas* (vows or rules of conduct) for brāhmaṇas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is dānta (self-controlled). Śānti 160 contains an eulogy of *dama* (self-control). Śānti 162.7 describes how *satya* has 13 aspects and verse 21 says that non-injury to all beings in thought, word and deed, good will and charity are the eternal dharma of the good.[13] The Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 24-26) holds that *dayā* (compassion or love for all beings), *kṣānti* (forebearance), *anasūyā* (freedom from envy), *śauca* (purity of body, speech and thought), *anāyāsa* (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), *maṅgala* (doing what is commended), *akārpaṇya* (not demeaning oneself before others), *aspṛhā* (not hankering after sensual pleasures or the possessions of others)[14] are the qualities of the soul and remarks that the person who has these eight qualities realizes non-difference from Brahma and reaches the world of Brahma, though he may not have all the other forty *saṁskāras*, while he who has all the forty saṁskāras but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahma.[15] Vasiṣṭha (X. 30) says that avoiding back-biting, jealousy, pride, egoism, unbelief, crookedness, self-praise, abuse of others, deceit, covetousness, delusion, anger and envy is the dharma of all āśramas and further (XXX. 1) he delivers a fine exhortation 'practise dharma (righteousness) and not adharma; speak the truth and not untruth; look far ahead, not

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13. अद्रोहः सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा गिरा । अनुग्रहश्च दानं च सतां धर्मः सनातनः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 162. 21.

14. अथाष्टावात्मगुणाः । दया सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति । गौ. ध. सू. VIII. 23-24. Haradatta quotes eight verses which explain these eight qualities. Atri (verses 34-41) also defines these eight similarly but in different words. Aparārka (pp. 164-165), Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13), Hemādri (Vrata p. 8) and Parāśaramādhavīya I. part 1 p. 84 quote from Bṛhaspati eight verses defining these eight qualities, which closely resemble Atri's. Vide Matsya 52.8-10 for these eight qualities and Vāyu 59.40-49, Mārkaṇḍeya 61.66 for saying that dayā (love for beings) is at the top of the eight ātmaguṇas and 28.31-32 for a slightly different enumeration of the eight. Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 8.35-37) says that these eight mentioned by Gautama (तितिक्षा being substituted for क्षान्ति) and three more namely नाभिमानिता, सत्य, and प्रियवादिता are common to all varṇas. Vide वसिष्ठ VI. 3 आचारहीनं न पुनन्ति वेदाः.

15. Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13) quotes verses of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest'. Āpastamba Dh. S. (I. 8. 23. 3–6) calls upon all āśramas to eradicate faults that tend to destruction and to cultivate the opposite virtues (and gives long lists of both). This shows that in the scale of values mere performance of sacrifices and purificatory and other religious ceremonies ranked according to Gautama and other writers very low and the highest value attached to the moral qualities of the soul. There is no elaborate discussion of the questions as to why a man should tell the truth or abstain from *himsā* (injury to sentient beings) and cultivate other high moral qualities. But it should not be supposed that no indications whatever are given of the reasons why this should be done. Two principles emerge if we closely examine the texts. In the midst of countless rules of outward conduct there is always insistence on the necessity to satisfy the inner man (āntara-puruṣa) or conscience. Manu IV. 161 says 'assiduously do that which will give satisfaction to the antarātman' (inner self); IV. 239 says 'No parents, nor wife nor sons will be a man's friends in the next world; but only righteousness.' 'Gods and the inner man mark the sinful acts' Vanaparva 207·54 and Manu VIII. 85, 91–92. Vide also Ādiparva 74. 28–29, Manu VIII. 86, Anuśāsana 2. 73–74. The reason given for cultivating such virtues as *dayā*, *ahimsā* is based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being immanent in every individual as said in the words 'tat tvam-asi'. This is the highest point reached in Indian metaphysics and combines morality and metaphysics. That doctrine requires us to regard the goodness or badness of one's actions from the standpoint of other individuals who will be affected by such actions. Dakṣa (III. 22) declares [16] 'one who desires happiness should look upon another just as he looks upon himself. Happiness and misery affect one's self and others in the same way'. Devala says that the quintessence of dharma is that one should not do to others what would be disliked by one's self.[17] There-

16. यथैवात्मा परस्तद्वद् द्रष्टव्यः सुखमिच्छता । सुखदुःखानि तुल्यानि यथात्मनि तथा परे ॥ दक्ष III. 22.

17. श्रूयतां धर्मसर्वस्वं श्रुत्वा चैवावधार्यताम् । आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत् ॥ देवल quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 17. Compare आपस्तम्बस्मृति X. 12 'आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥', अनुशासनपर्व 113. 8–9 न तत्परस्य संदध्यात् प्रतिकूलं यदात्मनः । एष संक्षेपतो धर्मः कामादन्यः प्रवर्तते ॥ प्रत्याख्याने च दाने च सुखदुःखे प्रियाप्रिये । आत्मौपम्येन पुरुषः प्रमाणमधिगच्छति ॥; शान्ति 260. 20 and 25 यदन्यैर्विहितं नेच्छेदात्मनः कर्म पूरुषः । न तत्परेषु कुर्वीत जानन्नप्रियमात्मनः ॥ सर्वं प्रियाभ्युपगतं धर्मं प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ।

fore our texts lay down two seats of authority in morals viz., the revealed truth (śruti) that 'All this is brahma' and the inner light of conscience. Another reason for cultivating high moral qualities is found in the doctrine of the goals or ends of human existence (*puruṣārtha*). From very ancient times they are said to be four, dharma (right conduct), artha (economic interests), kāma (satisfaction of sexual, emotional and artistic life), mokṣa (liberation of the spirit). The last is said to be the supreme end and to be attained only by the few and the vast majority can only place it as an ideal to be attained in the most distant future. As regards the other three, there is a gradation of values. *Kāma* is the lowest of all and only fools regard it as the only end.[18] The Mahābhārata says: 'A wise man tries to secure all three, but if all three cannot be attained, he secures dharma and artha or only dharma if he has a choice of only one from among the three. A man of middling discipline prefers artha to the other two; dharma is the source of both artha and kāma.' The dharmaśāstra writers did not condemn kāma altogether, they recognise that kāma has a place as a motive urging men to be active but they assigned it a low place. They recognised that a man shares with lower beings the impulses and emotions of sex, but that the satisfaction of these impulses is of lower values than the moral and spiritual ends proper for a developed human personality and therefore insist that it should be subordinated to *artha* and *dharma*. Gautama (IX. 46–47) says 'one should not allow the morning, midday and evening to remain fruitless so far as dharma, artha and kāma are concerned. But among these three one should attach most importance to dharma.' Yāj. I. 115 says practically the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 20. 22–23) declares that 'a man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not opposed to

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18. त्रिवर्गयुक्तः प्राज्ञानामारम्भो भरतर्षभ । धर्मार्थावनुरुध्यन्ते त्रिवर्गासंभवे नराः ॥ पृथक्त्वविनिविष्टानां धर्मं धीरोऽनुरुध्यते । मध्यमोऽर्थं कलिं बालः काममेवानुरुध्यते ॥...कामार्थौ लिप्समानस्तु धर्ममेवादितश्चरेत् । नहि धर्मादपैत्यर्थः कामो वापि कदाचन । उपायं धर्ममेवाहुस्त्रिवर्गस्य विशांपते । उद्योगपर्व । 124. 34–38; vide शान्तिपर्व 167.8–9 for the statement that *dharma* is the best, *artha* is middling and *kāma* is the lowest and that a man should so act that dharma would be the principal goal of his life and that he should so deal with others as he would deal with himself 'तस्माद्धर्मप्रधानेन भवितव्यं यतात्मना । तथा च सर्वभूतेषु वर्तितव्यं यथात्मनि ॥.' The महाभारत winds up with the words ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् । धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥ स्वर्गारोह॰ 5.62; vide also शल्य 60.22, द्रोण 151.37.

dharma. In this way one secures both worlds'.[19] In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with *kāma* that is not opposed to dharma. Kauṭilya says[20] 'one may enjoy *kāma* provided there is no conflict with dharma and artha, one should not lead a life of no pleasures' and then true to his role of a writer on arthaśāstra, he proclaims that his own opinion is that *artha* is the principal of the three, as *dharma* and *kāma* both spring from *artha*.' Manu (II. 224)[21] after setting out several views about which of the three is principal states it as his own opinion that one should strive for all the three, but adds that if *artha* or *kāma* is in conflict with *dharma* one should give up artha or kāma as the case may be. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (71. 84) and Bhāgavata I. 2. 9 say the same. The Kāmasūtra[22] of Vātsyāyana defines the three and says that out of dharma, artha and kāma each preceding one is superior to each following one and that to the king artha should be the highest goal. This teaching shows that there are proximate ends or motives and ultimate ends or motives, that the ultimate ends are really the most valuable and that the whole teaching of dharmaśāstra points to this that all higher life demands discipline both of body and mind and requires the subjection of lower aims to aims of higher value. Manu II. 4 (like Aristotle in the first sentence of his Politics) says that the end of all activity is some presumed good. Manu further says (V. 56) that the natural proclivity of all beings is to hanker after the satisfaction of the common and lower desires of hunger, thirst and sexual gratification and therefore no stress is to be placed on them but on the cessation or curbing of these. The Upaniṣads[23] recognise the

19. भोक्ता च धर्माविरुद्धान् भोगान् । एवमुभौ लोकावभिजयति । आप. ध. II. 8. 20. 22–23.

20. अर्थशास्त्र I. 7 'धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निःसुखः स्यात् । .... अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ।'

21. धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव च । अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयस्त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ॥ मनु II. 224; परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ । मनु IV. 176; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71.84 'धर्मविरुद्धौ चार्थकामौ (परिहरेत्) ।'; अनुशासन 111.18–19 'धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च त्रितयं जीविते फलम् । एतत्त्रयमवाप्तव्यमधर्मपरिवर्जितम्' ॥; विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 परित्यजेदर्थकामौ धर्मपीडाकरौ नृप । धर्ममप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविद्विष्टमेव च ॥

22. अलौकिकत्वाददृष्टार्थत्वात् अप्रवृत्तानां यज्ञादीनां शास्त्रात्प्रवर्तनं लौकिकत्वाद् दृष्टार्थत्वाच्च प्रवृत्तेभ्यश्च मांसभक्षणादिभ्यः शास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः । ...विद्याभूमिहिरण्यपशु-धान्यभाण्डोपस्कर-मित्रादीनामर्जनमर्जितस्य विवर्धनमर्थः । ...श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुर्जिह्वाघ्राणानामात्मसंयुक्तेन मनसाधिष्ठितानां स्वेषु स्वेषु विषयेष्वानुकूल्यतः प्रवृत्तिः कामः । तेषां समवाये पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान् । अर्थश्च राज्ञः । कामसूत्र I. 2.7–15.

23. त्वमेव वृणीष्व यं त्वं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्यस इति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. उ. III. 1.

distinction between what is beneficial (*hita*) and what is most beneficial (*hitatama*). Śāntiparva (288. 20 and 330. 13) declares that what conduces to the greatest good of beings is 'satya.'

The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 1. remarks that *ahiṁsā* and other qualities are the dharmas common to all including even cāṇḍālas. The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis is laid upon different lists in different works. Śaṅkhasmṛti (I. 5) says that forbearance, truthfulness, self-restraint and purity are common to all varṇas. The Mahābhārata says that three are the best qualities among all beings viz., absence of enmity, truthfulness and freedom from anger[24] and in another place says that the best *vrata* (vow) for a man is threefold viz., he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasiṣṭha (IV. 4) says[25] that truthfulness, freedom from anger, generosity, *ahiṁsā* (non-injury) and procreation of offspring are (the common dharma) of all (varṇas). Gautama (X. 52) says that even the Śūdra has to submit himself to the dharma of truthfulness, freedom from anger and purity (of body and mind). Manu says that *ahiṁsā*, truthfulness, no wrongful taking of another's possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common dharmas of all varṇas.[26] Manu (IV. 175) calls upon all to take delight in truth, in dharma, in conduct worthy of an ārya and in purity. In the 3rd century B. C. the remarkable emperor Aśoka inscribed on stone in all parts of his empire the following list of virtues: compassion, liberality, truth, purity gentleness, peace, joyousness, saintliness, self-control; which bear a close resemblance to Gautama's list and even to a later list of St. Paul (vide Pillar Edicts II and VII in E. I. vol. II p. 249 and p. 272). Yāj. (I. 122) mentions nine qualities as the means of securing dharma for all (from the brāhmaṇa to the cāṇḍāla[27]). The Mahābhārata says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one's wealth

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24. एतद्धि त्रितयं श्रेष्ठं सर्वभूतेषु भारत । निर्वैरता महाराज सत्यमक्रोध एव च ॥ आश्रमवासिपर्व 28.9 ; त्रीण्येव तु पदान्याहुः पुरुषस्योत्तमं व्रतम् । न द्रुह्येच्चैव दद्याच्च सत्यं चैव परं वदेत् ॥ अनुशासन 120.10.

25. सर्वेषां सत्यमक्रोधो दानमहिंसा प्रजननं च । वसिष्ठ IV. 4 ; vide वसिष्ठ X. 30 for 13 qualities prescribed for all āśramas.

26. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । एतं सामासिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ मनु X. 63 ; vide मनु VI. 62 for ten guṇas prescribed for all āśramas.

27. अहिंसा......न्द्रियसंयमः । दमः क्षमार्जवं दानं सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ या. I. 122 ; vide या. III. 66.

with others, forbearance, procreation (of children) from one's wife (alone), purity, absence of enmity, straight-forwardness, maintaining persons dependent on one-self—these nine are the duties of all varṇas.[28] The Vāmanapurāṇa says that tenfold dharma is common to all and names these ten as *ahiṁsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *dāna*, forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, tapas.[29] Hemādri (vratakhaṇḍa pp. 7–8) quotes several passages from the Brahma, Brahmavaivarta and Viṣṇudharmottara for several sādhāraṇa dharmas (virtues common to all varṇas and āśramas). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra enumerates fourteen qualities as sāmānya-dharma.[30]

The foregoing discussion establishes that all dharmaśāstra writers attached the highest importance to moral qualities and enjoined them upon all with all the emphasis they could command; but as their main purpose was a practical one, viz., to guide people to right acts in everyday life, they dealt more elaborately with the acts, rites and ceremonies that each person had to do with reference to his station in society. They are therefore found principally concerning themselves with varṇāśrama dharma and not with *sādhāraṇa dharma* (i. e. duties common to all alike).

Āryāvarta — One important question that is very much canvassed in works on dharmaśāstra is about the country or territory which should be called *āryāvarta* or which was a fit habitation for those who called themselves the followers of the Vedic religion. Therefore a few words on this subject would be quite relevant. The Ṛgveda shows that the centre of Āryan culture in the times of the Ṛgveda was the land of the seven

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28. अक्रोधः सत्यवचनं संविभागः क्षमा तथा। प्रजनः स्वेषु दारेषु शौचमद्रोह एव च। आर्जवं भृत्यभरणं नवैते सार्ववर्णिकाः॥ शान्ति. 60. 7–8.

29. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्दमः शमः। अकार्पण्यं च शौचं च तपश्च रजनीचर। दशाङ्गो राक्षसश्रेष्ठ धर्मोसौ सार्ववर्णिकः॥ वामनपुराण 14. 1–2; ब्रह्मपुराण 114. 16–18 prescribes the following as common to all varṇas and āśramas. 'दया समस्तभूतेषु तितिक्षा नाभिमानिता। सत्यं शौचमनायासो मङ्गलं प्रियवादिता। मैत्री चैवास्पृहा तद्वदकार्पण्यं द्विजोत्तमाः। अनसूया च सामान्या वर्णानां कथिता गुणाः॥ आश्रमाणां च सर्वेषामेते सामान्यलक्षणाः'।.

30. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः। अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया। आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम्। अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II. 16–17; compare आप. ध. सू. I. 8. 23.6 for a long list of qualities prescribed for all āśramas and शान्तिपर्व 297. 24–25 for 13 साधारणधर्मs 'आनृशंस्यमहिंसा च प्रमादः (प्रसादः?) संविभागिता। श्राद्धकर्मातिथेयं च सत्यमक्रोध एव च॥ स्वेषु दारेषु संतोषः शौचं नित्यानसूयता। आत्मज्ञानं तितिक्षा च धर्माः साधारणा नृप॥

rivers, viz. North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubhā (the Kabul river, in Ṛg. V. 53. 9 ; x. 76. 6), Krumu (the modern Kurram, Ṛg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6), Suvāstu (modern Swat, in Ṛg. VIII. 19. 37), the seven Sindhus (Ṛg. II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) up to the Yamunā (Ṛg. V. 52. 17, X. 75. 5), the Ganges (Ṛg. VI. 45. 31, X. 75. 5) and Sarayu (probably in modern Oudh, in Ṛg. IV. 30. 18 and V. 53. 9) figure in the Ṛgveda. Among the rivers of the Punjab the following are individually mentioned :— Sindhu (Ṛg. II. 15. 6 'he made the Sindhu flow northwards', Ṛg. V. 53. 9, Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25 where reference is made to the medicine in the Sindhu, in the Asiknī, in the seas and on mountains), Asiknī (Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5), Paruṣṇī (Ṛg. IV. 22. 2, V. 52. 9), Vipāś and Śutudri (Ṛg. III. 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipāś alone in Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Śutudri alone in Ṛg. X. 75. 5, Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī (as very holy in Ṛg. III. 23. 4), Sarasvatī alone (Ṛg. VII. 95, the whole hymn is addressed to it of which verse 2 says it springs from the mountains ; Ṛg. VI. 61 is another hymn addressed to it, v. 10 of which says it has seven sisters), Gomatī (Ṛg. VIII. 24. 30, X. 75. 6), Vitastā (Ṛg. X. 75. 5). Gradually the Āryans spread southwards and eastwards. The Kāṭhaka S. X. 6 speaks of Kuru-Pañcālas. In the Brāhmaṇas the centre of Āryan activities and culture shifted to the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas and Kosala-Videhas. For example, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa remarks that in the lands of Kurupañcālas speech is at its best.[31] In Śat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1 Uddālaka Āruṇi is called a Kuru-Pañcāla brāhmaṇa and contrasted with brāhmaṇas of the north (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 51). Similarly the Kauṣītaki-br. (VII. 6) remarks[32] that those who want to learn (best) speech go northwards or wait upon him who comes from that direction. In the Śatapatha we have the story of Videgha Māṭhava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sadānīrā that came down from the Himālaya, and settled to the east of that river, where the country was a cultivated and civilized one in the times of that work, while in former ages it had been uncultivated (I. 4. 1. 4–17, S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 105–106). Even in the Buddhist

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31. तस्मादत्रोत्तराहि वाग्वदति कुरुपञ्चालत्रा । शतपथ ब्रा. III. 2. 3. 15. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. XLII *n*. 1 and vol. 26 p. 50 for various interpretations.

32. तस्मादुदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वागुद्यत उदञ्च उ एव यन्ति वाचं शिक्षितुं यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्ते । कौषितकि ब्रा. VII. 6.

Jātakas we see that being an 'udicca brāhmaṇo' was a source of great pride (vide Fick's work p. 40). The Tai. Br. speaks of the *vedi* of the gods as being in Kuru-kṣetra.[33] Even in the Ṛgveda itself the country through which the rivers Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4). The Tai. Br. says that the Kurupañcālas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upaniṣads also the Kurupañcāla country appears to have occupied a pre-eminent place. The Bṛ. Up. (III. 1. 1.) says that when Janaka, king of Videha, performed a sacrifice the brāhmaṇas of Kurupañcāla flocked there in large numbers. *Vide* also Bṛ. Up. III. 9. 19. The Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1 and Chāndogya V. 3. 1 say that Śvetaketu went to the assembly of the Pañcālas. Kauṣītaki Br. Up. (IV. 1.) names the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kurupañcāla and Kāśivideha as centres of intellectual activity and in II. 13 refers to two mountains one in the North and the other in the South (meaning probably Himavat and Vindhya). According to the Nirukta (II. 2), the country of Kamboja was outside the limits of the country of Āryas, though the language spoken there seems to have been the same. The Mahābhāṣya lends support to this and adds that Surāṣṭra was not an Ārya country (vol. 1, p. 9). In the times of the Dharmasūtras great divergence of opinion prevailed on the question of the location of Āryāvarta. The Vasiṣṭha-dharma[34]-sūtra says; 'Āryāvarta is to the east of the disappearance (of Sarasvatī in the desert), to the west of Kālakavana, to the north of the mountains Pāriyātra and Vindhya and to the south of the Himālaya'. It then refers to two more views held by other authors viz., 'Āryāvarta is in the region between the Ganges and the Jumna' and 'where the black antelope roams about there is spiritual pre-eminence'. The Baud. D. S. (I. 1.27) gives the same limits of Āryāvarta as Vasiṣṭha,

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33. देवा वै सत्रमासत। ...... तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत् । तै. ब्रा. V. 1. 1; नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम्। दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥ ऋ. III. 23. 4 ; for Kurukṣetra as a very ancient place *vide* Śatapatha IV. 1. 5. 13 and Ait. Br. (chap. 35. kh. 4); आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति । तस्माच्छिशिरे कुरुपञ्चालाः प्राञ्चो यान्ति । ...... तस्माज्जघन्ये नैदाघे प्रत्यञ्चः कुरुपञ्चाला यान्ति । तै. ब्रा. I. 8. 5.

34. आर्यावर्तः प्रागादर्शात्प्रत्यक् कालकवनादुदक्पारियात्राद्दक्षिणेन हिमवतः । उत्तरेण च विन्ध्यस्य । ... गङ्गायमुनयोरन्तरेऽप्येके । यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तावद्ब्रह्मवर्चसमित्यन्ये । वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 8-9 and 12-13.

substituting the word 'vinaśana' for 'ādarśa'.[35] Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya defines Āryāvarta several times in the same terms as Vasiṣṭha does.[36] The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita gives somewhat similar limits by remarking 'spotless spiritual pre-eminence is to be found (in the country) to the east of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra, to the west of the city of Kāmpilī, to the south of Himālaya and to the north of Pāriyātra'.[37] The extant Manusmṛti (II. 22) makes Āryāvarta coterminos with the whole of India north of the Vindhya by saying that the territory between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and extending up to the eastern and western oceans is known by the wise as Āryāvarta. The second view (viz. Āryāvarta is the region between the Ganges and the Jumna) occurs in Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.28). In the Tai. Ār. II.20 special honour is shown to those who dwell between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The third view (viz. *Āryāvarta* is the country where the black antelope roams about naturally) is the one given in most smṛtis. Both Vasiṣṭha (I. 14–15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 29-30) quote an ancient *gāthā* from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins[38] to the effect that wherever the black antelope roams about in the country lying between the Sindhu in the west and the rising mountain in the east, there is spiritual pre-eminence. So this view is a very ancient one and probably

35. प्राग्विनशनात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदक्पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्तं तस्मिन्य आचारः स प्रमाणम्। बौ. ध. सू. I. 1.27. Even so early as the ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण we have the words सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते (24.17.1). This shows that the Sarasvatī had disappeared by the time of the ताण्ड्य. According to the Vanaparva 82. 111 Vinaśana is the tīrtha where the Sarasvatī disappeared and Vanaparva (130. 3-5) says that the Sarasvatī disappeared at the entrance of Niṣādarāṣṭra through fear of pollution from Niṣādas and Śalyaparva (37. 1-2) tells us that Vinaśana is the sacred place where the Sarasvatī disappeared through hatred for Śūdras and Ābhīras.

36. कः पुनरार्यावर्तः। प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम्। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 475 (on Pāṇ. II. 4.10), vol. III. p. 174 (on Pāṇ. VI. 3.109)

37. प्राक्सिन्धुसौवीरात् दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक् पारियात्रादनवद्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम्। quoted in परिभाषाप्रकाश (वीरमित्रोदय p. 57).

38. अथापि भाल्लविनो निदाने गाथामुदाहरन्ति। पश्चात्सिन्धुर्विधारणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः। यावत्कृष्णोभिधावति तावद्वै ब्रह्मवर्चसम्। इति। वसिष्ठ I. 14–15. Viśvarūpa reads 'विहरणी' and explains it as 'where the sun sets', while विधारणी may mean 'dividing line, boundary'. परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 57 reads वितरणी and explains वितरणी जनकपर्वतसमीपे मालवदेशे परशुरामेण धनुष्कोट्या कुण्डं भित्त्वा निर्मितेति जनप्रसिद्धा।

arose from some mythological account as is indicated by the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I.2 which quotes a prose passage of the Śvetāśvataras 'Sacrifice became a black antelope and wandered over the earth; *dharma* followed it in its wanderings'. This view of the limits of Āryāvarta is maintained by Śaṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 2), Viṣṇudharmasūtra 84.4, Manu II. 23, Yāj. I. 2, Saṁvarta 4, Laghu-Hārīta (I. p. 178), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 3), Bṛhat-Parāśara (p. 56) and several other smṛtis. The Manusmṛti (II. 17-24) defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī,[39] says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called *sadācāra*, that the countries of Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena are styled Brahmarṣideśa and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta, that Madhyadeśa is between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and to the east of Vinaśana and to the west of Prayāga, that Āryāvarta is the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya up to the eastern and western oceans, that that territory where the black antelope roams about naturally is the country fit for sacrifices and the countries beyond constitute *mlecchadeśa*, that men of the three higher varṇas should endeavour to live in these countries (viz. Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta &c.) while a śūdra, when distressed for his livelihood, may stay in any country whatever. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (84. 4) says that the country where the system of the four varṇas is not established is to be known as Mleccha country and Āryāvarta is beyond that. This is explained by Aparārka (p. 5) as follows: one who desires to practise Vedic religion should live in one of the four countries viz. Brahmāvarta and others; if that is not possible, then in a country where there is establishment of the four varṇas and the black antelope roams about naturally; if both these cannot be had, then one should dwell in a country where at least one of the two (*cāturvarṇya* and black antelope) is found. The above discussion shows that in very ancient times the country south of the Vindhya was looked upon as beyond the pale of Aryan culture. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 31) says that the countries of Avanti, Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upāvṛt, Sindhu

39. *Vide* Tāṇḍya Br. 25. 10. 13–14 for Dṛṣadvatī falling into the Sarasvatī and 25. 10. 16 for the disappearance of the latter and Ait. Br. (chap. 38 kh. 3) for Kuru–Pañcāla, Vaśa and Uśīnara as included in the centre of India..

and Sauvīra are of mixed origin (i. e. not of pure Āryan ancestry), that a person who goes to Āraṭṭaka, Kāraskara, Puṇḍra, Sauvīra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Prānūna (?) has to offer a solemn sacrifice like the Sarvapṛṣṭha and that for going to Kaliṅga the prāyaścitta is an offering to Vaiśvānara Agni. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes a verse of Devala to the effect that if a man goes to Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāṣṭra, the border lands (or Mleccha countries), Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Andhra he has to perform the Upanayana saṁskāra over again.[40] The Mit. adds a remark that this is so only if the man goes to these countries for some purpose other than pilgrimage. Gradually however as Āryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Āryan had to be given up. Medhātithi on Manu II. 22 explains that Āryāvarta is so called 'because Āryas again and again spring up there and because the Mlecchas even if they overrun it from time to time do not abide there for long' and then makes the following very sensible observation (on II. 23) 'if a kṣatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlecchas, establish the system of four varṇas (in the Mleccha country) and assign to Mlecchas a position similar to that of cāṇḍālas in Āryāvarta, even that (Mleccha) country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices, since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes impure through contact (of impure persons or things).'[41] As a result of the spread of Āryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Āryan tribes on the north-west, the countries on the rivers of the Punjab came to be looked upon in the whirligig of time as unworthy of the Āryas to live in. Karṇaparva 43. 5–8 abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and *dharmabāhya*.[42]

40. सिन्धुसौवीरसौराष्ट्रांस्तथा प्रत्यन्तवासिनः । अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गान्ध्रान् गत्वा संस्कारमर्हति ।. This is Devala v. 16 with slight variations in the 3rd *pāda*. It is ascribed to Baudhāyana in the Smṛticandrikā I. p. 9.

41. आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनरुद्भवन्त्याक्रम्याक्रम्यापि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छाः स्थातारो भवन्ति । मेधा० on मनु II. 22; यदि कश्चित्क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान्पराजयेत चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् , म्लेच्छांश्चार्यावर्त इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोपि स्याद्यज्ञियः, यतो भूमिर्न स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गाद्धि सा दुष्यति । मेधा. on मनु II. 23.

42. पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः । तान् धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन् बाह्लीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 43. 7 ; कर्ण० 44. 31–34 calls these countries Āraṭṭas and 'naṣṭadharma'. Vide पञ्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःसृत्य पर्वतात् । आरट्टा नाम बाह्लीका न तेष्वार्यो द्व्यहं वसेत् ॥ कारस्करान्माहिषकान् कालिङ्गान्केरलांस्तथा । कर्कोटकान्वीरकांश्च दुर्धर्मांश्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 44. 40 and 43.

Another word which is very often used, particularly in the Purāṇas, to denote the territory where the ancient Vedic religion prevails is Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa. It occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (2nd century B. C.) as Bharadhavasa.[43] The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa says that Bharatavarṣa has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himālaya on the north.[44] The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II. 3.1) says the same and Matsya (114·10) and Vāyu define Bharatavarṣa as stretching from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges.[45] Śabara (not later than 5th century A. D.) in his bhāṣya on Jaimini (X. 1·35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.[46] Paiṭhīnasi as quoted in the Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (p. 58) says that dharma is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.[47] According to Mārkaṇḍeya (53·41), Vāyu (vol. I chap. 33·52) and other Purāṇas Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, son of Ṛṣabha, descendant of Svāyambhuva Manu; while Vāyu (vol. II. chap. 37·130) appears to strike a different note by saying that Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says that after thousands of births a person secures life as a human being in Bharatavarṣa and this land is called *Karmabhūmi* (the land of religious actions) for those who want to secure heaven and final liberation.[48] The Vāyupurāṇa says almost the same and adds that in no land other than Bharatavarṣa is *karma* prescribed for mortals. It is somewhat amusing to find that

43. Vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 79.

44. दक्षिणापरतो ह्यस्य पूर्वेण च महोदधिः । हिमवानुत्तरेणास्य कार्मुकस्य यथा गुणः ॥ तदेतद्भारतं वर्षं । *मार्कण्डेय 57.59.*

45. उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । *वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संततिः ॥* विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 1; वायु vol. I, 45. 75-76 उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवद्दक्षिणं च यत् । वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा । ; मत्स्य 114. 10 आयतस्तु कुमारीतो गङ्गायाः प्रवहावधिः (प्रभवावधिः?); compare with the last वायुपुराण vol. 1, 45. 81 'आयतो ह्या कुमारिक्यादागङ्गाप्रभवाच्च वै ।'.

46. 'प्रसिद्धश्च स्थाल्यां चरुशब्द आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1. 35 and 'ओदने हि चरुशब्दः प्रसिद्ध आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1.42.

47. पैठीनसिः । आ हिमवत आ च कुमार्याः सिन्धुर्वैतरणी नदी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तत्र धर्मश्चतुष्पादो भवतीति । परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 58.

48. कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम् । विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 2; vide Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa vol. II. pp. 105-106; ततः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यश्चान्तश्च गम्यते । न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां भूमौ कर्म विधीयते ॥ वायु 45. 77; विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 5.

many of the countries of India that in modern times pride themselves on being most orthodox are declared by the Āditya-purāṇa (as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā) to be countries unfit for habitation and to be such that a stay in them except for pilgrimage entailed loss of caste and prāyaścittas.[49] The Ādipurāṇa (Ādityapurāṇa?) as quoted in the Paribhāṣāprakāśa (p. 59) says 'no one, whether a dvija or not, born in Āryāvarta should cross the three rivers, Sindhu, Karmadā (i. e. Karmanāśā) or Karatoyā except on a pilgrimage' and that if he does so, he should perform the penance of cāndrāyaṇa.

All smṛti writers and commentators generally restrict themselves to the duties of varṇas and āśramas as practised in Āryāvarta or Bharatavarṣa, though in very rare cases (as in Yāj. II. 192) they provide for the observance of the usages of even heretics.

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49. काञ्चीकाश्यपसौराष्ट्रदेवराष्ट्रान्ध्रमत्स्यजाः । कावेरी कोङ्कणा हूणास्ते देशा निन्दिता भृशम् ॥ पञ्चनद्यो...वसेत् ॥ (same verse as in n. 42)...सौराष्ट्रसिन्धुसौवीरमावन्त्यं दक्षिणापथम् । गत्वैतान् कामतो देशान् कलिङ्गांश्च पतेद्द्विजः ॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 9 quoting आदित्यपुराण; आदिपुराणे–आर्यावर्तसमुत्पन्नो द्विजो वा यदि वाऽद्विजः । कर्मदां सिन्धुपारं च करतोयां न लङ्घयेत् । आर्यावर्तमतिक्रम्य विना तीर्थक्रियां द्विजः । आज्ञां चैव तथा पित्रोरैन्दवेन विशुध्यति ॥ परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 59.

CHAPTER II

VARṆA

The number of works dealing with the origin and characteristics of the caste system in India is legion. Most of them, however, concern themselves with the detailed description of the bewildering variety of castes and subdivisions of castes in modern times and their present religious and social customs and usages. The origin of caste has given rise to great speculation and several schools of thought have arisen. Generally individual authors lay undue emphasis on one element or attach far too much importance to one point in tracing the origin of the caste system and its ramifications, such as race (Risley), tribe (Ibbetson), occupation (Nesfield). The study of the origin and development of caste in India is one of deep and absorbing interest to all students of sociology. A complete and critical examination of the several theories of caste advanced by distinguished authors and a detailed description of the hundreds of castes and subcastes now found in India is far beyond the scope of the present work. For those who want to make a thorough study of the most important works on caste a modest list is given in the footnote below.[50]

50. J. N. Bhattacharya's 'Hindu castes and sects' (1896); E. A. H. Blunt's 'Caste system of Northern India' (1931); W. Crooke's 'Tribes and castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh' 4 Vol. (1896); N. K. Dutt's 'Origin and growth of caste in India' (1931) and 'Aryanization of India' (1925); R. E. Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' 3 Vol. (1920); R. Fick's 'Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time,' translation by Dr. S. K. Maitra 1920 (deals only with the Buddhist Jātaka materials); Dr. Ghurye's 'Caste and race in India' (1932); Ibbetson's 'Punjab castes' (1881, reprint in 1916); S. V. Ketkar's 'History of caste in India' 2 Vol. (1909 and 1911); Kitt's 'Compendium of castes found in India' (1885); Nesfield's 'A brief review of the caste system of the North-west Provinces and Oudh' (1885); O'Malley's 'Indian caste customs' (1932) and 'India's social heritage' (1934); Hayavadan Rao's 'Indian Caste system' (1934); Risley's 'Tribes and castes of Bengal' 1891 (mostly anthropometric data) and 'People of India' 2nd ed. 1915; R. V. Russell's 'Tribes and castes of Central

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The caste system has been highly eulogised and also most severely condemned by Western writers. Sidney Low in his 'Vision of India' (pp. 262–263, 2nd ed. of 1907) speaks of the beneficent aspect of the caste system in the following eloquent passage 'There is no doubt that it is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced up for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of Nature. It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him at the outset a member of a corporate body, it protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations; it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organization is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society. There are no work-houses in India and none are as yet needed.' Abbe Dubois, who wrote about 130 years ago after being in close touch with Hindus of all castes for 15 years as a missionary, remarks (in his work on the character, manners and customs of the people of India, translated into English and published in London in 1817) 'I consider the institution of castes among the Hindu nations as the happiest effort of their legislation; and I am well convinced that, if the people of India never sunk into a state of barbarism, and if, when almost all Europe was plunged in that dreary gulf, India kept up her head, preserved and extended the sciences, the arts and civilization, it is wholly to the distinction of castes that she is indebted for that high celebrity' (p. 14) and he devotes several pages to the justification of this remark. Maine in his 'Ancient

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Provinces' 4 volumes (1916); Emile Senart's 'Les caste dans l'Inde' (1896) translated by Sir E. Ross (1936); M. A. Sherring's 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' 3 volumes (1872–1881); G. Slater's 'Dravidian element in Hindu culture' (1914); Steele's 'Law and customs of Hindu castes' (1868); Thurston and Rangachari's 'Caste and Tribes of South India' 7 volumes (1909); John Wilson's 'Indian castes' 2 vol. (1877); 'Mysore Tribes and castes' by S. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, vol. I–IV with several hundred illustrations. Besides these there are numerous papers published in Journals such as Weber's in 'Indische Studien' vol. X pp. 1-160 (very exhaustive as to Vedic material); Dr. Ghurye's on 'Ethnic theory of caste' in 'Man in India' vol. IV (1924) pp. 209–271.

Law' (new edition of 1930 p. 17) characterises it as 'the most disastrous and blighting of all human institutions.' Sherring in 'Hindu tribes and castes' vol. III p. 293 says 'it is the most baneful, hard-hearted and cruel social system that could possibly be invented for damning the human race'. On the other hand Meredith Townsend in 'Europe and Asia' (edition of 1901 p. 72) wrote 'I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism which through ages protected Hindu Society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life—it is an automatic poor law to begin with and the strongest form known of Trades Union'. There are others,[51] though their number is small, that believe

51. E. g. Sherring in his 'Hindu Tribes and castes' vol. III p. 274 says 'It has been said with some truth that caste promotes cleanliness and order and is in a certain sense a bond of union among all classes of the Hindu community. Yet surely these ends might have been attained in a simpler manner and by a less antagonistic process. *The invention of a project* so wonderfully elaborate and intricate—a project of bringing into absolute subjection two hundred millions of the human species by robbing them of their independence,...... the invention of a project like this, so prodigious and far-reaching was not needed to accomplish such useful and beneficent ends. That another and very different object was in view from the very first is abundantly manifest. This object was neither more nor less than to exalt the Brahman, to feed his pride and to minister to his self-will.' Equally sweeping condemnation can be and has been indulged in as regards feudalism and modern capitalism. Fick (p. 331) entirely scouts the idea that the theory of castes was invented by the priests. There are several fallacies lurking in the above quoted passage of Sherring. In the first place, there is nothing to show that the caste system was invented by any body of persons who could impose their will on a continent. The system simply grew up in the lapse of ages. The population of Hindus when Sherring wrote may have been near two hundred millions, but it could not have been more than a small fraction of that colossal number during the thousands of years that the system has flourished. Besides writers like Sherring pass over the great achievements of Indians under the caste system in Literature, religion and philosophy, in handicrafts and in the fine arts and unduly exaggerate the defects of the system that have become glaring only in the machine-made civilization of the 19th and 20th centuries. These critics ignore the great adaptability of the system, whereby it preserved Indian society from social anarchy during ages of foreign invasions and internecine wars. While severely condemning the brāhmaṇas the critics altogether forget that the vast and varied Sanskrit Literature owes its production and preservation mostly to the sacrifice of the brāhmaṇas for ages. Under the caste

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that the caste system was an invention, an artificial product, due to the machinations of crafty brāhmaṇas. Every great institution has its extremes of good or evil. This work will endeavour to steer clear of downright and hypercritical condemnation of the caste system due to relying on modern standpoints and conditions of society and unthinking adulation thereof. It will try to present and balance facts and though it cannot help passing judgments it will leave the reader free to judge for himself as far as possible. In the present work the discussion will be mostly confined to the evidence of Sanskrit literary monuments, ancient and medieval. An attempt will be made to trace the origin of caste from Vedic times, to exhibit theories of the Dharmasūtrakāras, other smṛtikāras and commentators on the subject and to describe the peculiar ceremonies, privileges, duties and responsibilities of Hindu castes as gathered from these works in Sanskrit. To discuss the feasibility or desirability of totally destroying the caste system or the ways and means of attaining that end is deemed to be outside the legitimate limits of this volume. It may, however, be expressly stated as the author's opinion, in order to avoid misunderstandings or fruitless speculations about his personal views, that he does not think that the caste system was an artificial product due to the intrigues, greed and cunning of brāhmaṇas, nor does he hold that it is feasible to destroy the whole edifice of the caste system in the near future. In the cities we may find some people taking their food together but the real India is in the villages, where in spite of the loud denunciations of reformers for a hundred years, the restrictions on taking food and intercaste marriages are almost as rigid as they once were. Our efforts must be directed to wide and rapid spread of literacy among the village people, the diffusion of the idea of one people and one nationality and gradual fusion of small subcastes into larger similar units. We in India have no doubt reached a critical stage in our history when old ideals, institutions and

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system, no man was allowed to be useless to the commonwealth and his conduct was a question of honour with his group. When all work was turned out with the hands, the caste system tended to preserve and augment the skill of artisans. Moreover what social organization is to be substituted and how is not made clear by these critics. Most of these critics have the western social system based on wealth and the industrial revolution in view; but that system also is as evil as or perhaps worse than the modern caste system.

habits are being shattered by the impact of new ideas and by the onrush of world forces. We have to decide whether we shall make or be able to make a clean sweep of all old ideals and institutions as so much debris and rubbish or whether while keeping the old ideals and some of the old institutions as foundations we shall build up a new social order and create and foster new habits of thought and action. It is beyond the scope of the present work to write more on this point.

A sort of caste system based on birth and occupation did prevail in many countries in ancient times as in Persia, Rome and Japan. But in all these countries it hardly ever made any near approach in rigour and complexity to the caste system that we have in India and instead of ramifying into divisions and subdivisions, it dwindled and disappeared in the course of time. No unanimity seems possible as to the several causes and circumstances which led in India alone to the evolution of the stupendous structure of caste. Not only is it impossible to hold that the origin of the modern complexity of the caste system is to be traced back to one single cause, but it is difficult to accept that even all the origins that have been postulated by the several authors can adequately and satisfactorily explain the modern caste system.

In most of the works on the castes in India a few features are pointed out as the characteristics of the caste system and as common to all castes and sub-castes. They are: (1) heredity i. e. in theory a man is assigned to a particular caste by birth in that caste; (2) endogamy and exogamy i. e. restriction as to marrying in the same caste and not marrying certain relatives or other persons, though of the same caste; (3) restrictions as to food (i. e. what food and water may be taken or not taken and from whom); (4) occupation (i. e. members of most castes follow certain occupations and no others); (5) gradation of castes, some being at the top in the social scale and others being deemed to be so low that they are untouchable. Some authors[52] like Senart add another characteristic, viz. the caste council with its chief having in meeting assembled among other matters the power to regulate the conduct of its members, to impose the penalties of fine or excommunication for lapses. It may be said at once that this last is a feature

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52. Vide Senart's 'caste in India' tr. by Ross pp. 66–73 (1930). Fick pp. 36–37 holds that there were no caste councils and no caste chiefs

that is not found among most of the brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya castes even in modern times and is not dealt with by dharmaśāstra works. Endogamy is now the most prominent characteristic of caste and so is the theory that it is by birth. The other three are more or less fluctuating from province to province and age to age. In this work the first five characteristics of the caste system set out above will be subjected to a close critical examination on the basis of the Vedic and dharmaśāstra material. We must also remember that the attributes of caste have not been the same throughout the ages. There is great difference between the popular conceptions of modern caste and the conceptions about it embodied in the ancient and medieval dharmaśāstra works. In the twentieth century caste in India is a matter of marriage and to a much lesser extent of food and drink. As to avocations any one can at present follow any profession without fear of loss of caste excepting a few believed to be very impure and very degrading ones (like those of sweepers, butchers, tanners &c.). It is also not possible even now for any one to be generally accepted as a priest, unless he is or claims to be a brāhmaṇa. The old barriers that separated one caste or subcaste from another have been greatly shaken by the influx of modern ideas and the exigencies of the times and one may hope that in a few decades more caste will remain as a purely social institution regulating marriages and to a lesser extent commensality (and not a religious one). Western scholars, in spite of their most commendable patience and industry, often present, through ignorance or lack of first-hand knowledge, the number of castes as larger than what it actually is. For example, Sherring (vol. II. Introduction pp. XXII–XLVI) gives an alphabetical list of brahmanical tribes and remarks (XLVII) 'Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree that they are socially separated from one another as far as it is possible for them to be–as much as brāhmaṇas are from the lowest outcastes–neither eating nor drinking together nor intermarrying'. The list he gives is most misleading. To take only a few examples, he enumerates Athavle, Achwal, Abhyankara, Apte, Agashe, Bhanu, Bivalkar, Badye, Bhide, Bhagvat, Bhuskute, Bhat, Bodas as separate tribes; but it is well-known to people in Western India that these are the surnames (not subcastes) of the Koṅkaṇastha or Citpāvana brāhmaṇas, who not only interdine, but also inter-marry among themselves,

provided there is no bar on the ground of sameness of *gotra* and *pravara.*

The word *varṇa* means 'colour' or 'light' in most passages of the Ṛgveda (e. g. I. 73.7, II. 3.5, IX. 97.15, IX. 104.4, IX. 105.4, X. 124.7). But in some verses of the Ṛgveda[53] the word *varṇa* is associated with groups of people having a skin of a dark or fair colour. For example, we read in Ṛg. II. 12.4 '(Indra) who placed low the *dāsa* colour in a cave (or darkness)'; in Ṛg. I. 179.6 'the fierce sage (Agastya) cherished both varṇas'; in Ṛg. IX. 71.2 'like one (a fighter) who strikes the people he (Soma) who is powerful goes giving out frequent roars; he exposes the Asura colour'; in Ṛg. I. 130.8 'Indra helped in battles the Ārya sacrificer...... Indra punished for the sake of Manu (the dāsas) who do not observe the ordinances and subdued (or killed) the dark skin'; 'Indra having killed the dasyus protected the ārya varṇa' (Ṛg. III. 34.9); 'You (Indra) subdued for Ṛjiśvan, the son of Vidathin, Pipru and powerful Mṛgaya; you mowed down fifty thousand dark (men), you shattered cities as old age does shatter good looks' Ṛg. IV. 16.13; 'Somas, which strike away the dark skin' Ṛg. IX. 41.1. In Ṛg. I. 158.5 a certain dāsa is called Traitana which name has a Persian ring about it; In Ṛg. I. 104.2 varṇa seems to be placed in opposition to dāsa. These passages make it clear that the Āryas and dāsas were two opposing camps and both were designated 'varṇas' on account of the colour of their skins. The Tai. Br. I. 2. 6 (with reference to the Mahāvrata in which there was a mock fight between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra) says 'that the brāhmaṇa is the divine varṇa, and śūdra is the *asurya varṇa*'.[54] If we can interpret the Ṛgveda verse by the help of the Tai. Br. then in Ṛg. IX. 71.2, the words 'asuryaṁ varṇam' mean 'śūdra tribe.'. There is no doubt that the word *asura* when applied to gods like Varuṇa has another meaning also in the Ṛg. In numerous places in the Ṛgveda the antagonism

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53. यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहा कः । ऋ. II. 12.4; उभौ वर्णावृषिरुग्रः पुपोष । ऋ. I.179.6. Here Sāyaṇa interprets 'varṇau' as 'kāma' and 'tapas,' but this is far-fetched and it appears better to take the passage as meaning that Agastya supported both Āryas and dāsas. The words cannot reasonably be taken to refer to Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya since there was no difference of colour between the two and since varṇas have been four and not two

54. ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्रश्च चर्मकर्ते व्यायच्छेते । दैव्यो वै वर्णो ब्राह्मणः असुर्यः शूद्रः । तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 6.

between the *āryas* and *dāsas* or *dasyus* is emphasized and prayers are offered to Indra and other gods for having subdued or for subduing the dāsa in favour of the Ārya. Ṛg. I. 51.8; I. 103.3; I. 117.21; II. 11.2, 4, 18, 19 ; III. 29.9 ; V. 70.3 ; VII. 5.6; IX. 88.4 ; VI. 18.3 ; VI. 25.2. In Ṛg. I. 51.8 Indra is requested to mark who are āryas and who are dasyus. This does not mean that there was difference between the two in bodily appearance only; on the contrary the antithesis between the ārya who is referred to as 'barhiṣmat' and the dasyu who is styled 'avrata' clearly shows that the emphasis was rather on the difference of their cults. That *dasyu* and *dāsa* are identical in meaning follows from the same epithets being applied to both and from the fact that dasyu and dāsa occur in the same verses as applying to the same enemy.[55] In Ṛg. X. 22.8 dasyu and dāsa are used in the same verse as applicable to the same enemy. In Ṛg. X. 99.6 and 8 Indra is represented as killing both dāsa and dasyu respectively. The dasyus are described as '*avrata*' (not obeying the ordinances of the gods) in Ṛg. I. 51.8, I. 175.3, VI. 14.3, 'akratu' (who perform no sacrifice) in VII. 6.3,[56] 'mṛdhravācaḥ' (whose speech is indistinct or soft) in VII. 6.3 and V. 29.10, 'anāsaḥ' (snub-nosed or dumb) in Ṛg. V. 29.10. It appears that dāsa and dasyu are synonyms and were sometimes styled asuras. For example, Śambara is called dasyu and dāsa in Ṛgveda VI. 31.4 and dāsa in Ṛg. VI. 26.5 and is also associated with asuras like Pipru in VI. 18.8 ; Pipru is spoken of as a dāsa in Ṛg. VIII. 32.2 and as an asura in X. 138.3. Varcin is styled dāsa in Ṛg. IV. 30.15 and VI. 47.21 and asura in VII. 99.5. In Tai. S.[57] (IV. 3.11.3) also it seems that they are held to be identical. The enmity between dāsa and ārya is breathed in such verses as the following: Ṛg. II. 11.4 'vanquish the tribe of dāsas by the sun (i. e. by the help of a brilliant weapon); Ṛg. I. 174·7 'You made the earth a pillow for the dāsa (i. e. you laid him low on the ground); Ṛg. III. 12·6 'Oh! Indra and Agni, by one effort together you shook ninety

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55. अकर्मा दस्युरभि नो अमन्तुरन्यव्रतो अमानुषः । त्वं तस्यामित्रहन् वधर्दासस्य दम्भय ॥ ऋ. X. 22.8.

56. न्यक्रतून् ग्रथिनो मृध्रवाचः पणीँरश्रद्धाँ अवृधाँ अयज्ञान्। प्रप्र तान्दस्यूँरग्निर्विवाय पूर्वश्चकारापराँ अयज्यून् ॥ ऋ. VII. 6.3. This verse applies seven epithets to dasyus. They are called paṇis (greedy traders), अश्रद्ध (without faith). In Nirukta VI. 31 Yāska paraphrases मृध्रवाचः as मृदुवाचः. In Ṛg. V. 34. 6–7 the dāsa is styled paṇi.

57. तेन दस्यून् व्यसहन्त देवा हन्तासुराणामभवच्छचीभिः । तै. सं. IV. 3.11.3.

cities that had dāsas as overlords'. It is not possible to say that dāsas or dasyus were some Aryan tribes that had fallen from the worship or culture of the Aryan singers of Vedic hymns. In many places the sage refers to the conquest for him by Indra and other gods of dāsas as well as Aryan foes. For example, 'Protectors of the good! you (two) killed Aryan foes and dāsa foes' Ṛg. VI. 60·6; 'Oh Indra and Varuṇa! you killed dāsa foes and also Ārya foes and helped Sudās with your protection' Ṛg. VII. 83.1. Vide also Ṛg. VI. 22·10, X. 69·6, X. 83·1, X. 102·3. This shows that though the āryans had become divided and fought among themselves, they kept āryas and dāsas quite distinct. The foregoing shows that in the times of the Ṛgveda there were two antagonistic camps, of the āryas and dāsas or dasyus, they differred in the colour of their skins and also in worship, speech and bodily appearance. Therefore, in the earliest period we find the word varṇa associated only with dāsa and with ārya. Though the words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya occur frequently in the Ṛgveda, the word varṇa is not used in connection with them. Even in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda X. 90) where the words brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and śūdra occur the word varṇa is not used. Hence, one may reasonably say that the only water-tight groups that are positively or expressly vouchsafed by the Ṛgveda are ārya and dāsa or dasyu. It is often argued that as the word brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature, in the Ṛgveda also it must be presumed to have the same meaning. But this begs the whole question. No one denies that brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature. But whether it has the same sense in the Ṛgveda must be determined on the materials furnished by the Ṛgveda itself. Some rely on the word 'brahmaputra' in Ṛg. II. 43. 2 as showing that a brāhmaṇa became so only by birth in the Ṛgveda. But the verse begins by saying that 'you sing a Sāma like the Udgātṛ priest' and so 'brahmaputra' must mean a ṛtvij whose duty it was to recite *śastras* (the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin as Sāyaṇa explains). It is generally conceded that the Puruṣasūkta is a much later hymn than most of the hymns of the Ṛgveda. In the whole of the Ṛgveda the words vaiśya and śūdra do not occur except in the Puruṣasūkta, though both of them occur in the Atharvaveda (V. 17·9 for vaiśya and IV. 20. 4 and 8 for śūdra and ārya) and very frequently in the Tai. S. Besides we cannot forget that the final redaction of the Ṛgveda must be held to have been separated from the composition of the individual hymns by several hundred years (if not more) and that even if it be conceded

that at the time when the Puruṣasūkta was composed, the four varṇas had been constituted and had become castes, yet the same cannot be affirmed for the time of the original composition of the other hymns. The word brāhmaṇa occurs several times in the Ṛgveda:[58] 'Oh brāhmaṇas, Oh pitṛs fond of soma! May the sinless Dyāvāpṛthivī (Heaven and Earth) tend to our welfare'; 'Like brāhmaṇas in the Atirātra where soma is to be drunk, utterring (words) round a lake full of water you have, Oh frogs, gathered together on that day of the year on which the rains begin' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 7);[59] 'The brāhmaṇas, who drink soma, reciting prayers of the yearly sacrifice, have sent forth their speech' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 8). In this verse brāhmaṇas are expressly said to be getting 'brahma' ready. 'May Agni who devours everything make that (dead body) free from disease and (may) soma also (do the same) who entered into the brāhmaṇas' (Ṛg. X. 16. 6). 'When the brāhmaṇas worship together as friends in hymns (lit. speed of the mind) that are fabricated from their hearts' (Ṛg. X. 71. 8). In Ṛg. VI. 75. 10 brāhmaṇas are invoked for welfare along with pitṛs. This shows that the brāhmaṇas were highly venerated. The other verses establish that they were the reciters of hymns (brahma) and drank soma. In Ṛg. VIII. 35. 16-18 we read 'You (Aśvins) urge on (or inspire) brahma, you urge on our thoughts (or actions), you kill the evil spirits and subdue diseases; (17) you urge kṣatra (valour) and also men, you kill evil spirits (same as 16); (18) you urge on the cows and also the Viś (the rest is same as 16).' Here it seems that the groups of people (viz. those who think and make songs, those who show valour and lead men, and those common people who tend cattle) are clearly meant. These verses may be conceded as pointing to the existence of three groups (brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and viśaḥ) but there is nothing in them to show that these three had crystallised into somewhat like the castes of later times. In Ṛg. VII. 33. 11 Vasiṣṭha is addressed as brahman, but that does not mean that he was a brāhmaṇa (by birth), as he is said to have been born of Urvaśī from Mitra and Varuṇa. Similarly, in

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58. ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः शिवे नो द्यावापृथिवी अनेहसा। ऋ. VI. 75.10.

59. ब्राह्मणासो अतिरात्रे न सोमे सरो न पूर्णमभितो वदन्तः। संवत्सरस्य तदहः परि ष्ठ यन्मण्डूकाः प्रावृषीणं बभूव॥ ऋ. 7. 103. 7; ब्राह्मणासः सोमिनो वाचमक्रत ब्रह्म कृण्वन्तः परिवत्सरीणम्। ऋ. 7. 103. 8; अग्निष्टद्विश्वादगदं कृणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणाँ आविवेश। ऋ. 10. 16. 6; हृदा तष्टेषु मनसो जवेषु यद्ब्राह्मणाः संयजन्ते सखायः। ऋ. X. 71. 8; चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः॥ ऋ. I. 164. 45.

Ṛg. IX. 96. 6 (Brahmā devānām) the word brahmā [60] does not certainly mean 'brāhmaṇa by birth', nor does 'viprāṇām' mean 'brāhmaṇas by birth'. In that verse one who is super-eminent among a group is specified, just as the buffalo among animals, the hawk among carnivorous birds &c. In Ṛg. VIII. 33. 19 'look down and not up; bring your feet close together; may thy kaśaplakas (legs ?) be not seen, for though a brahmā, thou wert born a woman,' it is impossible to hold that the last words mean 'thou wert a brāhmaṇa woman'. If it is only intended to refer to the fact that she is a brāhmaṇa woman, there is no reason why the Perfect tense (babhūvitha) is used and not the present. Here 'brahmā' most probably means 'a priest of that name', as that is the meaning in Ṛg. II. I. 2 (brahmā cāsi gṛhapatiś–ca no dame). The word 'brahmajāyā' in Ṛg. X. 109. 2, 3, 6 and 7 does not mean the wife of a brāhmaṇa by birth but rather 'wife of Bṛhaspati'. The whole hymn is obscure and more or less enigmatic or allegorical. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa [61] 35. 2–4 it is said that soma is the food of brāhmaṇas and that a kṣatriya was to press the tendrils of the Nyagrodha tree and the fruits of Udumbara, Aśvattha and Plakṣa and drink the juice so pressed instead of soma. It appears, therefore, that the brāhmaṇas were a distinct group even in the earliest period of the Ṛgveda. Whether they were hereditary is certainly not clear; nor is there anything to show that there were restrictions as regards partaking of food from persons other than brāhmaṇas or as to marriage. That brāhmaṇas in the Ṛgveda were a class by themselves may be conceded, but whether they had become a caste by birth is a matter of opinion dependent on the connotation given to the word caste. Dr. Ghurye ('Caste and race in India' p. 42) thinks, probably following the Vedic Index (vol. I on Kṣatriya), that the reference in Ṛg. X. 71. 9 to a false claim for being regarded as a brāhmaṇa points to the conclusion that brāhmaṇas had become a caste. The verse literally translated means 'these (persons) who do not move below nor beyond, who are neither brāhmaṇas, nor engaged in pressing soma — they

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60. ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामृषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् । श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् । ऋ. IX. 96.6; अधः पश्यस्व मोपरि संतरां पादकौ हर । मा ते कशप्लकौ दृशन् स्त्री हि ब्रह्मा बभूविथ ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33. 19.

61. व्यृद्धमेवास्यापि क्षत्रं सोमपीथेन । ...स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्षः । अथास्यैष स्वो भक्षो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधांश्च फलानि चौदुम्बराणि चाश्वत्थानि प्लाक्षाण्यभिषुणुयात् तानि भक्षयेत्सोऽस्य स्वो भक्षः । ऐ. ब्रा. 35. 2-4 ; vide पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र III. 5. 22, III. 5. 47-51, III. 6. 36 and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon for this subject.

being ignorant and having resorted to speech in sinful (or coarse) language take to ploughshares and engage in (agricultural) operations'. It is difficult to see how there is here any false claim to be regarded as a brāhmaṇa. This verse means apparently that those who are not composers of prayers or drinkers of soma (because they are ignorant) are men of low speech and have to turn to agriculture. Even in the days of the dharma-sūtras restrictions as to food and marriage for brāhmaṇas were not at all as rigid as they became in medieval and modern times ; but even when these restrictions were not rigid it was clearly laid down that a brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone. The word 'brahma' generally means in the Ṛgveda 'prayer' or 'hymn'. Vide [62] Ṛg IV. 6.11, VI. 52.2, X. 105.8, X. 141.5 ('Oh Agni, make our prayer and sacrifice prosper by your flames'). Ṛg. III. 53.12 is 'this brahma (prayer or spiritual power) of Viśvāmitra protects the Bhārata people'. In the Atharvaveda II. 15.4 (as brahma and kṣatra entertain no fear, nor are they harmed) brahma seems to mean 'the class of brāhmaṇas'. The transition of meaning from 'brahma' (prayer) to 'brahma' meaning the class of those who composed or recited prayers is natural and easy. In the Ṛgveda I. 157.2 both brahma and kṣatra occur[63] in the same verse where they probably mean 'prayer' and 'valour' respectively. In the Atharvaveda III. 19.1 both words occur and probably mean the same thing as in Ṛg. I. 157.2. In some Vedic works *brahma* and *kṣatra* stand collectively for brāhmaṇas[64] and kṣatriyas (e. g. Tai. Br. II. 7.18, Bṛ. Up. I. 4.11, Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 2. 24). The word kṣatriya is very frequently applied as an epithet to several gods; e. g. Ṛg. VII. 64. 2 and VIII. 25. 8 (in both to Mitra and Varuṇa), Ṛg. VIII. 67. 1 (to Ādityas), Ṛg. X. 66.8 (to gods in general). In some verses kṣatriya means 'a king or a nobleman'; e. g. Ṛg. IV. 42.1 'the kingdom on both sides (heaven and earth) belongs to me, who am a kṣatriya and who holds sway over all living persons, so that all the immortals (gods) are ours (on my side)'; [65] Ṛg. X. 109.3

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62. त्वं नो अग्ने अग्निभिर्ब्रह्म यज्ञं च वर्धय । ऋ. X. 141.5; विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम् । ऋ. III. 53. 12.

63. यद्युञ्जाथे वृषणमश्विना रथं घृतेन नो मधुना क्षत्रमुक्षतम् । अस्माकं ब्रह्म पृतनासु जिन्वतं वयं धना शूरसाता भजेमहि ॥ ऋ. I. 157.2.

64. ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं राजन्यः । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

65. मम द्विता राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोर्विश्वे अमृता यथा नः । ऋ. IV. 42.1. Acc. to the Anukramaṇī this is a hymn of king Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa.

(= Atharva V. 17.3) 'the domain of the kṣatriya has been protected (from the sight of enemies)'. The word '**rājanya** occurs in the Ṛgveda only in the Puruṣasūkta. It occurs in the sense of kṣatriya in the Atharvaveda V. 17.9. The same remark applies to the word kṣatriya as to brāhmaṇa. It is difficult to say whether kṣatriyas were so by birth in the times of the hymns of the Ṛg. or were only a class more or less fluid. We find that the Ṛg. speaks of Devāpi as the *purohita* of Śantanu who became a king. The story[66] is that both were sons of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa and that Śantanu, though a younger brother, became king as Devāpi was not willing to be a king. The result was a famine due to Śantanu's transgression and so Devāpi performed a sacrifice to induce rainfall. This shows that out of two brothers one became a king and the other a purohita. So kings and purohitas did not depend on birth. In Ṛg. IX. 112. 3 a poet exclaims ' I am a reciter of hymns my father is a physician and my mother grinds (corn) with stones. We desire to obtain wealth in various actions. '[67] In Ṛg. III. 44.5 the poet wistfully asks Indra ' O, Indra, fond of soma, would you make me the protector of people, or would you make me a king, would you make me a sage, that has drunk of soma, would you impart to me endless wealth ? ' This shows that the same man could be a ṛṣi or a noble or a king. Dr. Ghurye (in ' Caste and race in India ' p. 44) thinks that the kṣatriyas had become a compact body and he particularly relies on Ṛg. VII. 104. 13 (= Atharvaveda VIII. 4. 13) which is cited in the Vedic Index (vol. 1, p. 207) for the same purpose. That verse literally means ' Soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the kṣatriya who bears false. He strikes the rakṣas, and strikes him who speaks falsely ; both lie in the bonds of Indra '. The words ' kṣatriyam mithuyā dhārayantam ' are explained by Sāyaṇa as ' Kṣatriya who bears false words '. The 2nd half is only an expansion of the first half and so ' vṛjina ' corresponds to ' rakṣas ' and ' asad vadantam ' is only a paraphrase of ' mithuyā dhārayantam '. They may mean this that one who is a kṣatriya, but has no strength as a kṣatriya should have, is at

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66. Vide Nirukta II. 10 for the story of Devāpi and Śantanu who were Kauravya brothers according to it.

67. कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना। नानाधियो वसूयवो अनु गा इव तस्थिम। ऋ. IX. 112.3. Kāru means here ' composer of hymns ' ; Viśvāmitra is addressed as kāru by the rivers in Ṛg. III. 33. 10 ' आ ते कारो शृणवामा वचांसि '. Vide निरुक्त VI. 6 for कारुरहं.

the mercy of Indra. Unless we project our notions of the later state of society and the caste system when considering this verse, it is hardly possible to hold that this verse indicates that it refers to persons making a false claim for entrance into a compact body of kṣatriyas by birth. Dr. Ghurye also says (p. 44) 'The 2nd order in society, the kṣatriya, is known in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda as rājanya.' I have not been able to find the word rājanya in the Ṛgveda any where except in the Puruṣa-sūkta. In the Aitareya brāhmaṇa (chap. 34. 2) the word 'rājanya' stands for a member of the 2nd class in society, while kṣatriya means a king of whom land (for sacrifice to gods) is asked for by brāhmaṇa, rājanya or vaiśya.

Though the word vaiśya occurs in the Ṛgveda only in the Puruṣasūkta, the word 'viś' is very frequently employed in it. It generally means 'people or group of people'. In a large number of cases we have the words *mānuṣīr-viśaḥ* or mānuṣīṣu *vikṣu* or mānuṣīṇām viśām, e. g. Ṛg. III.5.3, III.6.3, III.11.5 (invincible Agni goes in front of human groups), IV. 6. 7 and 8, IV. 9. 2, V. 1. 9, V. 8. 3, VI. 48. 8, VI. 47. 16 (viśo mānuṣyān), X. I. 4, X. 69. 9. In some places we have 'dāsīr viśaḥ' (the dāsa hordes) e. g. IV. 28·4, VI. 25·2. In[68] Ṛg. III. 34·2 we have 'Oh Indra, you are the leader of human hordes as well as of divine hordes' (where we have daivīnām viśām). Ṛg.[69] VIII. 63·7 (when loud invocations were sent towards Indra by the people consisting of five groups) shows that 'viś' means all the Aryan people. In Ṛg. V. 32. 11 Indra is styled 'pāñcajanya' (favourable to the five people) and in IX. 66. 20 Agni has the appellation 'pāñcajanyaḥ purohitaḥ' (the *purohita* of the five peoples). Sometimes *jana* and *viś* seem to be contradistinguished as in Ṛg. II. 26. 3 (sa ij-janena sa viśā sa janmanā sa putrair-vājam bharate dhanā nṛbhiḥ). But the very fact that *viś* is qualified also as pāñcajanya shows that

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68. इन्द्र क्षितीनामसि मानुषीणां विशां दैवीनामुत पूर्वयावा । ऋ. III. 34.2.

69. यत्पाञ्चजन्यया विशेन्द्रे घोषा असृक्षत । ऋ. VIII. 63.7. Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4. 12 says that the word pañcajana in Ṛg. VIII. 63 7 means 'prajā' (people) and also notes that according to some 'pañca janāḥ' are devas, pitṛs, asuras, gandharvas and rakṣases; while according to others they are the four varṇas and niṣādas as the fifth. The Ait. Br. (13. 7) gives an explanation of pañca janāḥ similar to the first 'पाञ्चजन्यं वा एतदुक्थं यद्वैश्वदेवं सर्वेषां वा एतत्पञ्चजनानामुक्थं देवमनुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्सरसां सर्पाणां च पितॄणां च'. The Nirukta (III. 8) in explaining Ṛg. X. 53. 4 remarks about pañca janāḥ. 'गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके । चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्यौपमन्यवः ।'

there was hardly any distinction between jana and viś. In the Ṛgveda frequent reference is made to five people (pañca janāḥ); vide Ṛg. III. 37. 9, III. 59. 7, VI. 11. 4, VIII. 32. 22, X. 65. 23, X. 45.6. In the same way the words kṛṣṭi (II. 2. 10, IV. 38. 10), kṣiti (V. 35. 2, VI. 48. 7, VII. 75. 4), carṣaṇi (V. 86. 2, VII. 15. 2) are employed along with *pañca*. We have also 'pāñcajanyāsu kṛṣṭiṣu' in Ṛg. III. 53·16. So it is clear that *viś* cannot in almost all hymns of the Ṛg. mean 'vaiśya' but means the 'people' or 'āryan people' when no epithet like 'dāsīḥ' or 'daivīḥ' is prefixed.[70] The Ait. Br. (I. 26) says that 'viśaḥ' means 'rāṣṭrāṇi' (countries) when explaining Ṛg. IV. 50·8 (tasmai viśaḥ svayam-evānamante).

The word 'dāsa' in later literature means 'a serf or a slave.' It follows that the dāsa tribes that we see opposed to the Āryas in the Ṛgveda were gradually vanquished and were then made to serve the Āryas. In the Manusmṛti (VIII. 413) the śūdra is said to have been created by God for service (*dāsya*) of the brāhmaṇa.[71] We find in the Tai. S., the Tai. Br. and other Brāhmaṇa works that the śūdra occupies the same position that he does in the smṛtis. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that the *dāsas* or *dasyus* conquered by the Āryas were gradually transformed into the śūdras. From being enemies they were brought into friendly relations and given a very subordinate position. Traces are visible even in the Ṛgveda that friendly relations had begun to be established between certain dāsas and the priests. For example in Ṛg. VIII. 46. 32 we read 'the singer took a hundred (cows or other gifts) from the dāsa Balbūtha and from Tarukṣa.' In the Puruṣasūkta (X. 90. 12) the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the supreme Puruṣa. In the very next verse the sun and the moon are said to have been born from the eye and mind of the Puruṣa. This shows that the composer of the hymn regarded the division of society into four classes to be very ancient and to be as natural and God-ordained as the sun and the moon.

We shall now see what position was assigned to the śūdra in the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. In the Ṛgveda the Ārya is contradistinguished from the men 'of dark skin.' In the dharmasūtras we find the śūdras spoken of as 'dark varṇa.'

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70. Vide Ṛg. I. 25.1, I. 114 3, VI. 15·1, X. 173·4 for 'viś' by itself.

71. शूद्रं तु कारयेद् दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमेव वा । दास्यायैव हि सृष्टोसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयंभुवा ॥ मनु VIII. 413

Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 59.[72] 'The śūdra among men and the horse among beasts. Therefore those two, the horse and the śūdra, are the conveyances of beings; therefore the śūdra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice' (Tai. S. VII. 1. 1. 6).[73] This shows that the śūdra could not perform the Vedic sacrifices and that he was employed for carrying persons in a palanquin or otherwise. In Tai. S. V. 7. 6. 3-4 we have 'put light (glory) in our brāhmaṇas, put it in our chiefs (or kings), (put) light in vaiśyas and śūdras, put light in me by your light.'[74] This is a sure indication that the śūdra who took the place of the dāsa is here placed on the same level with the other three classes in the matter of the receipt of light from God and that far from being looked upon as an enemy, he had come to be looked upon as a member of the society (though the lowest in the scale). 'The śūdra is a moving burial ground; therefore one should not study the Veda in the vicinity of a śūdra.'[75] 'He created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the rājanya with Triṣṭubh and the vaiśya with Jagatī; but he did not create the śūdra with any metre.[76] The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa says[77] 'Therefore a śūdra, though he may have many beasts, is not entitled to perform sacrifice, he is godless as no deity was created after him (as in the case of the other varṇas); therefore he does not go beyond washing the feet (of the three other varṇas), since he was created from the feet' (this last being an allusion to the Puruṣasūkta X. 90. 12 *padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata*). This shows that the śūdra, however rich in cattle he might be, had to perform the menial duty of washing the feet of *dvijas*. The

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72. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मणः सेवमानः । चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवायी त्रिभिर्वर्षैस्तदपहन्ति पापम् ॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 11=बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 59=शान्तिपर्व 165. 29.

73. शूद्रो मनुष्याणामश्वः पशूनां तस्मात्तौ भूतसंक्रामिणावश्वश्च शूद्रश्च तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवक्लृप्तः । तै. सं. VII. 1. 1.6.

74. रुचं नो धेहि ब्राह्मणेषु रुचं राजसु नस्कृधि । रुचं विश्येषु शूद्रेषु मयि धेहि रुचा रुचम् ॥ तै. सं. V. 7. 6. 3-4.

75. पद्यु वा एतच्छ्मशानं यच्छूद्रः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येयम् । This is quoted by Sabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 38 as a śruti. वसिष्ठ ध. सू. 18. 11-12 echoes these words 'एके वा एतच्छ्मशानं ये शूद्राः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम् ।.' पद्यु...च्छूद्रः is cited as Śatapatha Śruti by the Śūdrakamalākara (p. 3).

76. This is quoted by Vas. Dh. S. IV. 3. Vide Ait. Br. 5. 12 'गायत्रो वै ब्राह्मणः ...... त्रैष्टुभो वै राजन्यः ...... जागतो वै वैश्यः '.

77. तस्माच्छूद्र उत बहुपशुरयज्ञियो विदेवो नहि तं काञ्चन देवतान्वसृज्यत तस्मात्पादावनेज्यं नातिवर्धते पत्तो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्य VI. 1. 11.

Śatapatha Br. says that 'the śūdra is untruth' (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446), that 'the śūdra is toil' (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 410), and that a dīkṣita (one who was initiated for a Vedic sacrifice) was not to speak with a śūdra (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 4). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa remarks that 'the śūdra[78] is at the beck and call of others (the three varṇas), he can be made to rise at will, he can be beaten at will.' When the father of Śunaḥśepa[79] (who had sold Śunaḥśepa for 100 coins and had shown himself ready to kill him as a paśu for another hundred coins) urged his son to come back to him after the boy had been taken into favour by Varuṇa and Viśvāmitra, he contemptuously discards his father's proposal with the words 'one who commits an evil deed once may commit another sinful deed thereafter; you did not leave aside the śūdra's line of conduct; you did what leaves no door for reconciliation.' These passages show that the śūdra, though he had ceased to be an enemy of the ārya and had been allowed to be within the pale of society, was looked down upon, was assigned a very low position, had to perform work of toil as a menial and was not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. A clear line of demarcation was kept between the Ārya and the Śūdra in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works and even in the dharmasūtras. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa[80] speaks of a mock fight 'the śūdra and ārya fight on a hide, out of the two they so arrange that the ārya colour becomes the victor'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.3.40–41 says[81] that a brāhmacārin, if he cannot himself eat all the food he has brought by begging, may keep it near an ārya (for his use) or he may give it to a śūdra who is a dāsa (of his teacher)'. The same Dharmasūtra[82] (II. 2.3. 1 and 4) says 'Āryas who are pure (by bath) should prepare the food for Vaiśvadeva;......or śūdras supervised by āryas should prepare it'. Similarly Gautama X. 69 uses the word 'anārya for śūdra and Gautama 12.3 prescribes heavy punishment for a

78. (शूद्रः) अन्यस्य प्रेष्यः कामोत्थाप्यो यथाकामवध्यः। ऐ. ब्रा. 35.3

79 यः सकृत्पापकं कुर्यात्कुर्यादेनस्ततोऽपरम्। नापागाः शौद्रान्न्यायादसन्धेयं त्वया कृतम्॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 5. The legend of Śunaḥśepa is referred to even in Ṛg. I. 24.12–13 and V. 2.7 (where it is expressly said that Śunaḥśepa was released by Varuṇa from the sacrificial post to which he had been tied).

80. शूद्रार्यौ चर्मणि व्यायच्छेते तयोरार्यवर्णमुज्जापयन्ति। ताण्ड्य V. 5. 14.

81. आर्याय वा पर्यवदध्यात्। अन्तर्धिने वा शूद्राय। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 40-41

82. आर्याः प्रयता वैश्वदेवेऽन्नसंस्कर्तारः स्युः। आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 1 and 4.

śūdra having sexual intercourse with an ārya woman. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṁsā sūtra (VI. 1.25–38) establishes after elaborate discussion that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* for the performance of Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices. It is, however, somewhat gratifying to find that at least one ācārya, Bādari, espoused the cause of the śūdra and propounded the view that all (including śūdras) were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI. 1.27). In the Vedānta-sūtras also (I. 3.34–38) it is established that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* for brahmavidyā based on Veda study, though some śūdras like Vidura might have been endowed with the knowledge of *brahma* owing to saṁskāras of former births. In the smṛti literature, however, a few passages are found allowing marriages of āryas with śūdra women (which will be discussed later on). Similarly sexual relations (illicit) between a śūdra woman and a man of higher varṇa are alluded to even in the Saṁhitās e. g. Tai. S.[83] VII. 4.19.3 'when a śūdra woman has an *ārya* as her paramour she does not seek wealth for the prosperity (of her relations)'. In Ait. Br. (8. 1) there is the story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, who was driven out from the sacrifice on the Sarasvatī with the words 'Oh, son of a female slave, you are a rogue and not a brāhmaṇa; how did you take the dīkṣā (initiation) as one of us' and they carried him off to a sandy desert with the idea that he might die of thirst there. He when tormented by thirst 'saw' the hymn Ṛg. X. 30 and Sarasvatī came rushing to him.[84] Further discussion about the śūdra and his disabilities will follow in another section later.

The position of the three varṇas *inter se* (called collectively ārya) now requires consideration. It is clear that the Saṁhitās other than the Ṛgveda and Brāhmaṇa works show that the three classes of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas had become differentiated and their privileges, duties and liabilities had become more or less fixed in those times.

83. शूद्रा यदर्यजारा न पोषाय धनायति। तै. सं. VII. 4. 19.3 and Vājasaneya Saṁhitā 23. 30. 'Arya' may mean an Ārya, or simply 'master' or 'vaiśya' (as in later literature). The words न...यति may mean 'He (the father of the śūdra woman) does not desire wealth for his own prosperity' (as he is pained by the event).

84. A similar story is told in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XII. 3. The words 'dāsyāḥ putraḥ' may be only terms of abuse or they may mean that, though he posed to be a brāhmaṇa, he was the son of a brāhmaṇa from a dāsī.

In Ṛg. IV. 50.8 we read 'that king alone who places brahmā first (i. e. honours him) dwells happy in his house, for him the earth always remains prosperous and to him all the people (or kingdoms) bow down of their own accord'. 'Brāhmaṇas[85] are gods that are directly seen' (Tai. S. I. 7. 3. 1); 'there are two kinds of gods; for indeed the gods are gods and the brāhmaṇas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods' Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 309, vol. 26 p. 341). In the Atharvaveda V. 17. 19 there is an assertion of the pre-eminence of brāhmaṇas and the consequences of harming them or their cows. 'Therefore the brāhmaṇa is the foremost' (Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 5, V. 2. 7. 1). 'Therefore the brāhmaṇa shows his might by his mouth, since he was created from the mouth' (Tāṇḍya Br. XI. 1. 2).[86] In the Ait. Br. (33. 4) Varuṇa, when he was told that a brāhmaṇa boy would be offered in place of the son of the king Hariścandra, is made to say 'a brāhmaṇa is indeed preferable to a kṣatriya'. The mere fact of birth as brāhmaṇa's son is represented here as giving to the boy pre-eminence over a king's son. On the other hand the Śat. Br. says (V. 1. 1. 12) 'a brāhmaṇa[87] is not adequate to (competent to manage) a kingdom'. In the Tai. Br. it is said that playing on the vīṇā (in the Aśvamedha) is to be done by a brāhmaṇa and a rājanya (and not by two brāhmaṇas), since wealth does not find delight in the brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[88] (XI. 5. 7. 1) lays emphasis on the four peculiar attributes of brāhmaṇas viz. brāhmaṇya (purity of parentage as a brāhmaṇa), pratirūpacaryā (befitting deportment or conduct), yaśas (glory) and lokapakti (the teaching or perfecting of people). 'When the people are being perfected or taught by him, people endow him with four privileges viz. arcā (honour), dāna (gifts), ajyeyatā (freedom

85. एते वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद् ब्राह्मणाः । तै. सं. I. 7. 3. 1; यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्भ्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाश्लीलं कीर्तयेदेता एव देवताः प्रीणाति । तै. आ. II. 15 and 'ब्राह्मणो वा आर्षेयः सर्वा देवताः ।' शतपथ XII. 4. 4. 6; तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो मुखेन वीर्यं करोति मुखतो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. VI. 1. 6. The same idea is expressed in the उत्तररामचरित V. 'वाचि वीर्यं द्विजानाम्.'

86. ब्रह्म हि पूर्वं क्षत्रात् । ताण्ड्यमहा ब्रा. XI. 1. 2; भूयान्वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियादिति वरुण उवाच । ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 4.

87. 'न वै ब्राह्मणो राज्यायालम्' शतपथ V. 1. 1.12; S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 4. न वै ब्राह्मणे श्री रमते इति ब्राह्मणोऽन्यो गायेद्राजन्योऽन्यः । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

88. प्रज्ञा वर्धमाना चतुरो धर्मान् ब्राह्मणमभिनिष्पादयति ब्राह्मण्यं प्रतिरूपचर्यां यशो लोकपक्तिं लोकः पच्यमानश्चतुर्भिर्धर्मैः ब्राह्मणं भुनक्त्यर्चया च दानेन चाज्येयतया चावध्यतया च । शतपथ XI. 5. 7. 1.

from being harassed) and avadhyatā (freedom from being beaten). The Śatapatha (V. 4. 6. 9) expressly mentions that brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and śūdra are the four varṇas. Teaching had become so much associated with the brāhmaṇas that when the brāhmaṇa Gārgya approached king Ajātaśatru for the knowledge of *brahma*, the latter replied " this is contrary to the natural order that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya with the idea ' he (kṣatriya) will propound to me brahma '. " In a separate section below all the privileges enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas will be set out at one place.[89]

89. स होवाचाजातशत्रुः प्रतिलोमं चैतद्यद् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमुपेयाद् ब्रह्म मे वक्ष्यतीति । बृह. उ. II. 1.15; तं होवाचाजातशत्रुः प्रतिलोमरूपमेव स्याद्यत्क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत । कौषीतकिब्रा. उ. IV. 18. In the Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 9 we read यद् ब्राह्मणश्चाब्राह्मणश्च प्रश्नमेयातां ब्राह्मणायाधिब्रूयाद्यद् ब्राह्मणायाध्याहात्मनेऽध्याह यद् ब्राह्मणं पराहात्मानं पराह तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो न परोच्यः ।. This literally means 'if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come (to a man) asking him a question, then he should speak to the brāhmana first; that he speaks to the brāhmaṇa first is really tantamount to speaking first to one-self; when he speaks away from the brāhmaṇa (i. e. he speaks to the non-brāhmaṇa first and then to the brāhmaṇa) that is really speaking away to oneself ; therefore a brāhmaṇa should not be spoken away (i. e postponed to non-brāhmaṇas).' Manu VIII. 24 says that a king should take up the causes of litigants in the order of the varṇas (i. e. if there are two plaintiffs coming with complaints at the same time the brāhmaṇa's complaint should be first attended to). *Bṛhaspati* says the same thing. Therefore the Tai. S. should be interpreted in the same way. Another meaning is possible viz. if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come to a person and ask him who is superior, the person should declare that the brāhmaṇa is the superior of the two (on account of his birth as brāhmaṇa probably or of his being a learned man). This sense of 'adhi' as meaning 'superior' is found in Manu I. 99 'since brāhmaṇa when born becomes (or is born) superior (to all) on this wide earth.' Prof. Keith in his translation of Tai. S. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 18 p. 203) says in a footnote "it is not absolutely certain that *adhibrū* means ' decide in favour of ' rather than ' speak in favour of." Vide also Vedic Index (II. p. 83). Dr. Ghurye (in ' Caste and race in India ' p. 43) says ' in a legal dispute between a brāhmaṇa or non-brāhmaṇa an arbitrator or witness must speak in favour of the former.' It appears that Dr. Ghurye simply follows the rather guardedly expressed view of the famous Professor, but makes the sense more emphatic than Prof. Keith puts it and does not think for himself whether any other meaning is possible or more appropriate. Any stick is good for beating the brāhmaṇa with. The brāhmaṇas were never ashamed in the smṛti texts of declaring the privileges they

(*Continued on next page*)

The position of kṣatriyas and their relation to the brāhmaṇas falls to be considered now. First of all with reference to the king several important passages may be cited. In some cases 'rājan' means only 'a noble' or 'chief', as in Ṛg. X. 42. 10, X. 97. 6. In many passages 'rājan' means 'king'. The government often seems to have been tribal, such tribes as Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus (Ṛg. I. 108. 8) being frequently mentioned (vide Ṛg. VII. 18. 6 for Bhṛgus and Druhyus and VII. 18. 7 for Tṛtsus, VIII. 6. 46 for Yādvas). Whether kingship was by election it is not necessary here to discuss. The king was regarded as keeping the people within bounds.[90] When a king was crowned, it was thought that 'a kṣatriya was produced, a lord of all beings, the defender of brāhmaṇas (or of holy texts) and of dharma.'[91] The Sat. Br. says 'for these two (śrotriya and king) are the upholders of the sacred law among men' (S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106).[92] That the co-operation between brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya results in glory and success is frequently emphasized e. g. 'therefore a brāhmaṇa must certainly be approached by a kṣatriya who is about to perform some act, for indeed that act of a kṣatriya which is sped on by brāhmaṇa succeeds' (Śatapatha, S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 270–271)[93]. The *purohita* of a

(*Continued from last page*)

claimed. But they never claimed to be treated in a court of law as above truth and justice. If they had taken the Tai. S. passage in the sense in which Dr. Ghurye takes it they would never have scrupled to say so in smṛti works and would have quoted the Tai. S. in support. Hence the meaning is different. There is no question here of an arbitration or judicial decision. In Ṛg. I. 100. 19 there is a similar expression 'May Indra speak in our favour on all days' (विश्वाहेन्द्रो अधिवक्ता नो अस्तु). Vide Ṛg. X. 63. 11 and Vāj. S. 16. 5 for the verb 'vac' with 'adhi' in the sense of 'speak in favour of' or 'bless.'

90. तस्माद्राज्ञा मनुष्या विधृताः । तै. सं. II. 6. 2.2.

91. क्षत्रियोऽजनि विश्वस्य भूतस्याधिपतिरजनि विशामत्ताजनि ... ब्रह्मणो गोप्ताजनि धर्मस्य गोप्ताजनि । ऐ. ब्रा. 38 and 39. 3.

92. Varuṇa is frequently called धृतव्रत (e. g. ऋ. I. 25. 8 and 10 and once even the yajamāna is so called (ऋ. I. 25. 6); the शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5 explains ऋ. I. 25. 10 as 'निषसाद धृतव्रत इति । धृतव्रतो वै राजा ... ... एष च श्रोत्रियश्च तौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ ।'. In गौतम VIII. 1 practically the same words occur 'द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः'. Manu IX. 322 and Nārada (prakīrṇaka 42) express the same idea.

93 तस्मादु क्षत्रियेण कर्म करिष्यमाणेनोपसर्तव्य एव ब्राह्मणः । स हैवास्मै तद् ब्रह्मप्रसूतं कर्मर्ध्यते । शतपथ ब्रा. IV. 1. 4. 6; the words ब्रह्म ... र्ध्यते occur in गौतम XI. 14.

kṣatriya came to occupy a very high position. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 270) lays emphasis on the importance of the purohita and cautions a brāhmaṇa against being the purohita of any king he meets with and adds that a brāhmaṇa may remain without a king, but a king should not be without a brāhmaṇa. Even the gods required a purohita, as the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1. says 'Viśvarūpa son of Tvaṣṭṛ was the purohita of gods.'[94] Śaṇḍa and Amarka were the purohitas of the Asuras (Kāṭhaka S. IV. 4). Agni is often called *purohita* (Ṛg. I. 1. 1., I. 44. 10, III. 2. 8). 'May we, purohitas, be awake in the kingdom (for its welfare)' says the Tai. S. (I. 7. 10. 1). The Ait. Br. (chap. 34. 8) says[95] 'the purohita is half the soul of the kṣatriya' and contains an eulogy of purohita in the following words (40. 1) "for indeed the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no purohita; therefore a king when about to offer a sacrifice should have a brāhmaṇa as his purohita with the idea 'may the gods eat my food.'" The combination of the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya is said to be most desirable and that it is conducive to the eminence of both is declared in the Tai. S. (V. 1. 10. 3)[96] 'Therefore a brāhmaṇa who is supported by a rājanya is superior to another brāhmaṇa (not so supported), hence a rājanya who has a brāhmaṇa (to help him) is superior to another rājanya'. The Śatapatha (V. 4. 4. 15) declares 'that king indeed who is not powerful to the brāhmaṇas (i. e. who is humble before the brāhmaṇas) becomes more powerful than his foes.'[97] *It is not* to be supposed that this attainment of the supreme position by brāhmaṇas was an affair of plain sailing. Sometimes kṣatriyas claimed higher position and also paid scant respect to brāhmaṇas. In the Śatapatha we read 'whence the brāhmaṇa is an object of respect after the king' (S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 96); 'hence the people here serve, from a lower position, the kṣatriya seated above them' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 94); 'hence when a nobleman approaches, all these people, the subjects crouch down by him on the ground' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 228); 'therefore there is nothing higher than the kṣatra;

94. विश्वरूपो वै त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत् स्वस्रीयोऽसुराणाम्। तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 1.

95. अर्धात्मो ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः। ऐ. ब्रा. 34. 8; न ह वा अपुरोहितस्य राज्ञो देवा अन्नमदन्ति तस्माद्राजा यक्ष्यमाणो ब्राह्मणं पुरोदधीत देवा मेऽन्नमदानिति। ऐ. ब्रा. 40. 1.

96. तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो राजन्यवानत्यन्यं ब्राह्मणं तस्माद्राजन्यो ब्राह्मणवानत्यन्यं राजन्यम्। तै. सं. V. 1. 10. 3.

97. यो वै राजा ब्राह्मणादबलीयानमित्रेभ्यो वै स बलीयान् भवति। शतपथ V. 4. 4. 15.

therefore the brāhmaṇa sits down below the kṣatriya in the Rājasūya ' (Śatapatha 14. 4. 1. 23 = Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 11). In the Atharvaveda several verses occur which declare the harm that results from disrespecting or injuring a brāhmaṇa or from robbing him of his cow. ' He who regards brāhmaṇa as food drinks of the poison of Taimāta; he who injures a brāhmaṇa, the relative of the gods, does not attain to the world of pitṛs ' (Atharvaveda V. 18. 4 and 13). ' Those who spat on a brāhmaṇa or those who sent to him mucus remain biting the hair in the midst of a stream by their mouth; that kingdom sinks as water sinks a shattered vessel, where' they injure a brāhmaṇa; that wicked act strikes that kingdom[98] (Atharvaveda V. 19. 3 and 8).

The stories of king Kārtavīrya and Viśvāmitra who respectively carried off the cows of Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha narrated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 49 for Kārtavīrya; Ādi. 175 for Viśvāmitra) and the Purāṇas show how several kings were high-handed and treated brāhmaṇas with no respect whatever. It appears that even the wives of brāhmaṇas were not quite safe at the hands of kings. ' The chamberlain (kṣatṛ) of that king in whose kingdom the wife of a brāhmaṇa is thoughtlessly put under restraint does not march in front of cooking vessels with a golden ornament on his neck '[99] (Atharva V. 17. 14). The somewhat mystical hymn (Ṛg. X. 109) where ' brahmajāyā ' figures prominently probably hints at the same fact (viz. the kidnapping of the wives of brāhmaṇas).

The Tai. S. says that ' the vaiśya indeed sacrifices, being desirous of cattle ' and that the gods having been defeated were reduced to the condition of being the vaiśyas or 'viś of *asuras*';[100] ' the vaiśya among men, cows among beasts, therefore they are to be enjoyed (to be eaten, to be subsisted upon) by others; they were produced from the receptacle of food; therefore they exceed others in numbers'.[101] The Tai. Br. says ' the vaiśya class is

98. ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यष्ठीवन् ये वास्मिञ्छुल्कमीषिरे। अस्नस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ तद्वै राष्ट्रमास्रवति नावं भिन्नामिवोदकम्। ब्राह्मणं यत्र हिंसन्ति तद्राष्ट्रं हन्ति दुच्छुना ॥ अथर्व V. 19. 3 and 8.

99. नास्य क्षत्ता निष्कग्रीवः सूनानामेत्यग्रतः। यस्मिन् राष्ट्रे निरुध्यते ब्रह्मजायाऽचित्त्या ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 17. 14.

100. पशुकामः खलु वैश्यो यजते। तै सं. II. 5. 10.2: ते देवाः पराजिग्याना असुराणां वैश्यमुपायन्। तै. सं. II. 3. 7. 1.

101. वैश्यो मनुष्याणां गावः पशूनां तस्मात्त आद्या अन्नधानाद्ध्यसृज्यन्त तस्माद्भूयांसोऽन्येभ्यः। तै. सं. VII. 1. 1. 5

said to have been born from ṛk verses, they declare the Yajurveda as the origin of the kṣatriya, the Sāmaveda is indeed the source of brāhmaṇas '.[102] The same Brāhmaṇa further says ' the viś go away from (reside separately from) the brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas '. The Tāṇḍya Br. says[103] ' Hence the vaiśya, though being eaten (i. e. subsisted upon) by others is not exhausted, since he was created from the *prajanana* (from the sexual parts of Prajāpati); therefore he has numerous cattle, he has all the gods (as his patrons) and was produced with the Jagatī metre, his season is the rains, therefore he is to be eaten by the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya, since he was created as lower (than those two classes)'. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 335) says ' He thus assigns to the Maruts a share therein after Indra, whereby he makes the people (viś) subservient and obedient to the nobility '.[104] According to the Ait. Br. 35. 3 the vaiśya is one who is the food of others, who pays taxes to others. These passages show that vaiśyas were entitled to sacrifice, reared cattle, were far more numerous than the other two classes, they had to bear the brunt of taxation, they lived apart from brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas and were obedient to them.

The system of the four varṇas had taken such deep roots in the period when the Brāhmaṇa works were composed, that we often meet with Vedic passages saying that it extended even to the gods, Agni and Bṛhaspati being the brāhmaṇas among gods; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Yama being the kṣatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Viśve Devas and Maruts being the viś, and Pūṣan being the śūdra.[105] Similarly it is said ' the brāhmaṇa is really spring, the kṣatriya summer, and the viś are the rainy season.'

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102. ऋग्भ्यो जातं वैश्यं वर्णमाहुः । यजुर्वेदं क्षत्रियस्याहुर्योनिम् । सामवेदो ब्राह्मणानां प्रसूतिः । तै. ब्रा. III. 12. 9 ; तस्माद् ब्रह्मणश्च क्षत्राच्च विशोन्यतोऽपक्रामिणीः । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 5.

103. तस्माद्वैश्योऽद्यमानो न क्षीयते प्रजननाद्धि सृष्टस्तस्माद् बहुपशुर्वैश्वदेवो हि जागतो वर्षा ह्यस्यर्तुस्तस्माद् ब्राह्मणस्य च राजन्यस्य चाद्योऽधरो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. VI. 1. 10.

104. अथैतद्विन्द्रमेवानु मरुत आभजन्ति । तत्क्षत्रायैवैतद्विशं कृतानुकरामनुवर्त्मानं करोति । शतपथ IV. 3. 3. 10.

105. Vide Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ. I. 10. 13, Śatapatha 14. 4. 2. 23–25 which is the same as Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 11–13, Kauṣītaki Br. 9. 5 and Ait. Br. (34. 5). Compare शान्तिपर्व 208. 23–25 for Ādityas being kṣatriyas, Maruts as vaiśyas, Aśvins as śūdras.

That there were other professions and crafts with specific names (which in later times at least became castes) even in the times of the Saṁhitās is quite clear. The Ṛg. speaks of vaptā (barber) in X. 142.4, taṣṭā (a carpenter or maker of chariots) in Ṛg. I. 61.4, VII. 32.20, IX. 112.1, X. 119.5; tvaṣṭā (a carpenter) in VIII. 102.8; bhiṣak (medicine man) in IX. 112.1 and 3, karmāra or kārmāra (iron-smith) in X. 72.2 and IX. 112.2, carmamna (tanner) in Ṛg. VIII. 5.38.

The Atharvaveda mentions rathakāra (III. 5.6), karmāra (III. 5.6) and sūta (III. 5.7). In the Tai. S. (IV. 5.4.2)[106] mention is made of kṣatṛ (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper), saṁgrahītṛ (treasurer), takṣan (carpenter) and rathakāra (maker of chariots), kulāla (potter), karmāra, puñjiṣṭa (fowler), niśāda, iṣukṛt (maker of arrows), dhanvakṛt (maker of bows), mṛgayu (hunter) and śvani (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā 16. 26–28 and these and a few more in Vāj. S. 30.5–13 and in Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā 17.13. In the Tai. Br. (III. 4.1 and the following anuvākas that deal with Puruṣamedha) we have āyogū, māgadha (bard), sūta, śailūṣa (actor), rebha, bhīmala, rathakāra, takṣan, kaulāla, karmāra, maṇikāra, vapa (sower or barber), iṣukāra, dhanvakāra, jyākāra (maker of bow-string), rajjusarga, mṛgayu, śvani surākāra (vintner), ayastāpa (heater of iron or copper), kitava (gambler), bidalakāra (worker in wicker-work), kaṇṭakakāra. The Śatapatha Br. XI. 8.1. speaks of kaulāla-cakra (the potter's wheel). The Tai. Br. III. 8.5. mentions also rājaputra ugra. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. Vol. 44 p. 397) speaks of Marutta Āvikṣita as an āyogava king. This latter is a pratiloma caste according to the dharmasūtras (vide below). Whether in the Śatapatha that word has the same sense is doubtful. The Tai. S. I. 8.9.1–2 mentions among the 'ratnas' (the jewels), the sūta, grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ, saṁgrahītṛ, bhāgadugha (collector of taxes), akṣāvāpa (superintendent of gambling). Vide also Tai. Br. I. 7.3. In the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (19.1.4) it is said that 'eight brave persons hold up the kingdom viz. the king's brother, the king's son, the purohita, the crowned queen, the sūta, the grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ and saṁgrahītṛ'. Therefore it looks likely that kṣatṛ and saṁgrahītṛ were high officers of state and not castes. In the Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 1. 5 among the

106. नमः क्षत्तृभ्यः संग्रहीतृभ्यश्च वो नमो नमस्तक्षभ्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः कुलालेभ्यः कर्मारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः पुञ्जिष्टेभ्यो निषादेभ्यश्च वो नमो नम इषुकृद्भ्यो धन्वकृद्भ्यश्च वो नमो नमो मृगयुभ्यः श्वनिभ्यश्च वो नमः । तै. सं. IV. 5. 4, 2,

guards of the horse let loose in the Aśvamedha there were 'a hundred sons of kṣātra-saṁgrahītṛs carrying clubs'. As the word 'kṣātra' is prefixed to 'saṁgrahītṛ' it follows that 'saṁgrahītṛs' were officers who may have belonged to any varṇa. In the same passage mention is made of a hundred guardians who were the sons of *sūtagrāmaṇīs.* In another passage of the same brāhmaṇa (XIII. 2. 2. 18) the sūtas and grāmaṇīs are said to be no kings and yet are rājakṛt (i. e. king-makers).[107] This means probably that they are the principal persons on whose support the king depends. The Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 15–19 arranges brāhmaṇa, king, king's brother, sūta or sthapati, grāmaṇī, sajāta in a descending scale of powerfulness. So the sūta appears to have been originally an important officer. It is hardly possible to say with assurance that all these had become petrified into castes in the modern sense, particularly when several persons associated with these in the Vāj. S. and elsewhere were not castes such as the thief (taskara), the impotent (klība), humpbacked (kubja), dwarf (vāmana); but most of the avocations and crafts referred to above have corresponding castes and subcastes for hundreds of years. It is therefore possible to say that in the times of the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas these were groups founded on occupations that had become castes or were in process of developing into castes. The Tāṇḍya Br. speaks of Kirātas (who were and are non-Āryan and were aboriginal tribes). [108] The Vāj. S. (30. 17) speaks of Paulkasa in connection with bībhatsā (nauseating filth) and of cāṇḍāla (*in 30.21*) *in* connection *with* vāyu (*wind*). The paulkasa and cāṇḍāla occur in *Tai. Br. (III. 4. 14 and III. 4. 17* (respectively). In the Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.7)[109] the cāṇḍāla is ranked with the dog and the boar. 'Therefore even if one knowing thus were to give the leavings of his food to a cāṇḍāla that would in his case be an offering made into the

107. यथा वै राज्ञोऽराजानो राजकृतः सूतग्रामण्यः । शतपथ XIII. 2. 2. 18.

108. Vide ताण्ड्य ब्रा. 13. 12. 5, वाज. सं. 30. 16, अथर्ववेद X. 4. 14, तै. ब्रा. III. 4. 12 for किरात.

109. अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा । छा. V. 10. 7. There were strict rules about giving one's ucchiṣṭa to another. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 31. 25–26) did not allow a brāhmaṇa to give his ucchiṣṭa to one not a brāhmaṇa, unless certain rather obnoxious things were done to it. Manu IV. 80 forbids the giving of ucchiṣṭa to a śūdra (who is not a dependant) while Manu X. 125 allows it to be given to a śūdra who is a dependant.

Self as Fire'—Chāndogya V. 24. 4. This shows that the cāṇḍāla was the lowest in the social scale. 'Just as a pāśya or vaideha, or the son of an ugra, after having made his bow strung &c.'—Bṛ. Up. III. 8.2. In the Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.22 mention is made of both cāṇḍāla and paulkasa and in IV. 3.37 it is said[110] that 'just as when a king pays a visit, the ugras, pratyenasas (thief catchers), the sūtas and headmen of the village make arrangements for him with food and drink and with pavilions.' Here ugras seem to be a group of nobles subordinate to the king. In later literature ugra is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a śūdra woman (Yāj. I. 91). In the Ṛg. X. 97. 12 the word ugra occurs 'You destroy disease just as an ugra who is a mediator or arbitrator (removes dispute).' What ugra means here cannot be said with certainty. It may only mean a 'formidable chief or king.'

The rathakāra and niṣāda deserve a passing notice. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 after stating that the brāhmaṇa should consecrate sacred fires in the spring, the kṣatriya in summer, the vaiśya in autumn, ordains that the rathakāra should consecrate sacred fires in the rainy season. The question arises whether the rathakāra is a member of the three higher castes who has taken in economic distress to the profession of making chariots or is a person belonging to a caste other than the three higher varṇas. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṅsā-sūtra (VI. 1. 44–50) discusses this question and establishes[111] that the rathakāra is a member of a caste other than the three higher varṇas, that he has on account of the express words in the *śruti* the privilege to consecrate sacred fires with vedic mantras, that the *mantra* for the consecration of rathakāras is 'ṛbhūṇām tvā' (Tai. Br. 1. 1. 4) and that the rathakāras are the caste called Saudhanvana which is neither śūdra nor one of the three higher ones, but is slightly inferior to the three higher varṇas. Viśvarūpa[112] (on

110. Pāṇini VI. 2. 60 teaches the accent of the word प्रत्येनस् when compounded with राजन्. According to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 29) ugra is an anuloma caste sprung from a brāhmaṇa father and śūdra wife.

111. वचनाद्रथकारस्याधानेऽस्य सर्वशेषत्वात् । ...... सौधन्वनास्तु हीनत्वान्मन्त्रवर्णात्प्रतीयेरन् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 44 and 50.

112. यत्तु स्मृत्यन्तरे रथकारस्योपनयनस्मरणं तदाधानाधिकृतत्वाद् आन्तोरित्यवसेयम् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 10. The बौ. गृ. II. 5. 6. has वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वर्षासु रथकारमिति ।. Vide भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 1 for the same rule. क्षत्रियवैश्यानुलोमानन्तरजोत्पन्नो रथकारस्तस्य चेज्यादानोपनयनसंस्कारक्रिया अश्वप्रतिष्ठा रथसूत्रवास्तुविद्याध्ययनवृत्तिता च । शङ्ख quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 399 which says that this रथकार is different.

Yāj. I. 10) notices that in some smṛti the rathakāra though not belonging to the three higher varṇas, was allowed the privilege of upanayana, but adds that this dictum of the smṛti is due to mistake, it being misled by the fact that he is allowed the privilege of ādhāna [113] (consecration of sacred fires). In modern times the members of the carpenter caste in certain parts of the Deccan at least are in the habit of performing the upanayana and wearing the sacred thread.

With reference to an iṣṭi offered to Rudra a Vedic text says 'one should make a *niṣādasthapati* perform this iṣṭi.' The Pūrvamīmāṁsā sūtra [114] (VI. 1. 51–52) discusses the question whether this authorises a niṣāda who is himself a chieftain or a chieftain (who is a member of the three higher varṇas) of niṣādas. The established conclusion is that the iṣṭi is to be performed by a niṣāda who is a chieftain though he be beyond the pale of the three varṇas, as the Karmadhāraya compound is the proper way of dissolving the compound and not the genitive Tatpuruṣa. The Ait. Br. (37. 7) says [115] 'just as the niṣādas, or selagas (thieves) or evil-doers seize a wealthy man in a forest and throwing him in a well run away with his wealth.' The Śāṅkhāyana Br. (25. 15) allows one who had performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything is given away) to stay in a settlement of niṣādas whose food is the lowest that he is allowed to take. The Kātyāyanaśrauta-sūtra (I. 1. 12–14) says [116] that 'the chieftain who is a niṣāda can offer a *caru* of Gavedhukā corn to Rudra, but this offering is to be made in ordinary fire (and not in the fires consecrated with Vedic mantras) i. e. the permission to offer Raudra iṣṭi does not entitle him to perform Vedic consecration of fire (ādhāna). But according to Satyāṣāḍha [117]-kalpa III. 1 both the niṣāda and the rathakāra are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrṇamāsa.

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113. वसन्तो ब्राह्मणस्य ग्रीष्मो राजन्यस्य हेमन्तो वा शरद् वैश्यस्य वर्षा रथकारस्य । आप. श्रौ. सू. V. 3. 18; vide कात्यायनश्रौत I. 1. 9–10 also.

114. स्थपतिर्निषादः स्याच्छब्दसामर्थ्यात् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 51.

115. यथा ह वा इदं निषादा वा सेलगा वा पापकृतो वा वित्तवन्तं पुरुषं गृहीत्वा कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्रवन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 7. The com. on Āśv. Śr. (Uttaraṣaṭka IV. 7. 6 explains सेलगाः as सर्पेणोन्मत्ताः (?).

116. निषादः स्थपतिर्गावेधुकेऽधिकृतः । नावकीर्णिनो गर्दभेज्या । लौकिके । कात्या० श्रौ. I. 1. 12–14.

117. निषादरथकारयोराधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियम्येते । सत्याषाढकल्प III. 1.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[118] narrates that Viśvāmitra cursed his senior fifty sons, when they did not agree to his proposal to treat Śunaḥśepa (Devarāta) as his son, that they would associate with the lowest castes and that they became the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas who are among the lowest of society and are mostly composed of *dasyus.* It is probably owing to this legend that the Manusmṛti[119] (X. 43–45) is prepared to regard the Pauṇḍrakas, the Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaśas as being originally kṣatriya castes, but later on reduced to the position of śūdras by the non-performance of Vedic saṁskāras (like upanayana) and by the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Manu further adds that the various castes that are outside the (influence of the) four varṇas are all known as *dasyus* whether they speak the language of Mlecchas or of Āryas.

One very important question is whether the theory of the four varṇas with their peculiar privileges and duties described in the dharmasūtras and other smṛtis was merely a theory even in the most ancient times. When the Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda speaks of Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra or when the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa expressly says that they are four varṇas, it appears to me that they speak of facts existing in their times and not merely of a theory which was to be striven for as an ideal. Smṛti writers try to place all their dicta in the frame-work of the varṇas because the four varṇas and their duties and privileges had been more or less clearly defined in the times of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, which according to the authors of the smṛtis were śruti, eternal and infallible. They tried to approximate the state of society existing in their times to the varṇas which they held were of hoary antiquity. But there is nothing to show that the same difficulties were felt by the authors of the Vedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇas. The manner in which they refer to the privileges and disabilities of the several varṇas have such a deep ring of actuality that one must concede that the varṇas spoken of in them represented the

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118. तानन्वव्याजहारान्तान्वः प्रजा भक्षीष्टेति । त एतेऽन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मूतिबा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः । ऐ. ब्रा. 33.6.

119. शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः । वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदा पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ मुखबाहूरुपज्जानां या लोके जातयो बहिः । म्लेच्छवाचश्चार्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः ॥ मनु X. 43–45.

real divisions of society at least to a very great extent, if not cent percent.

The preceding discussion renders the following propositions most probable;

(1) that in the earliest times about which we have literary records there were only two varṇas, the āryas and their opponents the *dasyus* or *dāsas*; that the difference between the two was based on difference of colour and culture and was thus more or less racial and cultural;

(2) that centuries before the saṁhitā period closed the dasyus had been conquered and were given a position subservient to the āryas;

(3) that the śūdras were the dasyus so subjugated and made subservient;

(4) that the spirit of exclusiveness and pride of superiority existing among the āryas with reference to dasyus soon extended to groups among the āryas themselves;

(5) that by the time of the Brāhmaṇa Literature, brāhmaṇas (men supposed to be devoted to learning and priesthood), kṣatriyas (kings, noblemen and some warriors) and vaiśyas (the artisans and common people) had become separated into groups more or less dependent on birth and that the brāhmaṇa [120] had come to be regarded as superior to the kṣatriya by the fact of birth;

(6) that even such low castes as cāṇḍālas and paulkasas had been evolved long before the end of the Vedic period;

(7) that owing to cultural advance, division of labour arose and numerous arts and crafts had been developed and they were in process of contributing to the complexity of the system by creating numerous sub-castes based upon occupations;

(8) that besides the four varṇas intermediate castes like the rathakāra had been evolved;

(9) that there were certain non-Āryan tribes which were supposed to have been originally kṣatriyas but fallen later on.

120. That this theory of four varṇas was well-known to Buddhist literary works is shown by Fick chap. II. p. 17 (the only difference being that in the Buddhist works the kṣatriya is put first and the brāhmaṇa after him).

The close of the Vedic period is here taken as being not later than about 1000 B. C. How much earlier it may be placed it is not possible to say.

The following is a list of persons engaged in professions and crafts, which had probably become castes or were in the process of becoming castes, before the close of the Vedic period, as seen from the Vāj. S., Tai. S. and Tai. Br., Kāṭhaka Sam. (17. 13), the Atharva-veda, the Tāṇḍya Br. (III. 4.), the Ait. Br., the Chāndogya and the Bṛ. Up. The meaning of some of the words is not quite clear and it is possible that some in the list were not at all castes or professions. They are arranged in the alphabetical order of Sanskrit (though transliterated). The meanings of most of them have been given above. Where the meaning is doubtful a question mark has been made.

Ajāpāla (goatherd)
Andhra
Ayastāpa
Ayogū or Āyogū
Avipāla (keeper of ewes)
Ānda (?)
Iṣukāra
Ugra
Kaṇṭakakāra or Kaṇṭakī-kārī (in Vāj. S.)
Karmāra
Kāri (dancer ?)
Kitava
Kirāta
Kīnāśa (cultivator ?)
Kulāla or Kaulāla
Kevarta
Kośakārī (blower of bellows)
Kṣatṛ
Gopāla
Carmamna
Cāṇḍāla
Jambhaka (?)
Jyākāra
Takṣan

Dāśa
Dhanuṣkāra or Dhanvakāra or Dhanvakṛt
Dhaivara
Niṣāda or Naiṣāda
Puṁścalu
Puñjiṣṭa or Pauñjiṣṭha
Puṇḍra
Pulinda
Paulkasa
Bainda (catching fish in nets)
Bhiṣak
Bhīmala (timid ?)
Maṇikāra
Māgadha
Mārgāra
Mūtiba
Mṛgayu

Maināla (catcher of fish ?)	Vidalakārī or Bidala-
Rajayitrī (dyer)	Vrātya
Rajjusarga or-sarja	Śabara
Rathakāra	Śābalya (?)
Rājaputra	Śailūṣa
Rebha (?)	Śvanin (or Śvanita)
Vaṁśanartin	Saṁgrahītṛ
Vapa (barber)	Surākāra
Vāṇija	Sūta
Vāsaḥ-palpūlī (a washer-woman)	Selaga
	Hiraṇyakāra

Several centuries before the Christian era there were several castes. This follows not only from the dharmasūtras but also from the ancient Buddhist works and from the meagre existing fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India. Though Megasthenes was confused in his statements about the caste system as prevalent in his day, some propositions are clearly deducible therefrom. He states (pp. 40 ff) that the whole population of India was divided into seven castes, (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) neatherds and shepherds, (4) artisans, (5) military, (6) overseers, (7) councillors and assessors. Out of these 1 and 5 correspond to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, 2–3 to vaiśyas, 4 to śūdras; 6th and 7th correspond to *adhyakṣas* and amātyas (as in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra) and are not really castes but occupations. He probably regards them as castes because the offices of the *adhyakṣas* and *amātyas* were generally hereditary or at least he gathered that they were so. Megasthenes' further statement (pp. 43–44) that 'no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exercise any calling or art except his own' shows that the prevailing tendency was that caste had become exclusive and mostly occupational in his day, though there must have been exceptions of which he was not informed.

The ancient writers on dharmaśāstra strive very hard to account for the bewildering ramifications of the caste system from the four varṇas that were spoken of in the *śruti* (revelation). There is unanimity on the theory that the numerous castes actually found in the country arose from the unions of males of different varṇas with women belonging to *varṇas* differing from their own. The divergences (and they are

many) among the several smṛtikāras relate only to details. The smṛti writers had before them the hoary theory of four varṇas vouched for by infallible Vedic authority, but they were at the same time quite cognisant of the realities in society viz. the separate existence of numerous castes and sub-castes that had varying claims as regards social status and that were based in popular estimation on birth alone. Therefore, when one criticizes the smṛti view of the derivation of numerous castes from the mixture or confusion (*saṁkara*) of the four varṇas as purely hypothetical and imaginary, the criticism is true only partially. The smṛtis were composed in different parts of India at different times and they were meant to supply a popular want, to guide the people and to reflect the prevailing state of society and popular feeling. Therefore, it must be admitted that the numerous castes mentioned in the smṛtis did exist at the time of the smṛtis, that the social status of the several castes might have varied from country to country or from epoch to epoch, that the peculiar avocations and means of livelihood assigned to the various castes reflected the real state of things. The element of hypothesis and speculation lies only in the theory of a particular sub-caste having sprung from the union of two persons belonging to two particular varṇas or castes.[121] This description of the origin of the several castes was only indicative of the author's view or of the accepted view about the social status of those castes in particular localities. There is here, as a matter of fact, great divergence of views among the several authors.

In the first place all writers on dharmaśāstra start with the propositions viz. (1) that the four *varṇas*, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra, are arranged in a descending scale of social status; and (2) that marriage is or was permissible between a male of a higher varṇa with a woman of a lower varṇa, but the union of a woman of a higher varṇa with a male of varṇa lower than her own is reprehensible and not permitted. There is a third proposition advanced by many writers that a man belongs to a particular *varṇa* or *jāti* by birth only i. e. if born in lawful wedlock of parents both of whom belong to that varṇa

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121. Śāntiparva (297. 7-9) says 'चतुर्णामेव वर्णानामागमः पुरुषर्षभ । अतोऽन्ये त्वतिरिक्ता ये ते वै संकरजाः स्मृताः ॥ क्षत्रियातिरथाम्बष्ठा उग्रा वैदेहकास्तथा । श्वपाकाः पुल्कसाः स्तेना निषादाः सूतमागधाः । अयोगाः करणा व्रात्याश्चाण्डालाश्च नराधिप । एते चतुर्भ्यो वर्णेभ्यो जायन्ते वै परस्परात् ॥'

or jāti.[122] This is the view held by all medieval writers and digests and it is expressly said that a man belongs to a caste by birth and no actions of his can alter that fact, that several castes are like the species of animals and that caste attaches to the body and not to the soul (vide Sūtasaṁhitā). When a male of a higher varṇa marries a woman of a lower varṇa, the marriage is said to be *anuloma* (lit. with the hair, in the natural order) and the offspring is said to be anuloma ; when there is a union of a woman of a higher *varṇa* with a male of a lower varṇa, it is said to be *pratiloma* (against the hair, i. e. against the natural or proper order) and the children of the union are said to be *pratiloma.* These two words *anuloma* and *pratiloma* (as applied to marriage or progeny) hardly ever occur in the vedic literature. In the Bṛ. Up. (II. 1. 15) and Kauṣītaki Bṛ. Up. IV. 18 (quoted in note 89 above) the word 'pratiloma' is applied to the procedure adopted by a brāhmaṇa of going to a kṣatriya for knowledge about *brahman.* From this it may possibly be inferred that pratiloma and anuloma might have been employed with reference to marriages also (in the days of the Upaniṣad). Pāṇini (IV. 4. 28) teaches the formation of words from anuloma and pratiloma. They occur in Gautama (IV. 14–15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 8. 8), Vasiṣṭha (18. 7), Manu (X. 13), Yāj. (I. 95) and other smṛti works.

One important question is whether the theory of anuloma or pratiloma castes presupposes a marriage or only a union (outside marriage) of a man and a woman. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 1, 3–4) lays down [123] that a man must marry a virgin of his own varṇa with the rites prescribed by the *śāstras* and only the son born of such a marriage is entitled to the privileges and occupation of his father, that sexual intercourse with a woman who has been married by another or on whom the proper ceremonies of marriage are not performed or who

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122. मनु. X. 5, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 1 ; या. I. 90. The mīmāṅsaka position is stated by the तन्त्रवार्तिक (on जै. I. 2. 1) 'न स्वाचारनिमित्तवर्णविभागे प्रमाणं किंचित् । ...... न तपआदीनां समुदायो ब्राह्मण्यं न तज्जनितः संस्कारः न तदभिव्यंग्या जातिः, किं तर्हि मातापितृजातिज्ञानाभिव्यंग्या प्रत्यक्षसमधिगम्या ।', the सूतसंहिता (शिवमाहात्म्यखण्ड 12. 51–52) says सर्वेषां जन्मना जातिर्नान्यथा कर्मकोटिभिः पश्वादीनां यथा जातिर्जन्मनैव न चान्यथा । सापि स्थूलस्य देहस्य भौतिकस्य न चात्मनः ॥, जन्मनैव महाभागो ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते । शातातप quoted in आह्निकप्र. p. 452.

123. सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः सम्बन्धः । पूर्ववत्यामसंस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः । तत्रापि दोषवान् पुत्र एव । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 1, 3 and 4.

belongs to another caste is condemned and that the son (and not the daughter) born of such an union is condemned (through the sin of the parents). So Āpastamba looked with disfavour even on marriages called *anuloma*. He is entirely silent about anuloma and pratiloma castes. It is no doubt true that most ancient writers like Gautama (IV. 1), Vasiṣṭha (I. 24), Manu (III. 12-13), Yāj. (I. 55 and 57) prescribe that a person should by preference marry a girl of his own varṇa but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of another varṇa lower than his own. Yāj. (I. 92) expressly says that the six *anuloma* castes, mūrdhāvasikta, ambaṣṭha, niṣāda, māhiṣya, ugra, and karaṇa are so called only when they are the offspring of women married by men of higher varṇas. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anuloma castes are entitled to the rites (saṁskāras like upanayana) performed for *dvijas*, but that the pratiloma castes are like śūdras (i. e. even when a pratiloma caste springs from a brāhmaṇa woman and a kṣatriya or vaiśya male they cannot have upanayana and other rites of *dvijas* performed for them, though both parents are *dvijas*). Kauṭilya[124] (III. 7) also says that all pratilomas except cāṇḍālas are like śūdras; Viṣṇu says that they are condemned by all Āryas. Devala[125] (quoted by Parāśara-mādhavīya I. 2. p. 122) says that pratilomas are outside the pale of the system of varṇas and are *patita*. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 says that anuloma sons and those born of the mūrdhāvasikta and other anuloma castes are *dvijātis* and are entitled to saṁskāras as *dvijātis*. Commentators like Kullūka (on Manu X. 11) say that, as no marriage is legally possible between a woman of a higher varṇa and a male of a lower varṇa, all the pratilomas are born outside lawful wedlock. Gautama (IV. 20) says that all pratilomas are *dharmahīna*, which is interpreted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 as meaning that they cannot have upanayana and similar saṁskāras of *dvijas* performed for them, though they are amenable to the rules of morality and entitled to perform vratas and *prāyaścittas*. Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and several others do not make it clear whether, when they speak of *pratilomas*, they contemplate offspring of legal

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124. शूद्रसधर्माणो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः । कौटिल्य III. 7 ; प्रतिलोमास्त्वार्यविगर्हिताः । विष्णु 16. 3.

125. तेषां सवर्णजाः श्रेष्ठास्तेभ्योऽन्वगनुलोमजाः । अन्तराला बहिर्वर्णाः पतिताः प्रतिलोमजाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 122; एतेऽनुलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्यास्तु द्विजातयः । तथा मूर्धावसिक्तादिजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

marriages or only of illegitimate and adulterous unions. But it will be seen from the list appended below that Uśanas and Vaikhānasa almost always make a distinction between the caste assigned to the offspring of the union of parents of different varṇas, according as there is a marriage between the two or it is only a clandestine, illegitimate or adulterous union. For example, Uśanas says[126] that when there is a marriage between a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa female, the offspring is called sūta, while the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa woman and a kṣatriya male was called rathakāra. So these two authors held that there could be a legal marriage when a woman of a higher varṇa married a male of a lower varṇa.[127] There were several other works like the Sūtasaṁhitā (Śivamāhātmyakhaṇḍa chap. 12. 12–48) where a similar distinction is made between the children of marriages and clandestine unions. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 90 says that such progeny as kuṇḍa and golaka (Manu III. 174), kānīna, sahoḍhaja (who are all not due to intercourse in wedlock) are different from savarṇa, anuloma and pratiloma and are to be treated as śūdras and that the *kṣetraja* son is to be treated as in a different category (since *niyoga* is allowed by the smṛtis and by the usage of śiṣṭas) and belongs to the caste of his mother. Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 92 p. 118) does not accept this view and holds that even kānīna and sahoḍha may be held to be brāhmaṇas (if the begetter can be proved to have been a brāhmaṇa); while Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 133 says that kānīna and gūḍhaja must be deemed to belong to the mother's caste as the begetter may not be known and that sahoḍhaja (II. 135) is also to be so treated. These several kinds of secondary sons will be treated under inheritance.

A few words must be said about the word *jāti*. The idea of varṇa was as we have seen based originally on race, culture, character and profession. It takes account mainly of the moral and intellectual worth of man and is a system of classes which appears more or less natural. The ideal of varṇa even in the smṛtis lays far more emphasis on duties, on a high standard of effort for the community or society rather than on the rights and privileges of birth. The system of jātis (castes) lays all emphasis on

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126. नृपाद् ब्राह्मणकन्यायां विवाहेषु समन्वयात्। जातः सूतोऽत्र निर्दिष्टः प्रतिलोमविधिर्द्विजः॥ ...... ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियाच्चौर्याद्रथकारः प्रकीर्तितः। उशनस् vv. 2–5.

127. Vide Yāj. I. 95 which says that *pratilomajas* are *asat* condemned) and *anulomajas* are *sat* (good) i. e. entitled to the saṁskāras.

birth and heredity and tends to create the mentality of clinging to privileges without trying to fulfil the obligations corresponding to such privileges. The word '*jāti*' in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in the vedic literature. In the Nirukta [128] (XII. 13) it is said 'after *agnicayana* (the building of the fire altar), a man should not approach a *rāmā* (for sexual intercourse); *rāmā* is so called because she is approached only for pleasure and not for (accumulation of) merit; she is of a dark caste'. Here the word kṛṣṇajātīyā occurs with reference to a woman of the śūdra caste. Almost these very words occur in Vasiṣṭha (18. 17-18)[129] where for kṛṣṇajātīyā the word kṛṣṇavarṇā is substituted. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 56 (yad-ucyate etc.)[130] quotes these words as a brāhmaṇa text, but there the word is kṛṣṇavarṇīyā. Therefore, the use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of the Nirukta. Pāṇini (V. 4. 9)[131] teaches the formation of words like 'brāhmaṇajātīya' derived from words ending in 'jāti' (in the sense of caste). The expression 'jātidharma' (rules of castes) occurs in Gautama XI. 20, Vasiṣṭha I. 17 and XIX. 7, Manu I. 118 and VIII. 41 and the word jāti (caste) occurs also in Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 1, II. 1. 2. 3, Manu (IV. 141, X. 11, 18, 40, 97), Yāj. (I. 95, 361, II. 69, 206, III. 213), Nārada (ṛṇādāna 288) and in the vārtika on Pāṇini IV. 1. 137. Varṇa and jāti are sometimes clearly distinguished as in Yāj II. 69 and 206. But very often they are confounded. In Manu X. 27, 31 the word varṇa is used in the sense of mixed castes (*jātis*). Conversely the word jāti often appears to be used to indicate 'varṇa'. Vide Manu III. 15, VIII. 177, IX. 86 and 335, X. 41 and Yāj. I. 89 (in which latter sajāti appears to mean 'savarṇa').

Even when *anuloma* marriages were allowed there is no unanimity among the sages and the smṛtis as to the status of the progeny of such unions. Three different views are found. The first view is that if a male of one varṇa married a female of the varṇa immediately after it, the progeny belonged to the varṇa

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128. अग्निं चित्वा न रामामुपेयात्। रामा रमणायोपेयते न धर्माय कृष्णजातीया। निरुक्त XII. 13; the words 'अग्निं चित्वा ... पेयात्' occur in काठकसंहिता 21. 7.

129. नाग्निं चित्वा रामामुपेयात्। कृष्णवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय। वसिष्ठ 18. 17-18.

130. कृष्णवर्णीया रामा रमणायैवोपेयत इति ब्राह्मणवादः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 56.

131. जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि। पाणिनि V. 4. 9.

of the father; e. g. Baud. Dh. S.[132] (I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3) says that sons born to a person of a savarṇa wife or a wife of the varṇa next to his own are savarṇa i. e. the son of a brāhmaṇa from a wife of the kṣatriya varṇa is a brāhmaṇa. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 4, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 106) and Kauṭilya (III. 7) say the same. Gautama IV. 15 as interpreted by Haradatta appears to say that the off-spring of a brāhmaṇa from a kṣatriya wife is called savarṇa, but not the offspring of a kṣatriya male from a vaiśya wife or of a vaiśya male from a śūdra wife. Fick (pp. 54–57) shows that even according to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka 'the family of the mother does not matter; the family of the father alone is important'. The second view is that the progeny of *anuloma* unions is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother; e. g. Manu X. 6 'sages declare the sons begotten by *dvijas* on wives of varṇas immediately next to theirs as similar (to the fathers, but not of the same varṇa with the fathers) but tainted by the inferiority of their mothers.' The third view (and this is the common view) is that the progeny of anuloma marriages is of the same varṇa as regards its privileges and obligations as the mother's; e. g. vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 2 [133] and Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 91 and Aparārka (p. 118). A classical echo of this view is found in the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa[134] where king Duṣyanta exclaims aside to himself 'would that this girl were born of the sage from a wife who was not savarṇa'. Medhātithi on Manu X. 6 says that Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura being kṣetraja sons took the caste of their mothers. The Mit. explains the words of Śaṅkha by saying that the offspring of *anuloma* marriages such as mūrdhāvasikta are not really different from kṣatriyas, that they have the same *saṁskāras* but they do not become kṣatriyas etc. and are dubbed by these names to indicate their mixed origin and come to form separate sub-castes. The *pratilomas*, as said above, are lower in status than any of the two parents.

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132. तासु पुत्राः सवर्णानन्तरासु सवर्णाः । ब्राह्मणात्क्षत्रियायां ब्राह्मणः...... बौ. ध. I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3; भार्याश्चतस्रो विप्रस्य द्वयोरात्मास्य जायते । अनुशासन 48. 4; सवर्णा ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः क्षत्रियायामनन्तरः । नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 106); ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिययोरनन्तरापुत्राः सवर्णा एकान्तरा असवर्णाः । कौटिल्य III. 7.

133. अनुलोमास्तु मातृसवर्णाः । विष्णु 16. 2; 'ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पादितः क्षत्रिय एव भवति । क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायामुत्पादितो वैश्य एव भवति । वैश्येन शूद्रायामुत्पादितः शूद्र एव भवति ' शङ्ख in मिता. on या. I. 91.

134. अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसंभवा स्यात् । शाकुन्तल I.

The ancient dharmasūtras mention only a few mixed castes. Āp. Dh. S. mentions only cāṇḍāla, paulkasa and vaiṇa. Gautama names five anuloma castes, six pratiloma, one and eight others according to the view of some. Baudhāyana adds to those mentioned by Gautama a few more viz. rathakāra, śvapāka, vaiṇa and kukkuṭa. Vasiṣṭha names even a smaller number than Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is Manu (X) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (XVI) that for the first time dilate upon the avocations of the mixed castes. Manu refers to 6 anuloma, 6 pratiloma and 20 doubly mixed castes and states the avocations of about 23; Yāj. names only 13 castes (other than the four varṇas). Uśanas names about 40 and gives their peculiar avocations. All the smṛtis taken together hardly mention more than about one hundred castes.

The number of primary *anulomas* is only six (vide Manu X. 10, Yāj I. 91–92), but Manu names only three of them, viz. ambaṣṭha, niṣāda and ugra. The primary pratilomas also are six (vide Manu X. 11–12 and 16–17 and Yāj. I. 93–94) viz. sūta, vaidehaka, cāṇḍāla, māgadha, kṣatṛ, and āyogava. Further sub-castes are said to arise from the unions of the anulomas and pratilomas with the four varṇas and of the male of one anuloma and the female of another, from the union of pratilomas among themselves and from the union of a male or female of an *anuloma* caste and the female or male of a *pratiloma* caste. For example, Yāj. I. 95 defines rathakāra as the offspring of a māhiṣya male and a karaṇa female, i. e. it is a further mixture between two anuloma castes. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 95 says that upanayana and other *saṁskāras* are performed for the offspring of anuloma persons marrying among themselves. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 13) says the same[135]. Similarly Manu X. 15 says that āvṛta and ābhīra spring from the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ugra girl and an ambaṣṭha girl respectively (i. e. from the union of a brāhmaṇa with *anuloma* caste girls). Manu X. 19 says that śvapāka is the offspring of a kṣatṛ male (a pratiloma) with an ugra female (an anuloma). Manu X. 33 defines maitreyaka as the offspring of a vaidehaka male and an āyogava female (i.e. from parents who are both pratiloma). A

135. एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्न-मूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्यादनुलोमसङ्करे जात्यन्तरता उपनयनादिप्राप्तिश्च वेदितव्या तयोर्द्विजातित्वात्। मिता. on या. I. 95; एतेऽनुलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्याः स्युर्द्विजातिजाः। तथा मूर्धावसिक्तादिजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

smṛti verse quoted[136] by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 95 says that there are six anulomas, 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the union of the six anulomas with the four varṇas), 6 pratilomas and 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the unions of 6 pratilomas with four varṇas) i. e. in all 60 and further mixtures of these among themselves give rise to innumerable sub-castes. Similarly Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 7 [137] says that the further mixed castes arising from the unions of mixed castes are numberless. This shows that before the time of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (i. e. at least about 2000 years ago) numberless castes and sub-castes had been formed and the writers on dharmaśāstra practically gave up in despair the task of deriving them, even though mediately, from the primary varṇas. The same state of things was continued and was rather aggravated by the time of the *nibandhakāras*. Medhātithi on Manu X. 31 speaks of 60 mixed castes along with the four varṇas and adds that by the intermingling of these endless sub castes are formed. The Mitākṣarā[138] on Yāj. I. 95 observes that since the castes springing from the double intermingling of varṇas are innumerable, it is impossible to describe or enumerate them. Similarly the Kṛtyakalpataru in its *prakīrṇaka* topic of *vyavahāra* section, when dealing with castes, merely quotes several passages from the smṛtis and does not add a word of its own about the castes, their names or avocations in its own day (first half of 12th century). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 94[139] expressly says that the avocations of the pratilomas (about which Yāj. is silent) should be understood from the smṛtis of Uśanas and Manu. Medieval writers on dharmaśāstra usually ignore the treatment in detail of the numerous sub-castes and content themselves with dilating upon the duties of the four varṇas.

There was great diversity of opinion among the smṛtikāras about the derivation and status of the several sub-castes. We find that the same sub-caste is known under five or six different names even so early as the present Manusmṛti.

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136. प्रातिलोम्यानुलोम्येन वर्णैस्तज्जैश्च वर्णतः । षट्श्चैवान्ये प्रजायन्ते तत्प्रसूतेस्त्वनन्तता ॥ quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 95. It is quoted also by परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 125 and both say that these are वर्णाभासs ; the परा. मा. says that further *saṁkaras* are जात्याभासs.

137. संकरसंकराश्चासंख्येयाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 7.

138. संकीर्णसंकरजातीनामानन्त्याद्वक्तुमशक्यत्वात् । मिता० on या. I. 95

139. एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानवे च द्रष्टव्याः । मिता० on या. I. 94.

Manu X. 22 gives seven names for the same caste and Manu X. 23 gives five for another. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 92 explains that these different names are due to difference of locality.[140] There is another difficulty. The same name given to a caste is differently derived by different writers (vide under niṣāda and pāraśava below). For the same sub-caste different names are given in different smṛtis (vide under kṛta and rāmaka). It became difficult to assign any peculiar derivation for groups of people and so Manu (X. 40), Vasiṣṭha[141] (18.7) and Anuśāsana-parva 148. 29 laid down that men's sub-caste was to be known from their actions and occupations. This shows that according to most writers castes in the times of the smṛtis were predominantly occupational.

One word that frequently occurs in connection with castes and sub-castes is *varṇasaṁkara* (or only *saṁkara*). In Manu X. 12 and 24 the word varṇasaṁkara is used in the plural in the sense of mixed castes, while in Manu X. 40 (and in V. 89) the word *saṁkara* seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'. Gautama (VIII. 3) employs the word *saṁkara* and says 'on the two (the brāhmaṇa and the king) depends the prosperity (of men), protection, the prevention of mixture (of varṇas) and the (accumulation of) merit (or the observance of dharma).[142] Nārada (strīpuṁsa 102)[143] says 'to be born from a union in the inverse order of varṇas amounts to *varṇasaṁkara*;' while Bṛhaspati quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru appears to apply the word varṇasaṁkara to both anuloma and pratiloma castes. Baud.[144] Dh. S. (I. 9. 16) says that those who are born of

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140. अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वेकस्यैवार्थस्यानेकसंज्ञादर्शनेपि देशभेदेन तथाविधप्रयोगसत्तानुमानम्। न पुनः पारिभाषिकत्वकल्पना वेदेष्वप्यनेकविधसंज्ञोपलब्धेः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 92–93 ; vide also पराशरमाधवीय I. part 2 p. 120 'एकस्यामेव जातौ मूर्धावसिक्तसवर्णसंज्ञयोर्विकल्पेन प्रवृत्तत्वात् । न चैकत्र संज्ञाविकल्पे दृष्टान्ताभावः । एकत्र निषादपारशवविकल्पस्य मनुदेवलयाज्ञवल्क्यैरुदाहृतत्वात् ।'

141. छन्नोत्पन्नाश्च ये केचित्प्रातिलोम्यगुणाश्रिताः । गुणाचारपरिभ्रंशात्कर्मभिस्तान् विजानीयुरिति । वसिष्ठ 18.7.

142. प्रसूतिरक्षणमसंकरो धर्मः । गौ. VIII. 3.

143. प्रातिलोम्येन यज्जन्म स ज्ञेयो वर्णसंकरः । नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 102); ब्राह्मणक्षत्रविट्शूद्रा वर्णाश्चाग्र्यास्त्रयो द्विजाः । प्रतिलोमानुलोमाश्च ते ज्ञात्वा (ज्ञेया ?) वर्णसंकराः ॥ बृहस्पति in कृत्यकल्पतरु (ms).

144. वर्णसंकरादुत्पन्नान् व्रात्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 9. 16.

varṇasaṁkara are called *vrātyas*. The Mit. on Yāj I. 96 applies the word varṇasaṁkara to both anuloma and pratiloma progeny. Medhātithi[145] on Manu V. 88 says that the word 'saṁkarajāta' indicates pratilomas like āyogava and that even though as regards anulomas there is intermingling (of varṇas), yet as they have the privileges of the caste of their mothers, even Manu himself does not apply the word *saṁkīrṇayoni* to them as seen above (Manu X. 25). Yama[146] quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru says 'Varṇasaṁkara arises by the violation of the restrictions (about marriage); if the proper order of varṇas (i. e. male of higher varṇa marrying a woman of a lower varṇa) is followed, (the offspring) is entitled to be regarded as belonging to the system of varṇas, but if the reverse order is followed it is sin.' Manu (X. 24) says 'mixed castes arise by members of one varṇa having sexual intercourse with women of another varṇa, by marrying women who ought not to have been married (such as a sagotra girl) and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's varṇa'. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 1[147] remarks that 'varṇasaṁkara arises from wealth, greed, desires, uncertainty about the varṇa (of a person) or ignorance about varṇa'. Even in such a philosophical treatise as the Bhagavad-gītā (I. 41-43), it is said 'when women become corrupt (or demoralised), intermingling of varṇas arises; *saṁkara* necessarily leads the whole family and the destroyer of the family to hell. By reason of these transgressions of the destroyers of families which bring about *varṇasaṁkara*, the ancient caste observances and family observances are subverted.'

On account of the great emphasis laid on the prevention of *varṇasaṁkara* the smṛtis ordain that it is one of the principal duties of the king to punish people if they transgress the rules prescribed for varṇas and to punish men and women if guilty of *varṇasaṁkara*. Gautama (XI. 9-10) says 'the king should protect the varṇas and āśramas according to the śāstras and he should make them conform to their duties when they swerve

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145. सकरजाता इतरेतरजातिव्यतिकरेण प्रतिलोमा आयोगवादयः । अनुलोमास्तु सत्यपि संकीर्णयोनित्वे मातृजातीयत्वादधिकारित्वाच्च नेह गृह्यन्ते । न चानुलोमेषु संकीर्णयोनिव्यवहारः संकीर्णयोनयस्त्वेताः प्रतिलोमानुलोमजा इति । मेधा० on मनु. V. 88.

146. मर्यादाया विलोपेन जायते वर्णसंकरः। आनुलोम्येन वर्णत्वं प्रातिलोम्येन पातकम् ॥ यम quoted in MS. of कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्यवहार, प्रकीर्णक).

147. अर्थाल्लोभात्कामाद्वा वर्णानां चाप्यनिश्चयात्। अज्ञानाच्चापि वर्णानां जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥ अनुशासने 48. 1.

from them;' Vasiṣṭha (19. 7–8) 'the king paying attention to all these viz. the observances of countries, castes and families should make the four varṇas conform to their duties and should punish them when they go astray'; Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 3 and Yāj. I. 361, Mārkaṇḍeyapuārṇa 27, Matsyapurāṇa 215. 63 say the same. Nārada (strīpuṁsa 113)[148] says 'when a brāhmaṇa woman goes astray a cāṇḍāla is born from a śūdra male (and the brāhmaṇa woman); therefore the king should specially protect women from saṁkara'. It is on account of this that so early as in the first centuries of the Christian era we see that king Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāyi is extolled as having prevented the mixture of the four varṇas (E. I. vol. VIII pp. 60–61, 'vinivatitacātuvaṇa-sakarasa).' That varṇasaṁkara had gone too far in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 180. 31–33) follows from the following words which are despairingly put in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira[149] "It appears to me that it is very difficult to ascertain the caste of human beings on account of the confusion of all varṇas; all sorts of men are always begetting offspring from all sorts of women; speech, sexual intercourse, being born and death–these are common to all human beings; and there is scriptural authority (for this view) in the words 'We, whoever we are, offer the sacrifice'. Hence those who have seen the truth regard character as the principal thing desired." Śaṁkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 33 remarks that, though in his day varṇas and āśramas had become disorganised and unstable as to their dharmas, that was not the case in other ages, since otherwise the śāstras laying down regulations for them would have to be deemed purposeless or futile.[150]

Gautama (IV. 18–19), Manu (X. 64–65) and Yāj. (I. 96) speak of a peculiar doctrine called *Jātyutkarṣa* and *Jātyapakarṣa*. These passages have given rise to some divergence of interpreta-

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148. चाण्डालो जायते शूद्राद् ब्राह्मणी यत्र दुष्यति । तस्माद्राज्ञा विशेषेण स्त्रियो रक्ष्यास्तु संकरात् ॥ नारद स्त्रीपुंस 113 ; vide also नारद (प्रकीर्णक 2–6).

149. जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते । संकरात्सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः ॥ सर्वे सर्वास्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः । वाङ्मैथुनमथो जन्म मरणं च समं नृणाम् ॥ इदमार्षं प्रमाणं च ये यजामह इत्यपि । तस्माच्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्ये तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ वनपर्व 180. 31-33.

150. इदानीमिव च कालान्तरेपि अव्यवस्थितप्रायान्वर्णधर्मान् प्रतिजानीत । ततश्च व्यवस्थाविधायि शास्त्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 33.

tion, but their general sense is clear. Gautama (IV. 18)[151] says that according to the ācāryas the *anulomas* when they marry in such a way that the bridegroom in each stage is higher or lower than the bride they rise to a higher or go down to a lower varṇa in the 7th or 5th generation (respectively). This is explained by Haradatta as follows: When a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman the daughter born of this marriage is called *savarṇā*; if this latter is married to a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and this latter is again married by a brāhmaṇa and if this continues in the same way for seven generations, then when the 7th girl in descent marries a brāhmaṇa, whatever child is born of that union belongs to the brāhmaṇa *varṇa* (though in the preceding generations only the fathers were brāhmaṇas and the mothers were all not strictly brāhmaṇas, but only *savarṇās* if at all). This is called *jātyutkarṣa* (rise in status as a caste). On the other hand, when a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya girl and a son is born who is called *savarṇa*, then that son marries a kṣatriya girl and has a son and this is continued for *five generations*, then when the fifth son (in descent) marries a kṣatriya girl, the child born belongs to the kṣatriya varṇa (though in all the preceding generations the father was higher than kṣatriya and the mother only was a kṣatriya). This is *jātyapakarṣa* (fall in status as a caste). The same rule holds good as regards a kṣatriya marrying a vaiśya female and a vaiśya marrying a śūdra female. The same rule applies among anulomas also e. g. if a *savarṇa* (as defined by Gautama) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a daughter is born who again marries a *savarṇa* and this continues for seven generations, then the child of the 7th girl (in descent) from a *savarṇa* male becomes a *savarṇa* (rises in status); on the other hand if a savarṇa (offspring of brāhmaṇa male and kṣatriya female) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a son is born and that son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and their son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and this goes on for seven generations, then the child of

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151. वर्णान्तरगमनमुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमे पञ्चमे वाचार्याः । सृष्ट्यन्तरजातानां च । गौतम IV. 18-19. In S. B. E. vol. II. pp. 196–197 the sūtras are arranged differently i. e. the first ends at 'saptame' and pañcame...ryāḥ is another sūtra. Though this method makes a good sense it is opposed to the explanation of Haradatta, who explains that the option allowed by the use of 'vā' in the sūtra applies only where there is pre-eminence of character and learning (i. e. in such a case rise is possible even in the 5th generation).

the 7th male (in descent) born of an ambaṣṭha wife becomes an ambaṣṭha (i. e. there is jātyapakarṣa as to anulomas).

According to Manu[152] X. 64 when a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman, the daughter born is pāraśava, and if this pāraśava daughter marries a brāhmaṇa and the daughter of this latter union marries a brāhmaṇa and this continues for seven generations, then the seventh generation will be a brāhmaṇa (i. e. there will be jātyutkarṣa). Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a son is born, he is a pāraśava and that son marries a śūdra woman and their son again marries a śūdra woman and this goes on for 7 generations, the 7th generation becomes a mere śūdra (there is jātyapakarṣa). It will be seen that this differs from Gautama in several respects. In the first place for both jātyutkarṣa and jātyapakarṣa seven generations are prescribed, while in Gautama they are 7 and 5 respectively (according to Haradatta). In the second place according to Gautama the 8th in descent from the first anuloma marriage secures jātyutkarṣa, while according to Manu, the 7th secures it. Further Manu is silent about jātyutkarṣa when the original parents are anulomas. Besides, the commentators of Manu shorten the period for rise or fall in *jāti* as stated below. Manu X. 65 extends the same rules to the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman and of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman. Medhātithi and Kullūka extend these express words of Manu further by explaining that if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaiśya female and a daughter is born and she again marries a brāhmaṇa then in the fifth generation there will be jātyutkarṣa ; conversely if a son is born from a brāhmaṇa and a vaiśya wife, and he marries

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152. The word 'yuga' is understood by Medhātithi (on Manu X. 64) and Kullūka to mean 'janma'; Sarvajña-nārāyaṇa understands it to mean 'yugma' (pair of spouses). The meaning (yugma) is attached to 'yuga' by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 96 (p. 119). In the S. B. E. vol. II p. 196 Dr. Bühler compares Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.10. 10–11 with Gautama IV. 22. But the great scholar is not accurate here. Āp. does not speak of progeny of mixed marriages rising to higher status or being degraded to lower status after several generations ; he rather speaks of a śūdra rising higher and higher in successive births. In the Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 27. 5–6, 28. 6–13) it is said that after numberless births śūdras and others become vaiśyas and so on. Vanaparva (212. 11–12) gives expression to the same idea शूद्रयोनौ हि जातस्य सद्गुणानुपतिष्ठतः । वैश्यत्वं लभते ब्रह्मन् क्षत्रियत्वं तथैव च ॥ आर्जवे वर्तमानस्य ब्राह्मण्यमभिजायते । वनपर्व 212. 11–12.

a vaiśya female and this goes on, then in the fifth generation the son will be a vaiśya (i. e. there will be jātyapakarṣa). Similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman then there is jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa in three generations.

Yājñavalkya (I. 96)[153] speaks of two kinds of *jātyutkarṣa* or *jātyapakarṣa* viz. one due to marriage (as in Manu and Gautama) and another due to the avocation followed. 'It should be understood that there is rise in caste in the 7th or even in the 5th generation; if there is inversion as to the avocations, then there is corresponding similarity (of varṇa in the 7th or even 5th generation).' This is elaborated by the Mitākṣarā as follows:— If a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a daughter is born she is a niṣādī; if this latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and she in turn marries a brāhmaṇa and this goes on for six generations, then the child of the 6th girl (in descent) becomes a brāhmaṇa (he being 7th in descent); similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaiśya woman and a girl is born, she is an ambaṣṭha; if the latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and this goes on in the same way, then the fifth girl in descent has a child (from a brāhmaṇa husband) which is the 6th in descent from the original anuloma marriage and which then becomes a brāhmaṇa. If a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman and a daughter is born who is called mūrdhāvasiktā (Yāj. I. 91) and she marries a brāhmaṇa, then the fourth in descent marrying a brāhmaṇa has a child (5th in descent), then that child becomes a brāhmaṇa. Similarly, if a kṣatriya married a śūdra female and a daughter was born, she was called ugra, then jātyutkarṣa by marrying a higher male took place in the 6th generation. If a kṣatriya married a vaiśya woman, the daughter born was a māhiṣyā and jātyutkarṣa took place in the 5th generation. If a vaiśya married a śūdra woman, the daughter of the marriage is a karaṇī and if she marries a vaiśya, then in the fifth generation there would be jātyutkarṣa. Certain peculiar avocations and activities are prescribed for the four varṇas. Each varṇa may in times of difficulty follow the occupation peculiar to the caste immediately below it, but should not follow the avocations peculiar to the higher varṇas;[154] he must however revert to his proper avocation when the difficulty is

153. जात्युत्कर्षो युगे ज्ञेयः सप्तमे पञ्चमेपि वा । व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववच्चाधरोत्तरम् ॥ या. *I. 96.*

154. अजीवन्तः स्वधर्मेणानन्तरां पवीयसीं वृत्तिमातिष्ठेरन् । न तु कदाचिज्ज्यायसीम् । वसिष्ठ *II. 22–23.*

over (vide Vasiṣṭha II. 13–23, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 15, Yāj. I. 118–120, Gautama X. 1–7 &c.). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a śūdra and has a son, who does the same and this goes on continuously for seven generations, the 7th becomes a śūdra (by caste). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a vaiśya or a kṣatriya then in the 5th or 6th generation respectively there is fall in caste (i. e. the 5th or 6th becomes respectively a vaiśya or kṣatriya). Similarly if a kṣatriya follows the avocation of a vaiśya or śūdra and this goes on continuously, then the 5th or 6th (respectively) becomes a śūdra or vaiśya. Similarly if a vaiśya takes to the work peculiar to śūdras, then the fifth generation becomes śūdra.

Baud.[155] Dh. S. (I. 8. 13–14) gives another illustration of jātyutkarṣa. He says 'if a niṣāda (the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra wife) marries a niṣādī (and this goes on continuously), then the fifth generation becomes free of the taint of a śūdra status, he can have upanayana performed for him and his son (6th from the original niṣāda pair) can have a vedic sacrifice performed for him.'

These provisions would considerably lessen the rigour of the caste system based purely on birth. But one feels grave doubts whether such a method of jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa (particularly the one based on occupation) was or could be ever enforced in actual life. It would have been impossible to remember descent in a particular way for five or seven generations. The want of unanimity among the original smṛtikāras and the commentators also points in the direction that the method advocated, though it might have originally some slight basis in fact, was only a hypothesis and an ideal. Hardly any examples of jātyutkarṣa in the way set out by Manu or Yāj. occur in the literature on dharma-śāstra or in inscriptions. In the inscriptions we have authentic cases of intercaste marriages only, but hardly anything further[156]. From the Talguṇḍa pillar inscription of king Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family we learn that the Kadambas were originally of brāhmaṇa lineage, that the founder of the family was a brāhmaṇa

155. निषादेन निषाद्यामापञ्चमाज्जातोऽपहन्ति शूद्रताम् । तमुपनयेत्षष्ठं याजयेत् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 13–14.

156. Vide my paper published in the Journal portion of 38 Bombay Law Reporter on 'Inter-caste marriages in modern India, in the smṛtis and epigraphic records,' where several instances of inter-caste marriages are cited.

Mayūraśarman, who became exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcīpura and took up the sword to conquer the earth, that his descendants applied the affix 'varman' to their names (as if they were kṣatriyas, according to Manu II. 32) and Kākusthavarman (4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) married his daughters to Gupta and other kings[157]. This shows that an originally brāhmaṇa family came to look upon itself as kṣatriya by virtue of pursuing the profession of arms and governing the people. In the Mahābhārata we meet with stories of kings who became brāhmaṇas. For example, Anuśāsana 30 speaks of Vītahavya, a king, as having become a brāhmaṇa; similarly Śalya (39. 36–37) speaks of Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra as having become brāhmaṇas at a sacred spot on the Sarasvatī. In the Purāṇas also there are stories[158] of kings like Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Saṁkṛti, Kapi, Vadhryaśva, Purukutsa, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ajamīḍha and others as having risen to the status of brāhmaṇas. These are mythical sages and their rise is not stated to have been due to the principle of jātyutkarṣa[159]. Ibbetson (Report on the census of the Punjab 1881, pp. 174-176) notes that brāhmaṇas following certain professions became degraded and that the caste was changed.

That the professional castes were wealthy and well organized follows from the dharmaśāstra works and epigraphic records. In this connection the words śreṇi, pūga, gaṇa, vrāta and saṅgha deserve to be carefully studied. All these were called *samūha* (group) or *varga* according to Kātyāyana.[160] These

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157. E. I. vol. 8 p. 24.

158. Vide Vāyupurāṇa (B. I. Ed.) vol. II chap. 29. 111–114.

159. Compare the following lucid note of the पराशरमाधवीय I. part 2 p. 122 कूटस्थस्त्रीपुंसयुगमारभ्य परिगणनायां पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वानुलोम्येन युग्मे जातिरुत्कृष्यते। पुमान् विप्रः वधूः शूद्रा तयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थम् । तस्मादुत्पन्ना निषादी सापि विप्रेणोढा तयोर्युग्मं द्वितीयम् । एवं तदुत्पन्नायां वध्वां विप्रेणोढायां तृतीयादियुग्मपरंपरा भवति । तत्र सप्तमे युगे जातमपत्यं ब्राह्मण्योपेतं भवति । एवं वैश्याविप्रयुगलं कूटस्थम् । तस्मादुत्पन्ना अम्बष्ठा तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम्। एवं......षष्ठं यद्युग्मं तस्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति। तथा क्षत्रियाविप्रयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थं तदुत्पन्ना मूर्धावसिक्ता तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम् । तत्परंपरायां पञ्चमाद्युग्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति। एतदुक्तं भवति पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वेति व्यवस्थितविकल्पाः कूटस्थदम्पत्योः समनन्तरैकान्तरद्व्यन्तरजातियोगे पञ्चमादयोऽवगन्तव्या इति। तथा च सति शूद्रावैश्ययोः वैश्याक्षत्रिययोश्च समनन्तरत्वात्पञ्चमे, शूद्राक्षत्रिययोस्तु षष्ठे जातिरुत्कृष्यते । ...... यथा वर्णसांकर्ये प्रातिलोम्यमधममानुलोम्यमुत्तमं तथा वृत्तिसांकर्येऽपि। तथा क्षत्रियस्यापद्यपि याजनादिब्राह्मणवृत्त्युपजीवनमधमम् ।

160. गणाः पाषण्डपूगाश्च व्राताश्च श्रेणयस्तथा । समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गाख्यास्ते बृहस्पतिः। कात्या० quoted in स्मृतिच. (on व्यव. p. 18), वि. र. p. 669.

words occur in the Vedic literature, but the sense is generally 'a group' and there is no special meaning attached. 'Śreṇi' occurs in the Ṛg. I. 163. 10 [161] (like flamingoes the horses press forward in rows or groups); both *vrāta* and *gaṇa* occur in Ṛg. III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11 and in numerous other places. The Kauṣītaki Br. 16. 7[162] speaks of Rudra as pūga (as he is the head of the band of Maruts). Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26[163] quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage about a group (saṅgha) of brahmacārins going about for alms. Pāṇini teaches[164] the formation of derivatives from pūga, gaṇa, saṅgha (V. 2. 52), from vrāta (V. 2. 21). In his time it appears the words had acquired specific meanings. The Mahābhāṣya explains (on Pāṇini V. 2. 21) that vrātas are groups formed by men of various castes with no fixed means of livelihood but subsisting by the might (or strength) of their bodies (by bodily labour of various kinds). The Kāśika[165] explains pūgas as associations of men of different castes with no fixed professions, who are solely bent on making money or seeking pleasure. Kauṭilya in one place distinguishes between soldiers and śreṇis (guilds) and in another place says that the guilds of kṣatriyas in Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra subsist by the profession of arms and vārtā (agriculture).[166] Vas. Dh. S. XVI. 15 says that boundary disputes are to be settled by the evidence of the old men in the village or town or of guilds (śreṇi) when there is conflict of documentary evidence. Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 167 prescribes banishment for him who embezzles the wealth of associations (gaṇa) and who transgresses the conventions made by them. Manu (VIII. 219) has a similar rule about village and local associations (saṅgha). The above words are variously explained by the several commen-

161. हंसा इव श्रेणिशो यतन्ते यदाक्षिषुर्दिव्यमज्ममश्वाः । ऋ. I. 163. 10.

162. पूगो वै रुद्रः । तदेनं स्वेन पूगेन समर्धयति । कौषी० ब्रा. 16. 7.

163. तस्माद्ु ह वै ब्रह्मचारिसङ्घं चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि हैतेष्वेवंविध एवंव्रतः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 26.

164. व्रातेन जीवति । पा. V. 2. 21 (व्रातीन); बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । पा. V. 2. 52.

165. नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः सङ्घा व्राताः तेषां कर्म व्रातं तेन व्रातकर्मणा जीवतीति व्रातीनः । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 374 (on पा. V. 2. 21); नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगाः । काशिका on पा. V. 2. 21.

166. आयुधीयप्रायः श्रेणिप्रायो वा मे जनपदः । अर्थशास्त्र VII. 1. p. 265; काम्भोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः । अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1. p. 378; प्रत्यभिलेख्यविरोधे ग्रामनगरवृद्धश्रेणीप्रत्ययः । वसिष्ठ 16. 15.

tators (vide my notes to the translation of Kātyāyana verses[167] 678–682 of that reconstructed smṛti). Kātyāyana says '*Naigama* is an association of citizens of the same city, vrāta is a company of soldiers carrying various arms, pūga is an association of traders and the like, gaṇa is a group of brāhmaṇas, saṅgha is a body of Bauddhas or Jainas; and bands of cāṇḍālas and śvapacas are called gulma.' Yāj. (I. 361) directs the king to punish kulas, castes, śreṇis, gaṇas, if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business) and the Mit. explains śreṇi as a guild of sellers of betel leaves and the like and gaṇa as of 'helābukas' (horse-dealers); while Yāj. II. 192 and Nārada[168] (samayasyānapākarma 2) require the king to prevent the breach of the conventions of śreṇi, naigama, pūga, vrāta, gaṇa and to confirm them in their traditional occupations. Yāj. II. 30 says that pūgas and śreṇis had authority to investigate disputes and that the pūga was a higher tribunal than the śreṇi. The Mit. on this explains that pūga is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, while a śreṇi is a group of people of different castes, that subsist by the occupation of one caste and gives 'heḍābukas' 'tāmbūlikas' (betel sellers), 'kuvindas' (weavers) and 'carmakāras' (shoe-makers) as examples of śreṇis. In the Harṣa stone of Chāhamāna Vigraharāja (E. I. vol. II. p. 124) there is a reference to one *dramma* for each horse given to 'heḍāvikas.' In the Nasik Inscription No. 15 (E. I. vol. VIII p. 88) we are told that in the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena 1000 kārṣāpaṇas were deposited with an association of potters as a permanent donation yielding interest, 500 with a guild of oilmen and 2000 with a guild of watermen (*udaka-yantra-śreṇi*) for medicines to be given to sick bhikṣus. No. 9 and No. 12 of the inscriptions at Nasik also contain reference to deposits of money with the guild of weavers. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of Huviṣka's reign mentions a guild of flour-makers (samitakara, vide E. I. vol. 21 p. 55 at p. 61). The Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. IV p. 97) refers to an investment of monies with the guild (śreṇi) of bamboo-workers and of braziers (kāsakāra). The Indore copperplate of Skandagupta (of the Gupta saṁvat 146) speaks of the deposit with the guilds of the

167. These verses are quoted in the विवादरत्नाकर pp. 618–669, स्मृतिच॰, वीरमित्रोदय p. 426., परा. मा. (on व्यव.) p. 352 &c.

168. पाषण्डनैगमश्रेणीपूगव्रातगणादिषु । संरक्षेत्समयं राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा ॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 2).

oilmen of Indrapura for permanently securing a supply of two *palas* of oil (C. I. I. vol. III p. 70). Similarly it is said that a guild of silk weavers from Lāṭa (southern Gujerat) came to Daśapura (Dasor in Malwa) and built a temple of the sun in the Mālava year 494 i. e. 437–38 A. D. (C. I. I. vol. III p. 81 = I. A. vol. 15 p. 194). These examples show that about the first centuries of the Christian era such castes as woodworkers, oilmen, betel sellers and weavers that are at present very low in the hierarchy of castes had very efficient caste guilds, so famous for their organization, integrity and stability that people deposited with them thousands for permanent services to objects of charity.[169]

We shall now append a list of several castes enumerated or mentioned in smṛti and other dharmaśāstra works from about 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D. in alphabetical (Sanskrit) order. They are not given in a tabular form owing to numerous contradictory statements in the smṛtis themselves. References are given only to a few smṛtis, the principal ones drawn upon being the Dharmasūtras, Manu, Yāj., Vaik. smārta-sūtra X. 11–15, Uśanas, the Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa chap. 12). It is hoped that the list is fairly exhaustive for the smṛti period. It will be noticed that many of the caste names collected here still occur under the same forms or under slightly modified forms of the names.

Andhra. Vide above note 118 quoting the Ait. Br. Manu X. 36 says it was a low subcaste sprung from Vaidehaka father and Kārāvara mother and that Andhras were to live outside the village and to subsist (X. 48) by killing wild beasts. In the edicts of Aśoka the Andhras are associated with Pulindas (vide Rock Edict No. 13). The Udyogaparva (160. 103) mentions Andhras (probably as people of Andhradeśa) along with Draviḍas and Kāñcyas. In the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. vol. 17 p. 321) meda, andhraka and cāṇḍāla are spoken of as the lowest castes. In Orissa one scheduled caste is noted as Ādi-Andhra (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Antya. According to Vas. Dh. S. 16.30, Manu IV. 79, VIII. 68, Yāj. I. 148, 197, Atri 251, Likhita 92, verse Āpastamba (III. 1) this word is a generic appellation for all lowest castes

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169 Vide 'Local Government in Ancient India' by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji pp. 29–34, 44 for pūga, śreṇi, gaṇa and saṅgha. Unfortunately some of the references (as printed) are wrong and not in point.

like the cāṇḍāla. Vide the chapter on 'untouchables'. The word 'bāhya' has the same sense. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 9. 18 says that there is a cessation of Vedic study on the day on which *bāhya* senter a village; vide also Nārada (ṛṇādāna 155), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.14.

Antyaja. This word is applied to all lowest castes like the cāṇḍāla in Manu IV. 61, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36.7, Yāj. I. 273, Bṛhad-yama (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 260). In Manu VIII. 279 the word is used in the sense of 'śūdra'. Various enumerations of the subdivisions of antyajas are found in the smṛtis. Atri 199 enumerates[170] seven *antyajas* viz. rajaka (washerman), carmakāra (worker in hides), naṭa (dancer caste, represented in the Deccan by *Kolhāṭis*), buruḍa (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda, bhilla. This verse is quoted as Āpastamba's by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265, while Aparārka p. 1123 ascribes it to Atri. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 260 distinguishes between two groups of antyajas, viz. the one quoted above which it says is not so low as another group of seven, which are called *antyāvasāyins*,[171] viz. cāṇḍāla, śvapaca (eater of dog flesh), kṣatṛ, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti 101. 19) reference is made to *antyaja* soldiers and Nīlakaṇṭha explains that they were the kaivartas and bhillas of the border regions. According to the Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 74) Pitāmaha speaks of the seven castes of rajaka and others as *prakṛtis*.[172] Is it possible that the Prākṛta languages were originally so called because they were spoken by these castes called prakṛtis? In the Sangamner plate of Bhillama II dated *śake* 922 (E. I. vol. II. p. 220) a village is granted with eighteen *prakṛtis* (meaning probably the eighteen guilds of washermen and others). The Vīramitrodaya (vyavahāra p. 12) explains that śreṇis mean the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka. This shows that these low castes had risen in social status in the medieval ages by their organization and

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170. रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च। कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः॥ अत्रि 199, अङ्गिरस् (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Ānand. ed.). Some mss. read म्लेच्छ for मेद; vide note 202 below.

171. चाण्डालः श्वपचः क्षत्ता सूतो वैदेहिकस्तथा। मागधायोगवौ चैव सप्तैतेऽन्त्याव-सायिनः॥ मध्यमाङ्गिरस् acc. to मिता० on या. III. 265; quoted by हरदत्त on गौ. 20. 1 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 116.

172. शास्त्राणि वर्णधर्मांस्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः। व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा कार्यं समाचरेत्॥ प्रकृतयस्तु पितामहेन दर्शिता रजक-चर्मकार-नट बुरुड-कैवर्तक-म्लेच्छभिल्लादयः। सरस्वतीविलास p. 74.

wealth. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 12–13) enumerates twelve castes by name as *antyajas* and adds that all those who eat cow's flesh are also *antyajas.*[173]

Antāvasāyin or *Antyāvasāyin.* Manu IV. 79 separately mentions 'antyas' and 'antyāvasāyins' and Manu X. 39 says that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male from a niṣāda female, that he is condemned even by all 'bāhyas' (untouchables) and stays in a cemetery. Gautama 20. 1 and 23. 32 mentions 'antyāvasāyin (and -yinī). Vas. Dh. S. 18. 3 holds that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a śūdra from a vaiśya woman. The Bhāradvāja-śrauta sūtra (XI. 22. 12) forbids the study of the Veda in the presence of the antyāvasāyin. The Anuśāsana-parva (22. 22) speaks of Medas, Pulkasas and Antāvasāyins (the printed text is corrrupt). Śānti (141. 29–32) gives a graphic description of a hamlet of cāṇḍālas and calls them 'antyāvasāya' (in verse 41). Nārada (ṛṇādāna 182) says that an antyāvasāyin is not eligible as a witness. Some modern works like the Jātiviveka (D. C. Ms. No. 347 of 1887–91) say that Dom in modern times is the antyāvasāyin of the smṛtis.

Abhiṣikta — See under Mūrdhāvasikta.

Ambaṣṭha — (same as Bhṛjjakaṇṭha).

In Ait. Br. (chap. 39. 7) king Āmbaṣṭhya is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. In Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 97 the word Ambaṣṭha is derived and on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 170 Āmbaṣṭhya (king ?) is cited by Pat. as an example derived from Ambaṣṭha (a country). It is a question whether the caste of Ambaṣṭhas derived its name from a country. Karṇaparva (6. 11) mentions a king Ambaṣṭha. In Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 3, Manu X. 8, Yāj. I. 91, Uśanas 31, Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 107) Ambaṣṭha is an *anuloma* sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya woman, while according to Gautama 4. 14 as interpreted by Haradatta he is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a vaiśya woman. Manu X. 47 prescribes the profession of medicine for him and Uśanas[174] (31–32) says that he may subsist by agriculture or may be a fire-dancer or he may be a herald (? banner proclaimer)

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173. चर्मकारो भटो भिल्लो रजकः पुष्करो नटः । विराटो मेदचाण्डालौ दाशः श्वपच-कोलिकाः ॥ एतेन्त्यजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च गवाशनाः । एषां संभाषणात्स्नानं दर्शनादर्क-वीक्षणम् ॥ वेदव्यास I. 12–13. 'श्रेण्यो रजकाद्यष्टादशहीनजातयः' वीरमित्रोदय (व्यवहार p. 12).

174. कृष्याजीवो भवेत्तस्य तथैवाग्नेयनर्तकः । ध्वजविश्रावका वापि अम्बष्ठाः शस्त्र-जीविनः (शल्यजीविनः ?) । उशनस् 31–32.

and live by surgery. Vaik. 10. 12 has almost the same words ; the Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (26. 40–41) says the same. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 14 says that ambaṣṭha and śalyakṛnta are synonymous. The Baidyas of Bengal came to be the ambaṣṭhas of Manu (vide Risley's 'People of India' p. 114).

Ayaskāra (blacksmith). In the Vedic literature we have ayastāpa (heater of ayas, probably any metal). Vide under karmakāra and karmāra. Patañjali on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 mentions him as a śūdra along with takṣan (Mahābhāṣya, vol. I. p. 475).

Avarīṭa. Devala quoted by Aparārka (p. 118 on Yāj. I. 92) says that he is born of the illegitimate connection between a married woman and a male of the same caste and he becomes a śūdra. The Śūdra-kamalākara [175] (p. 247) cites from the Smṛti-kaumudī a verse of the Ādityapurāṇa to the same effect.

Avira. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female.

Āpīta. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of brāhmaṇa from a Dauṣyantī.

Ābhīra. According to Manu X. 15 he is the child of the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ambaṣṭha girl. The Mahābhārata (Mausalaparva 7. 46–63 and 8. 16–17) states that the ābhīras were *dasyus* and *mlecchas* who attacked Arjuna after the great war in the land of the five rivers and carried away Vṛṣṇi women. The Sabhāparva (51. 12) mentions ābhīras with Pāradas and the Āśvamedhika (29. 15–16) says (just as Manu X. 43–44 do) that the Ābhīras, the Draviḍas and others became śūdras by non-contact with brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhāṣya expressly states that the ābhīras are not a subcaste included under the genus śūdra but that they are a caste distinct from śūdras. [176] The Kāmasūtra (V. 5. 30) names an ābhīra king Koṭṭarāja. Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa (I. 36) says that Apabhraṁśa is the appellation of the speech of ābhīras and the like

175. द्वितीयेन तु यः पित्रा सवर्णायां प्रजायते । अवरीट इति ख्यातः शूद्रधर्मा स जातितः । देवल in अपरार्क p. 118 and in कुल्लूक on मनु X. 5 (अवराट इति). सवर्णासु सवर्णैस्तु ये जायन्ते परैरपि । अवराटकसंज्ञास्ते व्रतसंस्कारवर्जिताः ॥ शूद्रकमलाकर p. 247.

176. यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरं गोबलीवर्दं तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावच्छूद्राभीरमिति । आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 251 (on पा. I. 2. 72.).

in poetry. The Amarakośa says that they are cow-herds and that the ābhīra wife of a Mahāśūdra is called Ābhīrī. The Ābhīras became absorbed in Hindu society and we find that an Ābhīra *senāpati* Rudrabhūti in the year 103 (181–82 A. D.) under king Rudrasiṁha, son of Rudradāman, built a well (E. I. vol. 16 p. 235) and in the Nasik cave No. 15 there is an inscription of king Īśvarasena, a son of Ābhīra Śivadatta and Māḍharī (i. e. the mother was of the Māṭhara gotra). Vide E. I. vol. 8, p. 88. Ābhīras are called *ahirs* in modern times. Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 21 pp. 430-433, Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' vol. I. p. 17 ff.

Āyogava. Vide *Āyogū* above (p. 43) from Vedic literature. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 4, Manu X. 12, Kauṭ. III. 7, Anuśāsana 48. 13, Yāj. I. 94 this is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female; while Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7), Uśanas 12, Vaik. X. 14 say that it springs from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. Vas. Dh. S. (18. 3) gives antyāvasāyin as the name of the caste sprung from a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and pulkasa as the name of one sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. His avocation (Manu X. 48) is to pare wood, while Uśanas (verse 13) says he is a weaver or subsists by making vessels of bronze or by cultivating paddy or by dealing in cloth. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 8 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) he is to make his living by going to the stage. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa says (26. 68-69) that he works in stones and bricks, makes pavements and whitewashes walls i. e. he is the modern Pātharvaṭa (in the Deccan).

Āvantya. Same as Bhūrjakaṇṭha (Manu X. 21).

Āśvika. According to Vaik. X. 12 he is the child of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and deals in horses.

Āhiṇḍika. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a vaidehī female i. e. he is a double pratiloma caste. Kullūka says that his avocation according to Uśanas is to prevent strangers from trespassing on places where offenders are kept imprisoned. Manu X. 36 shows that the same caste is called Kārāvara when it follows the craft of a carmakāra.

Ugra. For Vedic reference see above (p. 45). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 5), Manu X.9, Kauṭ. III.7, Yāj. I. 92, Anuśāsana 48, 7 he is an anuloma offspring of a kṣatriya male from a śūdra

woman, while according to Uśanas (verse 41) he is the offspring of the union of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 20) allows a pupil to bring wealth from a śūdra or an ugra when the teacher is in distress or difficulties. Gaut. 4. 14 (as explained by Haradatta) says that ugra is the offspring of a vaiśya from a śūdra female. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 18. 1) says that a brāhmaṇa may accept the gift of money, corn like paddy, flesh of deer, house, field, hay for oxen from an ugra. Manu X. 49 says that the ugra should subsist by catching and killing animals that hide in holes, while Uśanas (verse 41) states that he is to be the staff-bearer of the king and to carry out the punishments inflicted on offenders. Vide Vaik. 10. 13. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 255) he is called 'Rajpūta'. In the Jātiviveka (the D. C. collection of 1887–1891 No. 347) he is called *Rāvut.*

Udbandhaka. According to Uśanas (verse 15) he is the offspring of the union of a sūnika and a kṣatriya woman, subsists by washing clothes and is an untouchable. Vaik. 10. 15 says he is the offspring of a khanaka and a kṣatriya woman.

Upakruṣṭa. According to Āśv. śr. sūtra (II. 1) he does not belong to the dvijātis, but is authorised to perform the vedic rite of *agnyādheya* and the commentary explains that he is a vaiśya following the profession of a carpenter.

Oḍra. Vide Manu X. 43–44. Oḍra is a country corresponding more or less to modern Orissa. Most of the names of people mentioned in Manu X. 44 are derived from countries. Vide note on Khaśa (p. 79) and see Sabhāparva 51. 23.

Kaṭakāra. According to Uśanas (45) and Vaik. 10. 13 he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a vaiśya and a śūdra female.

Karaṇa. According to Gaut. (IV. 17 the view of some ācāryas) and Yāj. I. 92, he is the child of the marriage of a vaiśya and a śūdra woman (i. e. he is an anuloma). Manu (X. 22) says that a kṣatriya who is a vrātya (i. e. for whom no *upanayana* has been performed) has from a similar woman a child variously called Jhalla, Malla, Niccivi (Licchivi ?), Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khaśa, Draviḍa. Ādiparva 115. 43 tells us that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had from a vaiśya female a karaṇa son named Yuyutsu. Kṣīrasvāmī on Amara says that karaṇa also denotes a group of officers like kāyasthas and adhyakṣas (superintendents). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 49–51) says he is the same as

cāraṇa or vaitālika and his business is to sing the praises of kings and brāhmaṇas and study the science of erotics.

Karmakāra. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 14) mentions this caste. It is most probably the same as karmāra. But Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 115 separately mentions in the same passage karmakāra and karmāra.

Karmāra. For vedic references vide (p. 43) above. This caste appears in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Manu IV. 215 mentions it. In Bengal the Lohar is a scheduled caste (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Kāṁsyakāra. (modern kāṁsāra in Marathi) Mentioned by Nārada (ṛṇādāna 274) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 in connection with the balance ordeal.

Kākavaca. Mentioned in Uśanas (50) as doing the work of bringing grass for horses.

Kāmboja. Vide Manu X. 43–44. The country of Kamboja was known to Yāska (Nirukta II. 2) and Pāṇini (IV. 1. 175). Udyogaparva 160. 103, Droṇa 121. 13 mention Kambojas with Śakas. Vide under Yavana.

Kāyastha.[177] Heated controversies have raged in mediéval and modern times about the origin and status of kāyasthas and the bitterness is reflected in the decisions of the Indian courts also. In *Bholanath v. Emperor*[178] the Calcutta High Court held that the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras and went so far as to hold that a kāyastha could marry a Dom female. But in *Asita Mohan v. Nirode Mohan*[179] the Privy Council left open the question whether the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras. On the other hand in *Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal*[180] and in *Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad*[181] the Allahabad and Patna High Courts respectively held that the kāyasthas were dvijas and not śūdras. In *Subrao v. Radha* 52 Bom. 497 at p. 504–506 this conflict of decisions is referred to.

The word kāyastha does not occur in the ancient dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, or Vasiṣṭha nor

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177 Vide for further details my paper on 'the Kāyasthas' in the New Indian Antiquary for 1939 vol. I. pp. 739-743.

178 I. L. R. 51 Cal. 488.

179 L. R. 47 I. A. 140,145.

180 12 All. 328.

181 6 Patna 506.

in the Manusmṛti. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 3 defines a public document (rājasākṣika) as one written in the royal court or office by a kāyastha appointed by the king and attested by the hand of the superintendent of the office.[182] These words suggest that the kāyastha was an officer and that there is nothing about a caste here. Yāj. I. 322 calls upon the king to protect the subjects from the harassment of cāṭas (rogues), thieves, bad characters, desperadoes and the like and particularly of kāyasthas. The Mit. explains that *kāyasthas* are accountants and scribes, are favourites of the king and very cunning. Uśanas[183] (35) holds the kāyasthas to be a caste and gives an uncomplimentary derivation of the name by saying that it is compounded of the first letters of *kāka* (crow), Yama and *sthapati* to convey the three attributes of greed, cruelty and the spoliation (or paring), characteristic of the three. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti[184] (I. 10-11) includes the kāyastha among śūdras along with barbers, potters and others. Sumantu quoted in the Par. M. II part I p. 383 makes the food of a lekhaka along with that of oilmen and others unfit for a brāhmaṇa[185]. Lekhaka is obviously a caste here, but whether it is the kāyastha caste is doubtful. Bṛhaspati as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (vyavahāra) speaks of the gaṇaka and lekhaka as two persons to be associated with a judge in a court of justice and says they were to be *dvijas*. Vide also Aparārka p. 600. Therefore both these were only officers and not members of a particular caste. In the Mṛcchakaṭika (Act IX) a śreṣṭhin and kāyastha are associated with the judge. So the kāyastha seems to be the same as the lekhaka of Bṛhaspati and as a mere official. In the first centuries of the Christian era the kāyastha was merely an officer and the word was possibly derived from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word for an officer, though in some parts of the country (as shown by Uśanas and Veda-Vyāsa) the kāyasthas also had come to form a caste in medieval times.

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182. राजाधिकरणे तन्नियुक्तकायस्थकृतं तदध्यक्षकरचिह्नितं राजसाक्षिकम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

183. काकाल्लौल्यं यमात् क्रौर्यं स्थपतेरथ कृन्तनम् । आद्यक्षराणि संगृह्य कायस्थ इति निर्दिशेत् ॥ उशनस् ॥ 35.

184. वर्धकी नापितो गोप आशापः कुम्भकारकः । वणिक्-किरात-कायस्थमालाकार-कुटुम्बिनः ॥ एते चान्ये च बहवः शूद्रा भिन्नाः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति I. 10-11

185. अभिशस्तपतितपौनर्भवपुंश्चल्यशुचिशस्त्रकारतैलिकचाक्रिकध्वजिसुवर्णकारलेखकलैङ्गिकषण्डकबन्धकगणकगणिकान्नानि चाभोज्यानि । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 383.

Though numerous officers are mentioned in the inscriptions of the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, the kāyastha hardly ever figures among them. One of the earliest inscriptions where the word *kāyastha* occurs is the Kanaswa Inscription of Śivagaṇa dated in the Mālava era 795 (i. e. 738-39 A. D.). Vide I. A. vol. 19 pp. 56 and 59. See also E. I. vol. X. p. 79 for Kāyastha Kāñcana in Balera plates in 994-95 A. D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 149 for Śāsanika kāyastha in Naraspatam plates of 1045-46 A. D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 20, 25 for kāyastha Surāditya who was 'Sarvaśāstravit' in Govindacandra's plate dated 1129-30 A. D., E. I. 19 pp. 209, 213 Amodā plate dated 1161 A. D. (for Vāstavya kāyastha), E. I. vol. 19 p. 45 Inscription of Hammīra (dated 1288-89 A. D.), E. I. XII. p. 46 (dated 1328-29 A. D. for Māthura kāyastha), E. I. 20 Appendix No. 442 p. 64 (for Gauḍa kāyastha). In the Rājataraṅgiṇī (VIII. 131) kāyasthas and diviras are mentioned separately and in VIII. 2383 it is stated that the brāhmaṇa Śivaratha, who was a roguish kāyastha, was strangulated in the reign of Jayasiṁha. So in the 12th century kāyasthas were only officers in Cashmir and brāhmaṇas held such offices. Vide Rājataraṅgiṇī V. 180-184 for a bitter diatribe against kāyasthas.

The Śūdrakamalākara (pp. 279-280) speaks of three sub-castes of kāyasthas.

Kārāvara. According to Manu X. 36 he is a doubly mixed caste sprung from the union of a niṣāda with a vaidehī and his craft is that of a carmakāra. According to later digests like the Śūdrakamalākara he is called 'kahāra' or 'bhoi' and holds torches and carries umbrellas for others.

Kāruṣa. According to Manu X. 23 this caste springs from the union of a vrātya vaiśya and a similar female. This caste is also called Sudhanvācārya, Vijanman, Maitra and Sātvata (according to Manu).

Kirāta. Vide above (p. 44) for vedic references. Veda-Vyāsa speaks of him as a subdivision of śūdra (note 184). According to Manu (X. 43-44) he is a kṣatriya reduced to the status of a śūdra. Anuśāsana (35.17-18) says the same about Mekalas, Draviḍas, Lāṭas, Pauṇḍras, Yavanas and others. Karṇaparva 73. 20 speaks of kirātas as men of fiery valour. Āśvamedhika 73. 25 shows that Arjuna met kirātas, yavanas and Mlecchas when proceeding to the north with the Aśvamedha horse. The Amarakośa says that kirāta, śabara and pulinda are subdivisions of Mleccha castes.

Kukkuṭa. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 8 he is a pratiloma caste, but I. 9. 15 says that he is the child of the union of a śūdra with a niṣāda woman, while I. 8. 12 states that he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a niṣāda woman.[186] Manu X. 18 agrees with Baud. Dh. I. 9. 15. According to Kauṭ. III. 7 he is the offspring of an ugra male from a niṣāda female. According to Ādityapurāṇa quoted in the Śūdrakamalākara he manufactures swords and other weapons and engages in cockfights for the king.

Kuṇḍa. According to Manu III. 174 he is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a married brāhmaṇa woman whose husband is living and a brāhmaṇa male.

Kukunda. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a māgadha from a śūdra female.

Kumbhakāra. This word occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Uśanas (32–33) says that he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya female. Vaik. (X. 12) agrees with Uśanas and adds that the offspring becomes either a kumbhakāra or a barber who shaves parts of the body above the navel. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10–11) and Devala (quoted in Par. M. II. 1. p. 431 and Gṛ. R. p. 337) include the potter among śūdras.[187] In the Central Provinces the Kumbhāra is a scheduled caste.

Kulāla. For Vedic references see above (p.43). Pāṇ IV. 3. 118 explains the formation of kaulālakam (made by a potter). The Āśv. Gṛ. IV. 3. 18 says that all earthen vessels (kaulālam) of a deceased agnihotrin should be kept by his son. Why two names arose for the caste of potters it is difficult to explain.

Kulika. This caste is mentioned in Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175 (where Aparārka explains it as devalaka).

Kuśīlava. According to Baudhāyana as quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of an ambaṣṭha from a vaidehaka female. According to Amara he is the same as a cāraṇa (a bard). According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female (i. e. exactly the reverse of Baudhāyana's view) and he gives the name vaiṇa to the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a vaidehaka female.

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186. प्रतिलोमास्त्वायोगवमागधवैणक्षत्रपुल्कसकुक्कुटवैदेहकचण्डालाः । निषादात्तु तृतीयायां पुल्कसः । विपर्यये कुक्कुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 8, 11–12 ; शूद्रान्निषाद्यां कुक्कुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 9. 15.

187. स्वदासो नापितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कृषीवलः । ब्राह्मणैरपि भोक्तव्याः पञ्चैते शूद्रयोनयः । देवल in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 431.

Kṛta. According to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a brāhmaṇa woman. Yāj. I. 93 and others call this caste vaidehaka.

Kaivarta. In the Assam valley kaibartta is a scheduled caste. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that this is a mixed caste. Manu X. 34 tells us that the inhabitants of Āryāvarta employ the name kaivarta to denote the offspring of a niṣāda from an āyogava woman, who is also called mārgava and dāsa (dāśa ?) and who subsists by plying boats. Śaṁkara on Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 43 says that dāśa and kaivarta are the same. Fick p. 302 notes that fishermen who work with nets and baskets were called in the Jātakas *kevatta.*

Kolika. Mentioned as one of the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa. Vide note 173 under antyaja. Koli is a scheduled caste in the Central Provinces and Kol in United Provinces.

Kṣatṛ. For vedic references see above. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 12, 13 and 16, Yāj. I. 94, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 112), this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra father and kṣatriya mother. Manu (X. 49–50) prescribes for him the same avocation as for ugra and pulkasa. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 2 calls him vaiṇa. In the Amarakośa kṣatṛ is given three meanings, a charioteer, doorkeeper and the caste described above. In Chāndogya Up. IV. 1. 5, 7, 8 the word seems to mean only door-keeper. Pāṇ. notices the word (VI. 4. 11). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 63–66) says that kṣatṛ is also called niṣāda and that he is an expert in catching deer by means of nets, is a forester and kills wild animals, also rings a bell at night to remind people of the hour.

Khanaka. According to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of an āyogava male and kṣatriya female and lives by digging.

Khaśa or khasa. According to Manu X. 22 this is another name for karaṇa ; while in X. 43–44 he makes the khaśas a kṣatriya caste originally but reduced to the status of śūdras by the absence of saṁskāras and the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Vide Sabhā. 52. 3, Udyoga 160. 103.

Guhaka. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a śvapaca from a brāhmaṇa female.

Goja (or *Goda*). According to Uśanas (28–29) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and female.

Gopa. Vide note 184. He is the modern Gavḷi and a śūdra subcaste. Yāj. II. 48 says that debts contracted by gopa wives must be paid by their husbands as the latter's profession and earnings depend upon them. The Kāmasūtra (I. 5. 37) mentions a caste called Gopālaka.

Golaka. He is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a brāhmaṇa widow and a brāhmaṇa male. Vide Manu III. 174, Laghu-Śātātapa 105, Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva. 12. 12).

Cakrī. According to Uśanas (22–23) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and subsists by (selling) oil and oilcakes or salt. He seems to be the same as tailika. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) mentions him. According to Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 he is one who presses sesame. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a secret love affair between a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female and engages in the sale of salt and oil.

Carmakāra. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. He is mentioned in many smṛtis like Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51.8), Āpastamba (in verse 9. 32), Parāśara (VI. 44). According to Uśanas (4), he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya girl, while verse 21 says that those sprung from a vaidehaka and a brāhmaṇa girl subsist by working on hides. Vaik. (X. 15) agrees with this latter. Manu IV. 218 speaks of him as carmāvakartin (cutter of hides). According to several smṛtis he is one of the seven antyajas. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa female. This name persists to this day as cāmbhār (in Western India) or cāmār in all other Indian provinces. This caste is often spoken of as Mochi (shoe-maker). Often the mochis are Moslems. This is an untouchable caste and the population of carmakāras in India is very large. In the Bombay Presidency alone they are about two hundred and ninety thousand (in 1931).

Cākrika. According to Amara he is a person who rings a bell. Kṣīrasvāmī says that he announces the king's arrival by ringing bells and that some regard him as the same as vaitālika. According to Śaṅkha (prose) and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175–76) cākrika and tailika are separate subcastes. According to Vaik. (X. 14) he is the offspring of a love affair between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and his avocation is the sale of salt, oil and oil cakes.

Cāṇḍāla (or *cāṇḍāla*). For Vedic references see above pp. 44–45. Acc. to Gaut. IV. 15–16, Vas. Dh. S. 18. 1, Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7, Manu X. 12, Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 11 he is a pratiloma caste sprung of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman. He is the lowest among men (Manu X. 12), beyond the pale of religious observances prescribed for the four varṇas (sarvadharma-bahiṣkṛta, as Yāj. I. 93 says) and often spoken of in the same breath with dogs and crows (e. g. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 5, Gaut. 15. 25, Yāj. I. 103).[188] The word occurs in the kulālādi gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 9–10) says that there are three kinds of cāṇḍālas. viz. the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman, the offspring of an unmarried woman, the offspring of a union with a sagotra girl. Yama quoted in Par. M. vol. II. part 1 p. 306 says that one born of a person who after becoming an ascetic turns back to the householder's life, one born of a sagotra woman and one who is the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman are all cāṇḍālas. Laghu-Śātātapa (59) has a similar verse. Manu (X. 51–56) says that cāṇḍālas and śvapacas should have their houses outside the village, vessels used by them cannot be used by others (even after putting them in fire), their wealth consists of dogs and asses, their clothes should be the garments on corpses, they should take their food in broken vessels, their ornaments were to be made of iron, they should incessantly roam, they are not to enter towns and villages at night, they have to carry the corpses of persons who have no relatives, they are to be hangmen when the king so orders, they may take the clothes, ornaments and beds of persons that are to be hanged. Uśanas (9–10) says that their ornaments are to be of lead or iron, they should have a leather thong round their necks or a cymbal under their armpits, they should remove the dirt of the village in the first part of the day. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.11 and 14 their avocation is to be hangmen or to kill those offenders who are condemned to death and cāṇḍālas have to stay outside the village and to wear the clothes on corpses. Śānti 141. 29–32 gives a graphic description of their hamlet. The classical description of a cāṇḍāla hamlet is in the Kādambarī of Bāṇa. In Anuśāsana (29.17) Mataṅga is called a cāṇḍāla because he was born of a brāhmaṇa woman from a barber.

Fa Hien (405–411 A. D.) describes how cāṇḍālas had to live apart and give notice of their approach when entering a

188. व्यङ्गैः पतितचण्डालग्राम्यसूकरकुक्कुटैः । श्वा च नित्यं विवर्ज्याः स्युः षडेते धर्मतः समाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. vol. II. part 1. p. 366.

town or market place by striking a piece of wood to make themselves known so that a man may avoid them and not come in contact with them (vide 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' tr. by Legge, p. 43). In modern times cāṇḍālas are returned as a scheduled caste in Madras and Orissa.

Cīna. According to Manu X. 43–44 the Cīnas were a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdras. They are frequently named in the Mahābhārata e. g. Sabhā 51. 23, Vanaparva 177. 12, Udyoga 19. 15.

Cuñcu. According to Manu X. 48 the avocation of Meda, Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill forest (or wild) animals. Kullūka says that he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaidehaka woman.

Cūcuka. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman and his avocation is the sale and purchase of betelnut, betelnut leaves and sugar.

Cailanirṇejaka (or only nirṇejaka)-washerman. *This occurs* in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 15 and Manu IV. *216. It appears that* Viṣṇu who separately mentions 'rajaka' (in 51. 13) distinguishes between the two. Hārīta (quoted in Aparārka p. 279) also distinguishes between 'rajaka' (one who dyes clothes) from 'nirṇejaka' (one who washes clothes). Very often 'rajaka' means only 'a washerman' (as Amara says).

Jālopajīvin—(subsisting by catching animals in a net) probably the same as a kaivarta. He is mentioned in Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279.

Jhalla. Manu X. 22 says that it is another name for Karaṇa and Khasa. In Bengal Jhalo Malo or Malo is returned as a scheduled caste.

Ḍomba (or Doma) is the same as *śvapaca* according to Kṣīrasvāmī on Amara. Parāśara quoted by Aparārka (p. 1197) puts śvapāka, ḍomba and cāṇḍāla on the same level. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī (V. 354, VI. 182, VI. 192) *ḍombas* are spoken of as untouchables on the same level with cāṇḍālas and as following the profession of singers. In Rājataraṅgiṇī V. 389–394 ḍombas are spoken of as śvapacas. This caste is returned as a scheduled caste in Madras as Ḍombo, as Ḍom in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

Takṣan or *Takṣaka* (carpenter). For vedic references see above (p. 43). He is the same as vardhaki quoted above, under kāyastha. He is mentioned by Manu IV. 210, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 8. According to the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10

the takṣan is a śūdra and on the same level with an ayaskāra (ironsmith) and excluded from sacrificial rites. Even so early as the Śat. Br. the takṣan was an unholy person (amedhya) and his touch made *yajñapātras* impure (I. 1. 3. 12). Uśanas 43 says that takṣaka is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa female from a sūcaka (i. e. he is a pratiloma). He must be supposed to be originally different from the rathakāra (vide Tai. S. quoted above p. 43) who was allowed the vedic rite of *ādhāna* or probably in the time of the smṛtis the carpenter lost his former status. According to Vaik. (X. 14)[189] the offspring of a brāhmaṇa girl from a cūcuka (sūcaka ?) is a takṣaka who is untouchable or a goldsmith or blacksmith or worker in bell-metal. Bṛhaspati names the takṣaka as one whose food a brāhmaṇa could not eat.

Tantuvāya (a weaver), also called kuvinda. He is mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 13) and Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175. He is regarded as a śūdra by the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and as excluded from sacrificial rites.

Tāmbūlika—seems to have been a caste. Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37. Bāṇa refers to his house as stored with spices and betel.

Tāmropajīvin (coppersmith). According to Uśanas (14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa woman. Vaik. (X. 15) says the same and calls him tāmra. The Jātiviveka (D. C. No. 347 of 1887–91) gives the name as tāmra-kuṭṭaka.

Tunnavāya (a tailor). He occurs in Manu IV. 214. According to the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1178 he is the same as sūci (or saucika).

Tailika (oilman)–occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 15), Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175 and 1176).

Darada. Manu X. 44 names him. Vide note on khasa above p. 79. Vide Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva 4. 15.

Dāśa (a fisherman). This occurs in an Upaniṣad passage according to Vedānta-sūtra II. 3. 43. Veda–Vyāsa (I. 12–13) includes him among antyajas (vide footnote 173). Manu X. 34 says that mārgava, dāsa (dāśa ?) and kaivarta are the same and that he subsists by plying boats. Pāṇ. (III. 4. 73) derives the word. Vide under kaivarta.

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189. चूचुकाद्विप्रायां तक्षकोऽस्पृश्यो झल्लरीहस्तो दारुकारः सुवर्णकारोऽयस्कारः कांस्यकारी वा । वैखा. X. 14 ; नटनर्तकतक्षाणश्चर्मकारः सुवर्णकृत् । रथाणुपाषण्डगणिका अभोज्यान्नाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ बृहस्पति in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 380.

Divākīrtya—occurs in Mānavagṛhya II. 14. 11. According to Amara both cāṇḍāla and nāpita are called divākīrti.

Dauṣmanta. According to Gaut. 4. 14 this is an anuloma caste sprung from the union of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā the name is Dauṣyanta.

Draviḍa. The same as karaṇa, according to Manu X. 22. According to Manu X. 43–44, this is a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of a śūdra. Vide under khaśa, and Mahābhārata, Udyoga 160. 103, Droṇa 93. 43.

Dhigvaṇa. According to Manu X. 15 he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from an āyogava female and according to Manu X. 49 he subsists by working on (and sale of) hides. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 quotes a text of Uśanas that Dhigvaṇas subsist by working on hides and selling them and distinguishes them from kārāvaras. This passage is not found in the printed text of Uśanas. In the Jātiviveka he is styled *Mocīkāra.*

Dhīvara. Same as kaivarta and dāśa. Gaut. (IV. 17) indicates that this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female (according to the view of some teachers). In the Tai. Br. III. 4. 12 Dhaivara, Dāśa and Kaivarta are separately mentioned, but how they were distinguished it is difficult to say. All caught fish in different ways. Dhimar is a scheduled caste in the Bhandara District of C. P.

Dhvajī (seller of wines)—mentioned by Sumantu and Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1177) says he is the same as śauṇḍika.

Naṭa. He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). Naṭa is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) distinguishes between naṭa and śailūṣa and Aparārka remarks that naṭa is a specific caste, while śailūṣa is one who though not a naṭa by caste makes a living by going on the stage. Manu X. 22 says that he is the same as karaṇa, khasa (vide note on khasa p. 79). Pāṇini knew of a Naṭasūtra composed by Śilālin and another by Kṛśāśva (IV. 3. 110 and 111), but whether the naṭas he meant were so by caste or whether he meant only actors in general is not clear. Vide under raṅgāvatārin for a quotation from Maitrī Up. Probably this caste is the same as the Kolhāṭis or Bahurūpīs of modern times (in the Deccan) who are dancers, acrobats and jugglers by profession. Fick's work p. 299 speaks

of naṭakakulas mentioned in Buddhist *Jātakas* and at p. 294 he shows that in the Suruci Jātaka the naṭa is described as throwing up a ball of rope and climbing it and performing other tricks of jugglery.

Nartaka. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a rañjaka from a vaiśya woman and his profession is that of a singer. Bṛhaspati quoted in Par. M. (II. part I p. 380) separately mentions in the same verse naṭa and nartaka (both being abhojyānna to a brāhmaṇa). Atri VII. 2 also mentions the two separately. See note 189.

Nāpita (barber). The Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya I. 25 refers to him (in cūḍākarma). Uśanas (32–34) and Vaik. (X. 12) say that he is the offspring of a clandestine affair between a brāhmaṇa male and a vaiśya female and Uśanas derives the word by saying that he shaves the body above the navel of a person.[190] Vaik. (X. 15) says that the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a kṣatriya female is a nāpita, but he shaves the hair on the body below the navel. Parāśara (XI. 21)[191] says that the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra girl is called dāsa if saṁskāras are performed on him, but if they are not performed he becomes a nāpita. Pān. (VI. 2. 62) specially provides for the accentuation of words meaning artisan (*śilpin*, like nāpita or kulāla) when compounded with the word *grāma*. The Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva — chap. XII. 15) says that the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa male and a vaiśya female is called kumbhakāra or ūrdhva-nāpita, while verse 32 says that the offspring of a kṣatriya female from a niṣāda is called 'adho-nāpita'.

Nicchivi. Manu X. 22 says that this is another name for karaṇa or khaśa. Probably this is a misreading for Licchavi or Licchivi. Kauṭ. (Arthaśāstra XI. 1) speaks of the oligarchies or corporations of Licchivika, Vṛjika, Mallaka[192] etc. Vaiśāli was the seat of this oligarchy in the 6th century B. C. (Rapson's 'Ancient India' p. 169). Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 32 p. 233 for their Tibetan affinities and I. A. vol. 9 p. 178 and vol. 14 p. 98 for inscriptions of this tribe and 'Indian Historical

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190. नाभेरूर्ध्वं तु वपनं तस्मान्नापित उच्यते । उशनस् 34.

191. शूद्रकन्यासमुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणेन तु संस्कृतः । संस्कृतस्तु भवेद्दासो ह्यसंस्कारैस्तु नापितः ॥ पराशर XI. 21.

192. लिच्छिविक-वृजिक-मल्लक-मद्रक-कुकुर-कुरुपञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1.

Quarterly,' 1933, vol. 18 p. 439 ff. Fa Hien (in 'Records of Buddhist Kingdoms' translated by Legge, 1886, p. 71) says that the Licchavis of Vaiśāli were attached to Buddha and also speaks of Ānanda (pupil of Buddha) and the Licchavis.

Niāṣda. For vedic references see above (pp. 43 and 46). The Nirukta[193] III. 8 while explaining the words 'pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam' in Ṛg. X. 53. 4 remarks that according to Aupamanyava the 'five people' are the four varnas with niṣāda as the fifth. This shows that Aupamanyava regarded them as distinct from the four varṇas (including the śūdras). The Nirukta further says that according to the Nairuktas the niṣāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him'; from this it follows that in the times of Yāska the niṣādas had come to be looked down upon with scorn as evil people and were probably some aborigines like the modern *Bhils.* According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9.3 and II. 2.33), Vas. 18.8, Manu X. 8, Anuśāsana 48.5, Yāj. I. 91 the Niṣāda is an anuloma caste, offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2.34), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu (X. 8) and Yāj. (I. 91) say that pāraśava is another name for niṣāda. Manu (IX. 178) derives pāraśava from the root *pāray* (to go across) and the word śava (a corpse) meaning 'though living he is like one dead'. In a corrupt passage of Vas. Dh. S.[194] (18. 9–10) the same derivation is accepted. Gaut. (IV. 14) distinguishes between niṣāda and pāraśava, the former (acc. to the com. Haradatta) being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaiśya woman and the latter being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. According to Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 108) and Anuśāsana 48.12, niṣāda is the offspring of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female and he subsists by fishing (according to the latter). Nārada (strīpuṁsa 108) says that pāraśava is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. Uśanas (36–38) says that the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman is called pāraśava and gains his livelihood as the worshipper of the goddess Bhadrakālī or by learning Śaiva āgamas or by playing on musical instruments, while niṣāda is the illegitimate offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman who subsists by killing wild beasts (such as elephants) and by

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193. निषादः कस्मान्निषदनो भवति निषण्णमस्मिन् पापकमिति नैरुक्ताः। निरुक्त III.8.

194. शूद्राणां (शूद्रायां ?) पारशवः। पारशवो नेव (पारयन्नेव ?) जीवन्नेव शवो भवतीत्याहुः। वसिष्ठ 18. 9–10, where जीवन्नेव is a paraphrase of the rather obscure words पारयन्नेव in Manu IX. 178.

selling flesh. The Vaik.[195] (X. 13) has practically the same remarks to make about pāraśava and niṣāda. Śāntiparva (59. 96–97) speaks of niṣādas as men with reddish eyes and with black hair. In the Rāmāyaṇa Guha, the king of niṣādas, helps Rāma to cross the river Ganges (Ayodhyā 50. 33). Here he is spoken of as belonging to the caste of niṣādas (niśādajātyaḥ). We have historical evidence for the name pāraśava in the Harṣacarita (I, towards end), where Bāṇa[196] tells us that he had with him two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa in his travels. In the Tipperah copperplate of a chieftain called Lokanātha (about 650 A. D.) we are told that the king's maternal grandfather Keśava was a pāraśava (vide E. I. vol. 15 at p. 307). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 91 cautions that this niṣāda (the anuloma offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman) is different from another caste called niṣāda, which is a pratiloma one and lives by catching fish. Medhātithi on Manu X. 8 does the same. Niṣāda occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pan. IV. 3. 118). The Vāyupurāṇa (vol. II. chap. 1. 120–121) narrates that the niṣādas, dark and dwarfish, were produced from the left hand of king Vena and they dwelt on the Vindhya. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa we have the same story[197] (IV. 14. 42 ff.) and we are told that niṣādas were dark like crows, of short stature, snubnosed, with red eyes and hair and that they dwelt in mountains and forests.

Pahlava.—occurs in Manu (X. 43-44) as a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdra. Vide note on khaśa. The Mahābhārata several times mentions the Pahlavas, Pāradas and other non-Aryan people (vide Sabhā 32. 16–17, Udyoga 4. 15, Bhīṣma 20. 13).

Pāṇḍusopāka. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a cāṇḍala male from a vaidehaka woman, who maintains himself by dealing in bamboos. He is the same as buruḍa.

Pārada. Vide Manu X. 43–44 and note on khaśa above. Pāradas are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, generally

195. विप्राच्छूद्रायां पारशवो भद्रकालीपूजन-चित्रकर्माङ्गविद्या (०र्मागमविद्या ?) तूर्यघोषणमर्दन (मर्दल ?) वृत्तिर्जारोत्पन्नो निषादो व्याडादिमृगहिंसाकारी । वैखा०

196. अभवंश्चास्य वयसा समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च । तथा च भ्रातरौ पारशवौ, चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ । हर्षचरित, उच्छ्वास I (at end).

197. काककृष्णोऽतिह्रस्वाङ्गो ह्रस्वबाहुर्महाहनुः । ह्रस्वपान्निम्ननासाग्रो रक्ताक्षस्ताम्रमूर्धजः । निषीदेत्यब्रुवंस्तात स निषादस्ततोऽभवत् । तस्य वंशास्तु नैषादा गिरिकाननगोचराः ॥ भागवत IV. 14. 44–46.

as Mlecchas and non-Aryan tribes (vide Sabhā 32, 16, 51. 12, 52. 3; Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13). Vide under Yavana.

Pāraśava. Vide niṣāda above. In the Ādiparva 109. 25 Vidura is called pāraśava and he is said (in Ādi. 114.12) to have married the pāraśavī daughter of king Devaka. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 43) says that he is called śūdra and is superior to a śūdra (in status) and that he was to live by the avocations prescribed for śūdras.

Piṅgala. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from an āyogava female.

Puṇḍra or *Pauṇḍraka.* Frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata among non-Aryan tribes e. g. Droṇa 93. 44, Āśvamedhika 29. 15–16. Medhātithi on Manu X. 44 remarks that the Pauṇḍrakas are spoken of as kṣatriyas in the Mahābhārata, so a man may be misled into thinking that even in the days of Medhātithi they were still kṣatriyas (but they were not so).

Pulinda. For vedic references see above (p. 47). They were a wild mountain tribe like the Kirātas or Śabaras. In the Vanaparva 140. 25 Pulindas, Kirātas and Taṅgaṇas are spoken of as dwelling on the Himālaya. Udyoga 160. 103, Karṇa 73. 19–20, Anuśāsana 33. 21–22 mention pulindas. Uśanas (16) says that he is the illegitimate offspring of a vaiśya male from a kṣatriya female and he lives by rearing cattle and by killing wild beasts. Vaik. (X. 14) says the same and adds that he subsists on the produce of the forest and by killing wild animals. The Sūtasaṁhitā is of the same opinion as Vaik.

Pulkasa (or paulkasa). The word is also written as pukkasa. Śaṁkarācārya on Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. IV. 3. 22 says that pulkasa and paulkasa are the same. According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 14) and Manu X. 18 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a śūdra female. According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from an ugra female, while Vaik. X. 14, Uśanas (17) and the Sūtasaṁhitā say that he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a kṣatriya woman and that he makes his livelihood by manufacturing and selling[198] liquors or natural intoxicating sap. The same is the view of some teachers according to Gautama IV. 17. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18. 5) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 5) he is the offspring of a vaiśya

198. शूद्रात्क्षत्रियायां पुल्कसः कृतकां वार्क्षीं वा सुरां कृत्वा पाचको विक्रीणीते। वैखानस X. 14.

male from a kṣatriya female and the latter adds that he subsists by hunting. The Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) says that pukkasas are hunters. Yama[199] and Hārīta quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru make him out as the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. Manu X. 49 prescribes catching and killing animals that live in holes as the occupation of kṣatṛ, ugra and pukkasa. Kṣīrasvāmī (com. of Amara) says that pukkasa is the same as mṛtapa (which see below). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) says that when a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya is guilty of the theft of gold, of the murder of a brāhmaṇa, they undergo for some time in hell torments and then are respectively born as Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa or Vaiṇa.

Puṣkara. Mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 12) as one of the antyajas. Vide note 173 above.

Puṣpadha. Manu (X. 21) says that this is another name of āvantya (p. 73.)

Pauṇḍraka (or Pauṇḍra). Vide Puṇḍra above. Anuśāsana 35. 17 and Śānti 65. 13–14 have the form pauṇḍra. Vide Manu X. 44 for pauṇḍraka and note on khaśa.

Paulkasa. Vide pulkasa above.

Bandin. See under vandin below.

Barbara. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that the barbaras are saṁkīrṇayonis. In the Mahābhārata they are frequently mentioned among non-Aryan tribes along with Śaka, Śabara, Yavana, Pahlava etc. Vide Sabhā, 32. 16–17, 51. 23; Vana 254, 18 (as staying in the west); Droṇa 121. 13 ; Anuśāsana 35. 17 ; Śānti 65. 13.

Bāhya. Vide under antya (p. 70).

Buruḍa (worker in bamboo). He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). The word is also written as varuḍa (vide below). Varuḍa occurs in the Kulālādigaṇa (Pāṇini IV. 3. 118). Buruḍa is a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Bhaṭa. He is one of the antyajas according to Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12). Vide note 173 above and on raṅgāvatārin below.

Bhilla. He is one of the antyajas according to Aṅgiras, Atri 199, Yama 33. Vide note 170 above.

Bhiṣak. According to Uśanas (26) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a kṣatriya girl

199. वैश्यायामेव शूद्रेण पुक्कसो नाम जायते । यम in कृत्यकल्पतरु (ms).

and he maintains himself by studying the Āyurveda in its eight parts, or astronomy, astrology and mathematics (verse 27). According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1171) he lives by surgery and by attending upon patients.

Bhūpa. According to Yama quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a kṣatriya female.

Bhūrjakaṇṭaka. According to Manu X. 21 he is the offspring of a vrātya brāhmaṇa from a similar woman. In several countries he is called āvantya or vāṭadhāna, puṣpadha or śaikha.

Bhṛjjakaṇṭha (same as ambaṣṭha). According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17, he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from a vaiśya female.

Bhoja. According to the Sūta-saṁhitā he is the offspring of a kṣatriya woman and a vaiśya male.

Madgu. Mentioned in Manu X. 48 as subsisting by killing wild beasts. Kullūka on that verse explains that according to Baudhāyana he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a bandin female. Vaik. X. 12 says that he is the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya male with a vaiśya female and subsists as a merchant (śreṣṭhin) and does not take to the profession of a warrior.

Maṇikāra. According to Uśanas (39–40) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and he gains his livelihood by working on beads, by perforating pearls and dealing in coral and conches. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the clandestine offspring of a vaiśya male from a vaiśya female.

Matsyabandhaka (a fisherman). According to Uśanas (44) he is the offspring of a takṣaka (carpenter) from a kṣatriya woman.

Malla. Vide Manu (X. 22) who says that it is another name of Jhalla etc.

Māgadha. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Anuśāsana 48. 12, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 17 and Yāj. I. 93 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female; while according to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 16, Uśanas (7) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; but Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7 says he is the offspring of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 5 makes him the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya female. Manu (X. 47) prescribes trade by land routes for

Māgadhas; Anuśāsana X. 48 says that they maintain themselves on speech (i. e. by praise) and are also called bandin. Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 60–62) also calls him *bandin* and says he is slightly superior to śūdra and that he is clever in ornate prose, in six languages, in kalās and he is a devotee of Kālikā. Vaik. (X. 13) states that even śūdras cannot take food cooked by him, that he is an untouchable and maintains himself by praise, by singing or by being a messenger. Uśanas (7–8) says that he becomes the bandin of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, he maintains himself by lauding (the deeds of others) or as a messenger or servant of a vaiśya. Pāṇini IV. 1. 70 derives the word Māgadha from the country Magadha, but apparently not in the sense of a caste.

Māṇavika. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a śūdra male and a śūdra female.

Mataṅga. The same as cāṇḍāla. The Kādambarī of Bāṇa (para 9) and Amara employ them as synonymous. Yama (12) uses the word Mātaṅga where we ordinarily find cāṇḍāla in other smṛtis. In the Bombay Presidency there is an untouchable caste called *Māṅg* which numbers about three hundred thousand. There are Mangs as a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Mārgava. Same as kaivarta (fisherman). Vide Manu X. 34.

Mālākāra or *Mālika. Vide* Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10–11) quoted above in note 184.

Māhiṣya. According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 92 he is an anuloma caste sprung from the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 45–46) he is entitled to upanayana and his avocations are astrology, augury, prognostications due to *svara.* According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the same as ambaṣṭha.

Mūrdhāvasikta. This is an anuloma caste according to the view of some teachers in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 91 sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman. According to Vaik. (X. 12) the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman is the foremost among anulomas and is called savarṇa, while the offspring of the clandestine union of these two is called abhiṣikta. If crowned he becomes a king, otherwise he subsists by studying Āyurveda (Medicine) or the science of ghosts or astronomy, astrology and mathematics. In the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (chap. 26. 36–39) more details are added,

Mṛtapa. Vide pulkasa above. In the Mahābhāṣya[200] on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 this caste is mentioned as separate from caṇḍāla, but both are included by the Mahābhāṣya under śūdras that are *niravasita* (i. e. those who are so low in the caste system that if a vessel is used by them for eating their food from it cannot be used by any one of the other castes even after the vessel is purified by fire &c.).

Meda. He is one of the seven *antyajas* (vide note 170). This is mentioned in Nārada (vākpāruṣya, verse 11). Anuśāsana 22. 22 speaks of medas, pulkasas and antāvesāyins, and the com. Nīlakaṇṭha[201] explains that Medas are those who eat the flesh of dead cattle. Manu X. 36 says that he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and a niṣāda woman, that he dwells outside the village and Manu X. 48 says that his business along with that of Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill wild beasts. Vide under Andhra above and see E. I. vol. XX. p. 130 where meda and cāṇḍāla are named as lowest castes in a grant of Paramardideva in saṁvat 1236. According to Śūdrakamalākara, andhras and medas have to sweep dirty places, doorsteps and privies.

Maitra. Manu X. 23 says he is the same as Kāruṣa.

Maitreyaka. According to Manu X. 23 he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and āyogava female and his means of livelihood are belauding kings and nobles continually and ringing a bell in the early morning. The Jātiviveka says that he is called Ḍhokanakāra.

Mleccha. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa woman and a vaiśya male.

Yavana. According to the view of some mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra male and a kṣatriya woman. According to Manu X. 43–44 Yavanas were originally kṣatriyas reduced to the status of śūdras (vide under khasa above p. 79). In the Mahābhārata Yavanas are almost

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200. अनिरवसितानामित्युच्यते कुतोऽनिरवसितानाम्। आर्यावर्तादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यावर्तः। ...... यद्येवं किष्किन्धगन्धिकं शकयवनं शौर्यक्रौञ्चमिति न सिध्यति। एवं तर्हि आर्यनिवासादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यनिवासः। ग्रामो घोषो नगरं संवाह इति।..... तत्र चण्डालमृतपा इति न सिध्यति। एवं तर्हि पात्रादनिरवसितानाम्। यैर्भुक्ते पात्रं संस्कारेण शुध्यति तेऽनिरवसिताः। यैर्भुक्ते पात्रं संस्कारेणापि न शुध्यति ते निरवसिताः। महाभाष्य on पा. II. 4. 10 (vol. I. p. 475).

201. मेदानां पुल्कसानां च तथैवान्तेवसायिनम् (० वान्तावसायिनाम् ?) । अनुशासन 22. 22 ; मृतानां गोमहिष्यादीनां मांसमश्नन्तः मेदाः। नीलकण्ठ.

always associated with Śakas and several other non-Aryan tribes; vide Sabhā. 32. 16–17, Vanaparva 254. 18 (as inhabiting the west), Udyoga 19. 21, Bhīṣma 20. 13, Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13, Karṇa 73. 19, Śānti 65. 13. From Strīparva 22. 11 it appears that Jayadratha (king of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra) had Kāmboja and Yavana women in his harem. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 59) derives the word Yavanānī from Yavana and a vārtika on that sūtra adds that Yavanānī means the *lipi* (the written alphabet) of the Yavanas. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pān. II. 4. 10) indicates that he was prepared to regard Yavanas and Śakas as śūdras but as outside Āryāvarta. Aśoka in Rock Edicts V and XIII refers to the Yonas and Kambojas as nations on the borders of his empire. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 3. 21 describes that the Yavanas shaved the head and also the beard, the Śakas tonsured their heads only, the Pāradas allowed the hair on the head to grow long and the Pahlavas grew beards and that all became Mlecchas because they gave up their original dharmas and because brāhmaṇas also left them.

Raṅgāvatārin (or-*tāraka*). According to Manu IV. 215 he is distinct from śailūṣa and gāyana. Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175), Śaṅkha (17. 36) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14 mention him. According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) he is a naṭa who goes on the stage for livelihood and who introduces various changes in his appearance and dress. Raṅgāvatārin is mentioned in the Maitrī Up. along with naṭa and bhaṭa.[202]

Rajaka (washerman). Dhobī is a scheduled caste in U. P., Bihar and C. P. and in Bengal (called Dhoba). He is one of the *antyajas* according to several writers (vide note 170 above). According to Vaikh. (X. 15) and the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a pulkasa (or vaideha) from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Uśanas (18) he is the offspring of a pulkasa male from a vaiśya girl. The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. (II. 4. 10) includes him under śūdra. Yāj. II. 48 mentions him as liable to pay his wife's debts, because his livelihood depends on her. The Śūdrakamalākara mentioned another caste of rajaka (which is the offspring of an ugra male and vaidehaka female).

202. ये चान्ये ह चाटजटनटभटप्रव्रजितरङ्गावतारिणो राजकर्मणि पतितादयः ...... तैः सह न संवसेत्। मैत्री उप. VII. 8.

Rañjaka (dyer). Manu IV. 216 mentions him. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a kṣatriya female.

Rathakāra. Vide above pp. 43, 45 for Vedic references. According to Baud. gr. II. 5. 6 and Bhāradvāja gr. (I) his *upanayana* was to be performed in the rainy season. It appears he lost his status gradually. In the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 6) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya male with a śūdra female. According to Yāj. I. 95 he is an anuloma doubly mixed as he is the offspring of a māhiṣya male from a karaṇa female and according to a prose passage of Śaṅkha quoted by the Mit. the rathakāra is entitled to have *upanavana* performed, to offer sacrifices and gifts and makes his living by learning the art of taming horses, of making chariots and building houses. According to Uśanas (5–6) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman and he is to behave like a śūdra, he is not a twice-born (dvija) and cannot repeat Vedic mantras and makes his living by tending and driving horses and carts.

Rāmaka. According to Vas. Dh. S. 18. 4 he is a *pratiloma* sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female. This would be kṛta, according to Gaut. (IV. 15), vaidehaka according to Baudhāyana.

Lubdhaka (hunter of deer)—same as vyādha.

Lekhaka. Mentioned by Sumantu quoted in Par. M. II. part 1 p. 383. He is probably the same as kāyastha, if a caste is meant; vide under kāyastha pp. 75–76.

Lohakāra (ironsmith). Vide p. 75 under karmāra. Nārada[203] (ṛṇādāna 288) recommends utilising the services of an ironsmith who is so by caste in the fire ordeal. He is mentioned by Hārīta (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Kamauli plate of Jayacandradeva Gāhaḍavāla was engraved by ' Lohāra Someka ' in saṁvat 1232 (E. I. IV. p. 127).

Vandin (a bard, written as *bandin* also). According to Hārīta quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and kṣatriya female. According to the Brahma-purāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 a vandin is one who sings the praises of men.

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203. जात्यैव लोहकारो यः कुशलश्चाग्निकर्मणि । नारद (ऋणादान 288).

Varāṭa. Enumerated among the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13).

Varuḍa (worker in bamboo)—also written as buruḍa (vide above p. 89). The Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 97 (vol. II p. 253) gives the instance *vāruḍaki* (from varuḍa). Bidalakāra (splitter of bamboo) occurs in Tai. S. III. 4. 5. 1. and bidalakārī in Vāj. S. 30. 8.

Vāṭadhāna. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as āvantya.

Vijanman. According to Manu X.23 he is the same as kāruṣa.

Veṇa (or *Vaiṇa*). According to Manu X. 19 and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 13) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female, while Kauṭ. (III. 7) makes the vaiṇa the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a vaidehaka female; and according to Manu X. 49 he makes his livelihood by beating musical instruments. Kullūka on Manu IV. 215 says that Veṇa is one who maintains himself by splitting bamboos and that he is the same as buruḍa according to Viśvarūpa. For Vaiṇa see Āp. Dh. S. quoted under pulkasa (p. 89). Kauṭ. (III. 7) adds that a vaiṇya follows the same profession as a rathakāra. Śaṅkha (17. 38), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14, Yāj. III. 207 place the veṇa alongside of carmakāra, niṣāda and pulkasa. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18. 2) he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a kṣatriya female. Yāj. I. 161 has the form vaiṇa which the Mit. explains as meaning one who maintains himself by cutting and splitting bamboos. The Śūdrakamalākara notes that according to Ādipurāṇa veṇa is a drum-beater to announce royal orders and edicts.

Veṇuka. According to Uśanas (4) he is a pratiloma, the offspring of a sūta from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of a madgu from a brāhmaṇa woman and his avocation is to play on a vīṇā and on flutes. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a barber from a brāhmaṇa woman.

Velava. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya woman by stealth.

Vaidehaka. According to Baud. Dh. (I. 9. 8), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 13, 17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 6, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 111), Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 10 he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; while according to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya woman and according to Vaik. (X. 14), the view of some ācāryas

in Gaut. IV. 17 and Uśanas (20) he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. According to Manu X. 47 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 14) his peculiar work is to attend on and guard women (in harems etc), while according to Uśanas (20–21) and Vaik. (X. 14) he is to tend goats, cows and buffaloes and to sell milk, curds, butter-milk and ghee. The Sūta-saṁhitā says that vaideha and pulkasa are the same.

Vyādha (huntsman)–mentioned by Sumantu in Aparārka p. 1176 and Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279), Āpastamba (verse) 9. 32, Yāj. II. 48.

Vrātya. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 1, 1. 22–I. 1. 2. 10, Pār. gṛ. II. 5 and other sūtra works a *vrātya* is one on whom and on whose ancestors the saṁskāra of upanayana has not been performed. But in other works like Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 15), the word vrātya is applied to all who are born of the mixture of varṇas.

Śaka. Manu (X. 43–44) mentions Śakas along with Yavanas and others as originally kṣatriyas reduced to the state of śūdras. Vide note on Yavana (p. 92) above. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata along with Yavana and other non-Aryan tribes. Vide Sabhā 32. 16–17, 51. 23, Udyoga (4. 15; 19. 21; 160. 103), Bhīṣma (20. 13), Droṇa (121. 13). Śaka occurs in the kambojādigaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 1. 175). *Vide* note 200.

Śabara. An aboriginal jungle tribe like the Bhilla. In the Mahābhārata the śabaras are frequently mentioned (e. g. Anuśāsana 35. 17, Śānti 65. 13).

Śālika. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the same as Māgadha.

Śūlika. According to Uśanas (42) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra female and his avocation is to impale those offenders who are sentenced to be impaled. According to Vaik. (X. 13) and Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female.

Śaikha. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as *āvantya.*

Śailūṣa. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 13, Manu IV. 214, Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279 distinguish him from raṅgāvatārī and the Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) defines him as one who finds out employment for naṭas[204]. Āpastamba 9. 32 (verse) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and

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204. वृत्त्यन्वेषी नटानां तु स तु शैलूषकः स्मृतः । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1178.

vyādha. Yāj. II. 48 does the same and the Mit. thereon paraphrases the word by naṭa.

Śauṇḍika (wine-seller). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 15, Manu IV. 216, Yāj. II. 48, Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175) and Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) mention him.

Śvapaca or *Śvapāka*. He is one of the *antyajas* enumerated by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13). Vide note 173 above. He occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 12), Kauṭ. (III. 7), he is the offspring of an ugra male from a female of the kṣatṛ sub-caste, while according to Manu X. 19 he is the offspring of a kṣatṛ male from an ugra female. Vaik. (X. 15) and Sūtasaṁhitā say that he is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male and a brāhmaṇa female, while Uśanas (11) holds that he is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male from a vaiśya woman. According to Manu X. 51-56 cāṇḍālas and śvapacas follow the same avocation and are governed by the same rules (vide p. 81 under cāṇḍāla). Uśanas (12) says that they eat the flesh of dogs and that dogs are their wealth, while Vaik. says that they wear the same marks that cāṇḍālas have to wear (under the king's order, as Manu says in X. 55), that they remove the filth of towns etc., stay near cemeteries, have to dispose of corpses of men that leave no relatives, have to act as hangmen for offenders sentenced to death and to take their clothes etc., have to take food in broken pots and to eat dogs' flesh and to deal in hides and armour (or in armour made of hides). The Bhagavadgītā (5. 18) puts him on the same level with dogs. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (8. 81-83, 86, 96) a caṇḍāla is called śvapāka (i. e. no distinction is made between the two). In the Jātiviveka he is identified with the *Mahar* and with the *Mang* of the Deccan.

Sātvata. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruṣa above.

Sudhanvācārya. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruṣa above.

Suvarṇa. According to Uśanas (vv. 24-25) he is the offspring of the legal union with Vedic mantras of a brāhmaṇa male and a kṣatriya female. It appears likely that the text is corrupt and we should read savarṇa for suvarṇa. He should perform rites prescribed by the Atharvaveda, he should by the king's order ride a horse, elephant or chariot, may act as the commander of an army or may practise as a physician.

Suvarṇakāra or Sauvarṇika or Hemakāra (goldsmith). A hiraṇyakāra is mentioned in the Vāj. S. XXX. 17 and in Tai. Br. III. 4. 14. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 274) a goldsmith or a dealer in bronze or a bania was to examine the balance in the balance ordeal. Manu IV. 215, Yāj. I. 163, Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175, 1176) treat him on a level with karmakāra (blacksmith) and niṣāda. Manu IX. 292 condemns him as the worst of all rogues (sarvakaṇṭakapāpiṣṭha). For the view of Vaik. and Bṛhaspati vide under takṣan above (note 189). In the Mahābhārata it is said that after Paraśurāma's alleged extermination of the kṣatriyas, some of them that escaped resorted to the castes of ironsmiths and goldsmiths.[205]

Sūcaka. According to Uśanas (v. 43) he is an anuloma born of the marriage of a vaiśya male from a śūdra female.

Sūcika or saucika or sūcī—one who works with a needle, a tailor. According to Vaik. (X. 15) and Uśanas (v. 22) he is a pratiloma, offspring of a vaidehaka from a kṣatriya woman and engages in the work of sewing with a needle. Saucika, according to the lexicon of Amara, is the same as tunnavāya (for which see above p. 83) and the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1178) also equates *sūcī* with tunnavāya.

Sūta. For vedic references see above p. 43. According to Gaut. (IV. 15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 9), Vas. (18. 6), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu (X. 11), Nārada (strīpuṁsa 110), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 6), Yāj. (I. 93) and Sūtasaṁhitā, he is a pratiloma sprung from a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman. Kauṭ. is careful to add that the sūta who figures in the purāṇas as the reciter is quite different from this. A vārtika on Pāṇ. (VI. 3. 70) teaches the formation of words like sūtaputrī.[206] According to Manu (X. 47) and Viṣṇu the avocation of sūtas is driving a chariot (i. e. breaking and yoking horses). According to Vaik. (X. 13) he makes his livelihood by reminding the king of his duties and by cooking food for him. Uśanas (v. 3) also says that his business is to remind (a king) of his duties. According to the Karṇaparva (32. 48) sūtas

205. घोकारहेमकारादिजातिं नित्यं समाश्रिताः। शान्तिपर्व 49. 84. घोकार is probably for ध्योकार (an iron-smith), while another reading is ज्याकार (maker of bowstrings) also.

206. The 9th vārtika on Pāṇ. VI. 3. 70 is सूतोग्रराजभोजकुलमेरुभ्यो दुहितुः पुत्रड्वा। The examples given by the महाभाष्य are सूतपुत्री, सूतदुहिता, उग्रपुत्री, उग्रदुहिता.

are the attendants of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas and the latter need not carry out what the sūta says. According to the Vāyupurāṇa (vol. I. 1. 33–38 and vol. II. 1. 139) the sūta was to preserve the pedigrees of kings and great men and traditions about learning or books, he is not authorised to study the Veda, the middling way of maintenance for him is to depend upon kings and to look after chariots, elephants and horses; an inferior way of maintenance is the practice of medicine. The Vaik. (X. 13) and the Sūtasaṁhitā expressly say that the difference between the sūta and the rathakāra consists in this that the former is the offspring of a marriage, while the latter is the offspring of a clandestine union of a kṣatriya male with a brāhmaṇa woman. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 53–54) says that he is inferior to kṣatriyas, but is entitled to do all the work of a kṣatriya and that he also performs the work of a charioteer, of taming elephants and riding horses.

Sūnika or *Saunika* (a butcher). According to Uśanas (v. 14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a kṣatriya woman. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) speaks of him in the same breath with *rajaka* and carmakāra. The Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) says that he is 'paśumāraka'. Sumantu[207] quoted by Par. M. makes his food unfit for brāhmaṇas. He is the same as 'khāṭika' according to the Jātiviveka.

Sairindhra. According to Manu X. 32 he is the offspring of a *dasyu* (as defined in Manu X. 45) from an āyogava woman and he makes his living by combing the hair (of men and women), he is not to be treated as a dāsa (i. e. he has not to eat ucchiṣṭa food), but is to perform menial work (such as shampooing the body) or is to subsist by catching deer etc. The word is included in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). From the Mahābhārata we see what duties Draupadī disguised as sairandhrī had to do for the queen of Virāṭa (Virāṭa-parva 9. 18–19), viz. combing and arranging the hair, pounding unguents, making garlands. Similarly Damayantī became a *sairandhrī* to the mother of the Cedi king (Vanaparva 65. 68–70), but she refused to eat ucchiṣṭa food, would not wash the feet of anybody and would not allow any man to approach her. According to Ādipurāṇa quoted in Śūdrakamalākara he lives by hunting deer and guarding royal harems and women after delivery.

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207. सौनिकक्रव्यादनिषादरजकचर्मकारा अभोज्यान्ना अप्रतिग्राह्याश्च । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 383.

Sopāka. According to Manu (X. 38) he is the offspring of a caṇḍāla male and a pukkasa female, subsists by the profession of being hangman to those whom the king condemns to death.

Sadūhanvana. Vide note on 'rathakāra' above (p. 45). Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37.

It will have been noticed that some of the castes mentioned in the smṛtis such as ambaṣṭha, māgadha, malla and vaidehaka are connected with countries (Amba, Magadha, Videha etc.), that some others are based upon race such as Ābhīra, Kirāta and Śaka. Manu (X. 43–45) and the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsanaparva 33. 21–23 and 35. 17–18) were prepared to admit that several foreign races like the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Draviḍas, Daradas, Śabaras, Kirātas etc. were originally kṣatriyas, but had been reduced to the status of śūdras by losing contact with brāhmaṇas or by not liking the idea of being subject to the brahmanical system. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 4. 47–48) says the same. Numerous names of castes arise from the professions they follow, e. g. ayaskāra, kumbhakāra, carmakāra, takṣan, tailika, naṭa, rathakāra, veṇa etc. Even in ancient times brāhmaṇas followed so many different occupations almost as in modern times that the list of brāhmaṇas who cannot be invited at śrāddhas because they follow occupations other than those prescribed for them is rather very formidable (vide Manu III. 151 ff. and the remarks on *paṅktipāvana* later on).

It appears that comparatively very early many among the brāhmaṇas had given up the occupations peculiar to them and were entitled to be called brāhmaṇas simply because of their birth. The Mahābhāṣya[208] of Patañjali quotes a verse '*tapas*, vedic study, and birth (from brāhmaṇa parents)—these are the causes why a person is called a brāhmaṇa ; he who is devoid of tapas and vedic study is a brāhmaṇa only by birth (and not a real brāhmaṇa)'. Similarly in another place Patañjali quotes a verse 'know this to be the auspicious sign of the best of brāhmaṇas, viz. whose lore, actions and birth are all three holy' (vol. II. p. 220 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 44). Though in the Mahābhārata

208. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ महाभाष्य on पा. II. 2. 6 (vol. I. p. 411 and II. p. 363). In the अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 we have a similar verse तपः ...... ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः समुदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः ।. The महाभाष्य has another verse (vol. II. p. 220) त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्र्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥

it is often said that a brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone and that he deserves respect from all, still we meet several times with passages[209] wherein there is a revolt against the caste system dependent on birth alone and where it is severely condemned and great emphasis is laid on the moral worth of a man. In the Vanaparva (181. 42–43) we are told[210] 'Truthfulness, restraint, *tapas*, generosity, non-injury to sentient beings, constant adherence to *dharma*–these always lead men to the fruition (of their goal) and not caste nor family'. Udyogaparva (43. 20 ff.) explains at great length what is meant by self-restraint. In the Śāntiparva[211] (189. 4 and 8) 'Truthfulness, generosity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, humility, kindness, and tapas—he is known as a brāhmaṇa where these are seen. If these signs are seen in a śūdra and they do not exist in a brāhmaṇa, then the śūdra would not be a śūdra and the brāhmaṇa would not be a brāhmaṇa'. In another place we are told[212] 'there is no difference between the varṇas; the whole world is brāhma (the creation of Brahmā), since it was created by Brahmā in former ages and was evolved into varṇas by actions (or occupations).' Udyogaparva[213] (43. 49) remarks 'Do not regard a person as brāhmaṇa by his talk; he who does not depart from truth is a brāhmaṇa'; Vanaparva (216. 14–15) 'that śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness and dharma is a brāhmaṇa in my opinion, for a brāhmaṇa is so by his character.' Vide Vanaparva (313. 108–111) and Yāj. I. 200 and Vṛddha Gautama p. 632. It has been seen above (p. 6) that Gautama laid the greatest emphasis on the eight qualities of the soul. But

209. जन्मनैव महाभागे ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते। नमस्यः सर्वभूतानामतिथिः प्रसृताग्रभुक्॥ अनुशासनपर्व 35. 1 ; vide also 143. 6.

210. सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता। साधकानि सदा पुंसां न जातिर्न कुलं नृप॥ वनपर्व 181. 42–43.

211. सत्यं दानमथाद्रोह आनृशंस्यं त्रपा घृणा। तपश्च दृश्यते यत्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः॥ शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्म द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते। न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः॥ शान्ति॰ 189. 4 and 8 ; vide also वनपर्व 180. 21.

212. न विशेषोस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत्। ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम्॥ शान्ति॰ 188. 10.

213. तस्मात्क्षत्रिय मा मंस्था जल्पितेनैव वै द्विजम्। य एव सत्यान्नापैति स ज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणस्त्वया॥ उद्योगपर्व 43. 49; यस्तु शूद्रो दमे सत्ये धर्मे च सततोत्थितः। तं ब्राह्मणमहं मन्ये वृत्तेन हि भवेद् द्विजः॥ वनपर्व 216. 14–15 ; न जातिः पूज्यते राजन्गुणाः कल्याणकारकाः। चण्डालमपि वृत्तस्थं तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः॥ वृद्धगौतम p. 632; but the परा. मा. II part 1 p. 228 says 'जातिशीलयोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्ष एव प्राधान्येनोपादेयः। शीलं तु यथासंभवम्।'.

in spite of those sentiments the caste system dependent on birth has continued in all its strength and rigour for ages and writers like the Par. M. II. 1, p. 228 are emphatic in saying that between jāti and character one must look principally to the eminence of the caste.

In certain medieval works called Jātiviveka and in other works like the Śūdra-kamalākara (first half of 17th century A. D.) several more castes are mentioned, some of which are set out below.

Āghāsika or *Āndhasika*—from a vaidehika male and a śūdra female; sells cooked food; also called *Rāndhavaṇu.*

Āvartaka—from a bhṛjjakaṇṭha and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Āhituṇḍika—from a niṣāda and a vaideha female; called Gāruḍī in Marathi.

Aurabhra—called Dhangar in Marathi (tends rams and ewes for their wool).

Kaṭadhānaka—from āvartaka and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Kuntalaka—the same as nāpita.

Kuruvinda—from a kumbhakāra and a kukkuṭa female. Same as modern Sāḷī, according to Śūdrakamalākara.

Gholika from a Vyādha male and gāruḍī female. He is called Undiramāru (rat-killer) in the vernacular.

Durbhara—from an āyogava and a dhigvaṇa woman; called Ḍohor (or Ḍhor) in modern times.

Pauṣṭika—from a brāhmaṇa and a niṣāda female; called in modern times Kahāra or Bhoī (palanquin-bearer).

Plava—from a cāṇḍāla and an andhra woman; called 'hāḍī' in modern times.

Bandhula—from maitreya and jāṅghika female; called Jhārekarī now (who takes out gold particles from the dust at the doors of goldsmiths).

Bhasmāṅkura—from a Śaiva fallen ascetic and a śūdra prostitute; called Gurava by the Jātiviveka.

Manyu—from a vaiśya and a kṣatriya female; called *Tāvaḍia* (thief catcher).

Romika—from malla and an āvartaka woman; called Loṇār in modern times (manufacturer of salt).

Śālākya or Śākalya from a mālākāra and kāyastha woman; called *Maniar.*

Śuddha-Mārjaka—called Māndali (who gains livelihood by singing and playing on musical instruments).

Sindolaka or *spandālika*, from a śūdra male and a māgadha female; called Raṅgārī (dyer).

In modern times each of the principal varṇas has numerous sub-castes, based upon difference of country, occupation, sect and other causes. For example, brāhmaṇas are first divided into ten classes, five of them being Gauḍas[214] and five Drāviḍas. Among the Drāviḍa brāhmaṇas, the Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇas are again subdivided into numerous sub-castes such as the Citpāvana (or Koṅkaṇastha), Karhāḍe, Deśastha, Devarukhe etc. It is said that in Gujerat there are 84 subcastes of brāhmaṇas,[215] most of which do not interdine nor intermarry. There is often a further distinction among the members of the same subcaste, viz. those who follow the priestly occupation and those who do not. The spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of superiority that arose in vedic times gradually led on to further and further divisons and subdivisions of people owing to geographical situation and other[216] causes. It appears that probably even in ancient times the brāhmaṇas of the north looked down upon the brāhmaṇas in eastern countries like Magadha. Vide notes 31–32 above and Fick (pp. 213–214). The Matsyapurāṇa (16. 16) says that brāhmaṇas who dwell in Mleccha countries, in Triśaṅku, Barbara, Oḍra (Orissa), Andhra (Teliṅgaṇa), Ṭakka, Draviḍa and Koṅkaṇa are not to be invited at śrāddhas.[217]

214. द्राविडाश्चैव तैलङ्गाः कर्नाटा मध्यदेशगाः । गुर्जराश्चैव पञ्चैते द्राविडाः पञ्च कथ्यते ॥ सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा उत्कला मैथिलाश्च ये । गौडाश्च पञ्चधा चैव दश विप्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सह्याद्रिखण्ड । (section of the स्कन्दपुराण) उत्तरार्ध X. 2–3 (ed. by Dr. Da Cunha); vide Wilson's 'Indian castes' vol. II. p. 17 where the names slightly differ.

215. Sherring, vol. I. p. 99. gives the names of these 84 subcastes and Wilson in 'Indian castes' vol. II. pp. 92 ff. adds more bringing the total to 160.

216. Vide Bombay Presidency Gazetteer, vol. 9 p. 18 (for Sārasvatas of Panjab having 470 subdivisions). Wilson ('Indian castes' vol. II. p. 126) was informed that there were 469 subcastes of Sārasvata brāhmaṇas and he enumerates these at pp. 127–133.

217. कृतघ्नानास्तिकांस्तद्वन्म्लेच्छदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुबर्बरोड्रान्ध्रान् टक्कद्रविडकोङ्कणान् ॥ मत्स्यपुराणं 16. 16.

Among kṣatriyas there are several subdivisions, such as those claiming descent from the Sun or the Moon and those that call themselves to be Agnikulas (vide Sherring, vol. I. p. 120 ff. and Tod's Rajasthan vol. I chapter VII for lists of royal tribes). The Paramāras have 35 branches, Guhilots 24 branches. Chahmanas 26 branches, Solankis 16 branches and so on.

Even among comparatively late works the total number of subcastes enumerated does not go beyond even two hundred. For example, Wilson in 'Indian castes' vol. I pp. 65–70 mentions only 134 castes with their Sanskrit and modern Marathi names as gathered from the Jātiviveka, Mādhava-kalpalatā, Paraśu-rāma-pratāpa and other works. It is only in the census reports prepared at great expense by the British Government after elaborate efforts and organization that the great complexity of the caste system in modern India is laid bare to the eye. But this work cannot, by reason of its limited scope, go into these varied and complex details of the hundreds of castes that exist in the several provinces of India.

CHAPTER III

THE DUTIES, DISABILITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE VARṆAS

The duties and privileges of *varṇas* occupy a very prominent place in all works on Dharmaśāstra. The study (of the Vedas), offering sacrifices and giving gifts are said to be the duties absolutely enjoined on the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya,[218] while each of these three varṇas has certain peculiar privileges, which are its principal means of livelihood. Teaching Vedas, officiating at sacrifices and receiving gifts—these are the privileges of brāhmaṇas; the profession of arms and protection of the people are the peculiar privileges of kṣatriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle, trade and money-lending are the peculiar privileges of vaiśyas. The first three viz. study, sacrifices and liberality are said to be the dharmas of all *dvijas* and the other actions such as teaching the Veda are said to be the *vṛtti* or *jīvikā* (means of livelihood) of the *dvijas*. The consequence of this bifurcation is that if the first three are not performed or are neglected, the person concerned was deemed to incur sin, while a brāhmaṇa is not bound necessarily to earn his livelihood by all or any one of the three viz. teaching, officiating at a sacrifice or receiving gifts.[219] A few words on each of these duties and privileges must be said at this stage.

Study (of Vedas). It has been already stated (p. 38) that brāhmaṇa and learning had become indissolubly connected even in early Vedic periods. We see in the Śatapatha Br. and in the Upaniṣads that certain kings had attained eminence as philosophers or students of *brahma-vidyā* and then even learned brāhmaṇas came to them as pupils. For example, Yājñavalkya learnt from Janaka (Śat. Br. XI. 6. 21. 5), Bālāki Gārgya from

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218. द्विजातीनामध्ययनमिज्या दानम्। ब्राह्मणस्याधिकाः प्रवचनयाजनप्रतिग्रहाः। पूर्वेषु नियमस्तु। राज्ञोऽधिकं रक्षणं सर्वभूतानाम्। वैश्यस्याधिकं कृषिवणिक्पाशुपाल्यकुसीदम्। गौतम X. 1–3, 7, 50; vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 5–8, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 2–5, Vas. II. 13–19, Manu I. 88–90, X. 75–79, Yāj. I. 118–119, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 10–15, Atri 13–15, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 28. 3–8.

219. पूर्वाण्यध्ययनादीनि अवश्यकर्तव्यानि। अकुर्वन्प्रत्यवैति कुर्वंश्चाभ्युदेति। प्रवचनादीनि तु वृत्त्यर्थानि। अतोऽकरणे न प्रत्यवायः। करणे नाभ्युदयः। हरदत्त on गौ. X. 3; अत इज्यादीन्यवश्यं कर्तव्यानि न प्रतिग्रहादीनि। मिता० on या. I. 118.

Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī (Bṛ. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣītaki Up. IV), Śvetaketu Āruṇeya from Pravāhaṇa[220] Jaivali (Chān. Up. V. 3), five brāhmaṇas from Aśvapati, king of Kekaya (Chān. V. 11). In Bṛ. Up. (IV. 2. 1) Janaka is described by Yājñavalkya as one who had studied the Vedas and Upaniṣads.[221] From this it may be inferred that some kṣatriyas at least spent a good deal of time in the study of religious and philosophical doctrines. The conclusion[222] that is sometimes

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220. प्रवाहण जैवलि says in छान्दोग्य V. 3. 7 that पञ्चाग्निविद्या was not known to ब्राह्मणs till he imparted it to गौतम ' यथा मा त्वं गौतमावदो यथेयं न प्राक् त्वत्तः पुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान्गच्छति तस्मात् सर्वेषु लोकेषु क्षत्रस्यैव प्रशासनमभूदिति ' ।; vide बृह. उप. VI. 2. 8. where similar words occur about the same विद्या.

221. एवं वृन्दारक आढ्यः सन्नधीतवेद उक्तोपनिषत्क इतो विमुच्यमानः क्व गमिष्यसीति नाहं तद्भगवन्वेद यत्र गमिष्यामीति । बृह. उ. IV. 2. 1.

222. Vide Deussen's ' Das System des Vedānta ', 1883, (pp. 18–19) ' the real cherisher of those thoughts was originally the caste of the kṣatriyas, rather than the caste of the priests. Over and over again we come across the situation that the brāhmaṇa asks the kṣatriya for information ' and Deussen refers only to six passages (Bṛ. Up. II. 1, VI. 2, Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11 and Kauṣītaki Up. I. 1 and IV. 1). Vide also 'Philosophy of the Upanishads ' (translated by Geden, 1905, pp. 17–19). In the first place these are too few passages out of the vast Upaniṣad literature to found the sweeping generalisation in which the German *savant* indulges. In the second place in Bṛ. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣītaki Up. IV. there is no statement that brahmavidyā was known only to kṣatriyas; on the contrary Ajātaśatru expresses surprise that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya for the expounding of brahmavidyā and says that this is opposed to the natural (or usual) order of affairs. This shows that Ajātaśatru was an exception and that brāhmaṇas usually taught brahmavidyā. In Kauṣītaki I. 1. and Ch. Up. V. 11 all that is narrated is that Gautama Śvetaketu learnt from Citra Gārgyāyaṇi and certain śrotriyas like Aupamanyava learnt Vaiśvānaravidyā from Aśvapati Kaikeya. But nothing is said here about brahmavidyā being first known to kṣatriyas only. In Bṛ. Up. VI. 2 and Ch. Up. V. 11 it is no doubt stated that '*this Vidyā*' was not known to any brāhmaṇa till then; but 'this vidyā' does not mean the whole of the philosophy of brahma, but only that particular doctrine which bears the name of pañcāgnividyā. This vidyā no doubt propounds the doctrine of transmigration in a figurative and somewhat picturesque way. But that doctrine is elsewhere elaborated by brāhmaṇas like Yājñavalkya to the brāhmaṇas in king Janaka's court and to Janaka himself (vide Bṛ. Up. III. 2. 13 and IV. 4. 3–4). Nor can it be said that the doctrine of transmigration was not at all known before the Upaniṣads. The same views are echoed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in ' Verhand-lungen des VII

(*Continued on next page*)

drawn by certain writers that kṣatriyas or kings were the pioneers in brahmavidyā cannot be accepted as correct. The germs of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads are seen in the later hymns of the Ṛgveda, in the Atharvaveda and in some of the Brāhmaṇa treatises. The Upaniṣads are full of brāhmaṇas who independently propounded various aspects of *brahma-vidyā* and there is no reason to suppose that the few kṣatriyas referred to as masters of the vidyā were the only persons who first attained to that position. There are hardly any ancient passages to show that vaiśyas devoted any portion of their time to veda study. The Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā[223] (IX. 16) indicates that all varṇas studied the Veda since it speaks of a person not a brāhmaṇa, having studied (Vedic) lores and yet not shining (by his learning).

As to brāhmaṇas the matter stands thus. The Nirukta (II. 4) contains four[224] verses (which are called Vidyāsūkta), the first of which says that *vidyā* came to the brāhmaṇa and requested him to guard her as his treasure. The Mahābhāṣya[225] of Patañjali quotes as an *āgama* (Vedic passage) the words 'a brāhmaṇa should study and understand without any motive (of profit) dharma, the Veda with its six subsidiary lores (viz. phonetics etc.)'. Manu IV. 147 says 'a brāhmaṇa should always and assiduously study the Veda alone; that (Veda study) is his highest dharma; everything else is inferior *dharma*'. Yāj. (I. 198) observes 'the Creator created brāhmaṇas for the preservation of the vedas, for the satisfaction of the

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Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses zu Wien (Arische Sec. pp. 108–109) and in 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 9 'Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in active speculation on religious matters about the time of the Upaniṣads and are mentioned as the original possessors of the new knowledge,' and the learned Doctor refers only to Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11. It may be stated that Hopkins (in 'Ethics of India' 1924 p. 63), Barth (Religions of India p. 65) and Vedic Index (vol. II p. 206) do not subscribe to these views of Deussen and Bhandarkar.

223. योऽब्राह्मणो विद्यामनूच्य नेव रोचेत स एतांश्चतुर्होतॄनरण्यं परेत्य दर्भस्तम्बमुद्ग्रथ्य ब्राह्मणं दक्षिणतो निषाद्य व्याचक्षीत । काठकसं. IX. 16.

224. The same four verses occur in Vas. Dh.S.II. 8–11, three of them except 'adhyāpitā ye' in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 9–10 and 30. 47; Manu II. 114–115 expresses the ideas of two out of them, but in different words.

225. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति । महाभाष्य (vol. I, p. 15).

gods and pitṛs, for the safeguarding of dharma.' Atri (25) contains the same idea. Other[226] sages say that he in whose family Veda (Vedic study) and vedī (consecration of fires for śrauta rites) are given up for three generations becomes a durbrāhmaṇa (an unworthy or bad brāhmaṇa). The Tai. S. (II. 1. 10. 1) prescribes a rite for a durbrāhmaṇa in whose family cessation of drinking soma occurred for generations and who himself desired to drink soma.

Teaching the Veda—It is probable that in very remote times the son was taught the Veda by his father. The story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (Chāndogya V. 3. 1. and VI. 1. 1–2 and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1) shows that he learnt all the Vedas from his father and the legend in the Bṛ. Up. (V. 2. 1) that the gods, men and *asuras* learnt from their father Prajāpati points in the same direction.[227] Ṛg. VII. 103. 5 shows that instruction was oral and consisted in the pupil repeating the words uttered by the teacher.[228] Whatever may have been the case in very remote times, from the times of the Brāhmaṇa literature and in the times of the dharmaśāstras teaching Vedic literature was almost universally in the hands of brāhmaṇas. Some kṣatriya teachers or philosophers are referred to in the Śatapatha (VIII. 1. 4. 10 and XI. 6. 2) and elsewhere, but they are generally held in low esteem. The Āp. Dh. S.[229] (II. 2. 4. 25–28) lays down that the brāhmaṇa alone can be the teacher (of a brāhmaṇa), but in distress (i. e. in the absence of a brāhmaṇa teacher), a brāhmaṇa may learn from a kṣatriya or vaiśya, but the only service (which as a pupil) he should render to a kṣatriya or vaiśya teacher is to go after him (and not shampooing his feet etc.) and after the brāhmaṇa finishes his study, the brāhmaṇa may go in front

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226. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति–यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिपूरुषम्। स वै दुर्ब्राह्मणो नाम यश्चैव वृषलीपतिः। बौधायनगृह्यपरिभाषा I. 10. 5–6. This is quoted as Yama's by Aparārka pp. 286, 449. Auśanasa (chap. IV p. 524, Jiv.) has the verse, but the last pāda is श्राद्धादौ न कदाचन. Vide for दुर्ब्राह्मण the following आश्विनं धूम्रललाममालभेत यो दुर्ब्राह्मणः सोमं पिपासेत्। आश्विनौ वै देवानामसोमपावास्तां तौ पश्चात्सोमपीथं प्रापुताम्। तै. सं. II. 1. 10. 1; vide also तै. सं. II. 1. 5. 5 ऐन्द्राग्नं पुनरुत्सृष्टमालभेत य आ तृतीयात्पुरुषात् सोमं न पिबेत्।

227. त्रयः प्राजापत्याः प्रजापतौ पितरि ब्रह्मचर्यमूषुर्देवा मनुष्या असुरा उषित्वा ब्रह्मचर्यं देवा ऊचुः। बृ. उ. V. 2. 1.

228. यदेषामन्यो अन्यस्य वाचं शाक्तस्येव वदति शिक्षमाणः। ऋ. VII. 103. 5.

229. ब्राह्मण आचार्यः स्मर्यते तु। आपदि ब्राह्मणेन राजन्ये वैश्ये वाध्ययनम्। अनुगमनं च पश्चात्। तत ऊर्ध्वं ब्राह्मण एवाग्रे गतौ स्यात्। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 25–28.

(of his kṣatriya teacher). Gaut. (VII. 1-3) and Manu (X. 1, II. 241) lay down the same rules. Manu (II. 242) adds that a perpetual student (naiṣṭhika brahmacārī) should not stay as a pupil with a teacher who is not a brāhmaṇa and that a brāhmaṇa may learn even from a śūdra a useful or efficacious craft (II. 238). The profession of teaching the Veda could not have brought much money or wealth to brāhmaṇas, since very great emphasis was laid, as we shall see later, on teaching without any prior agreement about payment. It was the privilege of a brāhmaṇa alone to officiate as a priest. Jaimini[230] says that, as the kṣatriya and vaiśya cannot be priests (ṛtviks), the sattra (a sacrifice extending over many days or years) could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. The Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra uses a similar argument. When Viśvāmitra agreed to perform a sacrifice for Triśaṅku who had been cursed to be a cāṇḍāla, the Rāmāyaṇa[231] says that the gods and sages would not accept the oblations. It is doubtful whether the same rigid rule prevailed in ancient Vedic days. In Ṛg. X. 98. 7 it is said that Devāpi was the purohita of Śantanu and the Nirukta (II. 10) adds that Devāpi and Śantanu were brothers and descendants of Kuru. So, according to the Nirukta at least, a kṣatriya could be a purohita in Vedic times. It may be admitted that the Ṛg. itself does not expressly say that they were brothers. In modern times many writers often speak of brāhmaṇas as the priestly caste or as priests. But this is not a very accurate statement. All brāhmaṇas never were nor are priests; besides even in modern times when caste is so rigid all priests in all temples and shrines are not brāhmaṇas. Some brāhmaṇas became the family priests (purohitas) of kings, many engaged as *ṛtviks* at solemn śrauta sacrifices or at domestic rites and ceremonies. Temple priests are comparatively a later institution and they were generally looked down upon in olden times and are regarded as inferior even in modern times.[232] Manu (III. 152) says that a devalaka i. e. a brāhmaṇa who took

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230. ब्राह्मणानां वेतरयोरार्त्विज्याभावात् । जैमिनि VI. 6. 18 ; ब्राह्मणा ऋत्विजो भक्षप्रतिषेधादितरयोः । कात्या. श्रौ I. 2. 28.

231. क्षत्रियो याजको यस्य चण्डालस्य विशेषतः । कथं सदसि भोक्तारो हविस्तस्य सुरर्षयः ॥ बालकाण्ड 59. 13–14.

232. देवार्चनपरो विप्रो वित्तार्थी वत्सरत्रयम् । असौ देवलको नाम हव्यकव्येषु गर्हितः ॥ देवकोशोपजीवी च नाम्ना देवलको भवेत् । अपाङ्क्तेयः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मसु सर्वदा ॥ देवल quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका II p. 396, the first verse being quoted by अपरार्क also pp. 450, 923.

remuneration to perform service before the image in a temple for three years continuously was unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to officiate in a sacrifice for gods.

The third means of livelihood permitted to brāhmaṇas was receiving gifts from a worthy or unblemished person. According to Yama[233] quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 179) *pratigraha* (receiving gifts) from a worthy person of the three higher varṇas is superior to the acquisition of wealth by officiating as a priest or by teaching. But Manu (X. 109–11) says that *pratigraha* from an unworthy person (or a śūdra) is worse than the act of teaching him or officiating as a priest for him. Very elaborate rules were laid down about gifts i. e. who should receive gifts, from whom gifts may be received and on what occasions and what things were proper subjects of gift. The latter two matters will be discussed in detail later on. Here the rules about the persons to whom gifts should be made and from whom they were to be accepted will be set out. It appears from the Bṛ. Up. (IV. 1.3) that even in those ancient times there were prohibitions against receiving gifts from unworthy persons and officiating as priests for the unworthy. And the Bṛ. Up. (V. 14. 5–6) suggests that it is only the learned who could properly accept large gifts.

In the first place, the ideal set before brāhmaṇas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking the active pursuit of riches and cherishing cultural preservation and advancement. Manu lays down the general rule that when not in distress a brāhmaṇa should acquire wealth only just sufficient to maintain himself and his family, and to enable him to perform his religious duties without causing any harm to others or by as little harm to others as possible and without unduly worrying his own body (IV. 2–3) and then Manu (IV. 7–8) says[234] that a brāhmaṇa householder may

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233. प्रतिग्रहाध्यापनयाजनानां प्रतिग्रहं श्रेष्ठतमं वदान्ति । प्रतिग्रहाच्छुध्यति जप्यहोमैर्याज्यं तु पापैर्न पुनन्ति वेदाः ॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 179.

234. The words 'kusūla and 'kumbhī' have been variously explained by the commentators ; vide Kullūka on Manu IV. 7. According to Kullūka one who has corn sufficient for three years is called 'kusūladhānya' as suggested by Manu X. 7; while 'kumbhīdhānya' is one who has a store of corn for one year. Medhātithi says that there is no restriction to corn only ; one who has wealth either in corn or money to satisfy his needs for three years is 'kusūladhānya'; according to Govindarāja, 'kusūladhānya' and 'kumbhīdhānya' are respectively those who have corn for 12 and 6 days. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 accepts Govindarāja's explanation.

either accumulate so much grain (but not more) as would fill a kusūla (a granary), or a *kumbhī*[235] or he may have as much corn as would satisfy all his needs for three days or as much as will suffice for the day that is on and that out of these four each succeeding one was superior to each preceding one i. e. one who had no more accumulation of material goods than for the day itself (and who did not care for the morrow) was the best brāhmaṇa. Yāj. I. 128 speaks of a fifth grade viz. a brāhmaṇa should subsist by collecting the ears of corn that are left in the field after the crops are gathered or the single grains of corn so left and Manu (X. 112) says that if a brāhmaṇa cannot maintain himself he may prefer to live on the collection of fallen ears of corn or grains rather than receive gifts. This last mode is designated ṛta by Manu (IV. 5). Manu (IV. 12, 15, 17) lays down that a brāhmaṇa should cultivate supreme contentment and though desirous of happiness should restrain himself (in the pursuit of wealth), he should not, even when in distress, hanker after the acquisition of wealth by excessive attachment or by doing what is forbidden or by accepting gifts from any person whatever (of blemished character etc.) and he should give up pursuits that are opposed to (cause obstacles in) his devotion to Vedic study. Yāj. (I. 129) says the same thing in more concise language. Vyāsa prescribes that a brāhmaṇa should seek to narrow down his means of livelihood and should not hanker after excess of wealth; if he sets about accumulation of wealth he loses the (glorious) status of brāhmaṇya.[236] The Mahābhārata says that when a brāhmaṇa has more corn than he would require to satisfy his needs for three years, then he should offer a sacrifice with that wealth and he should not go on accumulating wealth in vain and that accumulation of vast wealth is a calamity for a brāhmaṇa.[237]

Gautama (IX. 63), Yāj. (I. 100), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (63. 1), and Laghu-Vyāsa (II. 8) say that a brāhmaṇa should approach a

235. That this ideal of 'kumbhīdhānya' is very ancient is shown by the use of the word kumbhīdhānya in the Mahābhāṣya where it is explained as follows (on Pāṇ. I. 3. 7, vol. I. p. 264) ' कुम्भीधान्यः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते । यस्य कुम्भ्यामेव धान्यं स कुम्भीधान्यः । यस्य पुनः कुम्भ्यां चान्यत्र च नासौ कुम्भीधान्यः .'

236. वृत्तिसङ्कोचमन्विच्छेन्नेहेत धनविस्तरम् । धनलाभे प्रवृत्तस्तु ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते ॥ व्यास quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 199 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 173.

237. त्रैवार्षिकाद्यदा भक्तादधिकं स्याद्द्विजस्य तु । यजेत तेन द्रव्येण न वृथा साधयेद् धनम् ॥ अनुशासन 47. 22 ; अनर्थो ब्राह्मणस्यैष यद् वित्तनिचयो महान् । अनुशासन 61. 19.

king (or a rich man) for his *yogakṣema* (i. e. for his livelihood and support). Manu (IV. 33), Yāj. (I. 130), and Vas. Dh. S. (XII. 2) declare that a brāhmaṇa when oppressed by hunger should seek for help (or money) from a king, from his pupil or from one who is able and willing to offer a sacrifice. But a brāhmaṇa should not receive a gift from an irreligious king or other irreligious donor. This implies that if the brāhmaṇa is not hungry and has sufficient wealth either obtained by inheritance or partition or in any other way he should not go about seeking for wealth and should not receive gifts (Manu IV. 34). If a brāhmaṇa cannot secure gifts from the above three, then he may do so from any other worthy *dvijāti*.[238] When even that is not possible and the brāhmaṇa is in difficulties he was allowed to take a gift from anybody including a śūdra (Manu X. 102–103, Yāj. III. 41); but a brāhmaṇa should not seek gifts from a śūdra for the performance of a sacrifice or for *agnihotra*, as thereby he becomes a cāṇḍāla in another birth (Manu XI. 24 and 42, Yāj. 1. 127). A brāhmaṇa trying to support his hungry elders (parents etc.), his dependants (wife, servants etc.), and about to worship gods and honour guests may accept a gift from anybody (except a *patita*), but should not satisfy his own hunger with that wealth (Manu IV. 251, Vas. 14. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 13, Yāj. I. 216). Yāj., however, allowed this even for one's own livelihood. Gaut.[239] (18. 24–25) allows a brāhmaṇa to receive even from a śūdra as much as would enable him to finish marriage ceremonies on which he has embarked or to get materials for a sacrifice when he has begun it. One may take gifts from a śūdra or ugra for paying a fee to one's *guru* at the end of the period of brahmacarya (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 20–21). A brāhmaṇa was not to seek gifts from a king who was not of kṣatriya lineage nor from butchers, oilmen, keepers of liquor-shops and of brothels nor from courtesans (Manu IV. 84), nor from a king who is avaricious and transgresses the rules of the *śāstras*[240] (Yāj. I. 140, Manu IV. 87). The Smṛtis lay down

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238. प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत। प्रतिगृह्णीयाच्च। गौतम 17.1–2.

239. द्रव्यादानं विवाहसिद्ध्यर्थं धर्मतन्त्रसंयोगे च शूद्रात्। गौतम 18. 24.

240. Vide Par. M. I. 1. p. 199 for quotations from Saṁvarta, the Skandapurāṇa, the Viṣṇu–dharmottara condemning the receipt of gifts from irreligious kings. In Anuśāsana 93. 94 the sages say to king Vṛṣādarbhi 'राजन् प्रतिग्रहो राज्ञां मध्वास्वादो विषोपमः। तज्जानमानः कस्मात्त्वं कुरुषे नः प्रलोभनम् ॥'. यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये श्रोत्रियः सीदति क्षुधा। तस्यापि तत्क्षुधा राष्ट्रमचिरेणैव सीदति ॥ मनु VII. 134.

that it is the duty of the king to support śrotriyas (brāhmaṇas learned in the Veda) and brāhmaṇas who are incapable of struggling for their maintenance (Gaut. X. 9–10, Yāj. III. 44, Atri 24) and that if a śrotriya perishes through hunger in the domains of a king, that country would suffer from famine and disease (Manu VII. 134). Yāj. III. 44 lays down that it is the duty of a king to assign a proper means of livelihood to a brāhmaṇa in distress, having regard to the brāhmaṇa's conduct, descent, learning, Vedic study, *tapas*, the members in his family.[241] The ideal set before brāhmaṇas in the matter of *pratigraha* (receiving gifts) was that he, who though entitled to accept a gift (on account of his Vedic learning and *tapas*) does not take it, attains to the highest worlds (Yāj. I. 213); and Manu (IV. 186) says that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmaṇa should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power (due to Vedic study) that he acquires is lost by accepting gifts. Another rule about gifts is laid down in many works as follows. When a donor himself goes to the place of a worthy donee and makes a gift that is the best gift, when a donor calls a donee to his place and makes a gift it is middling and when a donor gives if begged by a donee it is inferior.[242] Manu (IV. 188–191) prescribes that a man, who is not learned, is reduced to ashes like fuel if he accepts a gift of gold, land, horses, cows, food, clothes, sesame and ghee, that a brāhmaṇa who, being devoid of learning and *tapas* (regulated life), desires to accept gifts sinks (into Hell) as one who sits in a stone boat sinks in water; and that therefore a brāhmaṇa who is not learned should be afraid of receiving gifts.

241. We find that kings followed these directions from very ancient times. In Karle Inscription No. 13 (E. I. vol. VII. p. 57) and Nasik cave Inscription No. 12 (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78) king Usavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta) proclaims that he gave one lakh of cows and 16 villages to brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa and got some of them married at his expense and that he also fed every year a lakh of brāhmaṇas. In numerous grants of lands and villages the purpose of the grants is said to be to enable the donees to perform the five *Mahāyajñas*, Agnihotra, Vaiśvadeva, the offering of *bali* and *caru* (vide Sarsavni plate of Buddharāja in E. I. vol. 6 p. 298 dated in Kaṭacchuri Saṁvat 361 i. e. 609–10 A. D., Damodarpur plates in E. I. vol. XV. p. 113 dated 443–44 A. D.).

242. अभिगम्योत्तमं दानमाहूयैव तु मध्यमम् । अधमं याच्यमानाय सेवादानं तु निष्फलम् ॥ पराशर I. 29; गत्वा यद्दीयते दानं तदनन्तफलं स्मृतम् । सहस्रगुणमाहूते याचिते तु तदर्धकम् ॥ quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka (p. 291) on Yāj. I. 203. Vide लघुशातातप quoted by Aparārka p. 291 and Śāntiparva 294. 18–19.

To the same effect are Yāj. (I. 200–202), Vas. Dh. S. (VI. 32), Auśanasa (Jīv. I. p. 521 which is almost the same as Manu IV. 188). Just as a brāhmaṇa who was not learned was enjoined not to accept a gift, so conversely people were asked to make gifts only to learned and worthy men. Even so early as the Śat. Br. this is emphasized as in IV. 3. 4. 15 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 344) "thus those cows of his are given to him who is fit to receive a dakṣiṇā and not to him who is unfit'. Vide III. 5. 1. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 114) also. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 9–10) prescribes 'one should invite for dinner in all religious acts brāhmaṇas who are pure and who have studied the Veda and one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place and on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy acceptor.'[243] To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S. III, 8 and VI. 30, Manu (III. 128, 132 and IV. 31), Yāj. (I. 201), Dakṣa III. 26 and 31.[244] The smṛtis say that gifts given to a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda or who is avaricious and deceitful are fruitless and lead the donor to hell (Manu IV. 192–194, Atri 152, Dakṣa III. 29). Manu (XI. 1–3) says that nine kinds of *snātaka* brāhmaṇas who are poor are the primary objects of the gift of food and fees inside the sacrificial altar; while to others food and wealth may be given outside the altar (bahirvedi).

An exception was made in the case of gifts made without request from the donee. What has been offered unasked may be accepted even from one who is guilty of bad actions, except from unchaste women, impotent persons and *patita* (outcastes or persons guilty of mahāpātakas)—Yāj. I. 215, Manu IV. 248–49, Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 11–14 (where two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa which are almost the same as Manu IV. 248–249), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 11. Many persons are mentioned in the smṛtis from whom gifts (particularly of food) were not to be accepted (vide Manu IV. 205–224, Vas. Dh. S. XIV. 2–11).

Another rule about gifts was that a person should prefer a learned brāhmaṇa who is his neighbour for making a gift to one who is not near; if he did not do so, he incurred sin; but there was no blame in passing over an ignorant or foolish

243. शुचीन्मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत्। देशतः कालतः शौचतः सम्यक्प्रतिग्रहीतृत इति दानानि प्रतिपादयति। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9–10.

244. यद्यदिष्टतमं लोके यच्चास्य दयितं भवेत्। तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता॥ दक्ष III. 31. This is also संवर्त 44–45, अनुशासनपर्व 59. 7, मार्कण्डेय 35. 52–53, मत्स्यपुराण 72. 39.

brāhmaṇa who stays near in favour of a worthy but distant brāhmaṇa.[245] Vide Vas. Dh. S. III. 9–10, Manu VIII. 392 (which prescribes a fine of one *māṣa* for this), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti IV. 35–38, Bṛhaspati-smṛti 60 and Laghu-Śātātapa 76–79, Gobhila-smṛti II. 66–69. Devala quoted by Aparārka p. 288 and Par. M. I. part 1 p. 181 say that that brāhmaṇa is a pātra (worthy to receive a gift) who is pure in three respects (viz. as to his parents and his guru), whose means of livelihood are slender, who is tender-hearted and of restrained senses. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 26 and Yāj. I. 200 also define pātra similarly.

It is not to be supposed that the ideal of poverty and non-acceptance of gifts except under compelling circumstances was only an ideal hardly ever acted upon at any time or in any part of the country. Even in the 20th century rural India has villages with a considerable population of brāhmaṇas where many śrotriyas (learned in the Veda) and *pandits* (those who study śāstras like grammar, logic, mīmāṅsā) are still found who are content with what little patrimony they have got, who engage in the profession of teaching the Veda and śāstras in accordance with ancient rules and who do not go about seeking gifts nor accept invitations for dinner at śrāddhas. In the Śāntiparva 199 brāhmaṇas are divided into two sorts, viz. those who are pravṛtta (i. e. engage in all sorts of activities for acquiring wealth) and those who are nivṛtta and verse 40 defines these latter as those who do not resort to *pratigraha* (acceptance of gifts).

Though *pratigraha* was a special privilege of brāhmaṇas, gifts could be made by anybody to anybody. Yāj. I. 6 says that giving to a worthy person at a proper time is the complete definition of dharma and Viśvarūpa adds that gifts could be made by anybody; but the merit secured by making a gift depended upon the worth and caste of the donee. Gaut. (V. 18),[246] Manu VII. 85, Veda-Vyāsa IV. 42, Dakṣa III.

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245. ब्राह्मणातिक्रमो नास्ति मूर्खे मन्त्रविवर्जिते। ज्वलन्तमग्निमुत्सृज्य नहि भस्मनि हूयते॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 98, वेदव्यास IV. 37 (reads विप्रे वेदविवर्जिते), वसिष्ठ III. 10, गोभिलस्मृति II. 68–69. The मत्स्यपुराण 227. 7 also prescribes a fine for ब्राह्मणातिक्रम 'द्विजभोज्ये तु संप्राप्ते प्रतिवेश्यमभोजयन्। हिरण्यमाषकं दण्ड्यः पापे नास्ति व्यतिक्रमः॥.'

246. समद्विगुणसाहस्रानन्त्यानि फलान्यब्राह्मणब्राह्मणश्रोत्रियवेदपारगेभ्यः। गौ. V. 18; सममब्राह्मणे दानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणब्रुवे। प्राधीते शतसाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारगे॥ मनु VII. 85; वेदव्यास IV. 42 and Dakṣa read सहस्रगुणमाचार्ये which reading is noted by Kullūka also and Vedavyāsa (IV. 43–47) explains the words ब्राह्मणब्रुव, आचार्य and वेदपारग.

28 say that a gift given to a brāhmaṇa (who is only so by caste, but is not learned), to a śrotriya (or ācārya) and to one who has completely mastered all the Vedas (with their subsidiary lores) respectively confers merit which is twice, a hundred thousand times or an infinite number of times more than the merit conferred by a gift to a non-brāhmaṇa. Gautama[247] (V. 19–20) and Baudhāyana II. 3. 24 further make it obligatory to give outside the sacrificial altar according to one's ability a portion of one's wealth to a brāhmaṇa, *śrotriya* and *veda-pāraga* when they seek help for giving a dakṣiṇā to their teacher (at the end of the period of studenthood), for their own marriage, for medicine, for their own maintenance (that day), for a sacrifice, for their own study or journey, and when everything has been given in a Viśvajit sacrifice and that one must give cooked food to all others who beg for it (except brāhmaṇa, śrotriya and vedapāraga). Manu (XI. 1–3) gives practically the same rule. In the Vaiśvadeva the householder was enjoined to give food to every one including even dogs and cāṇḍālas, as we shall see later on (under[248] Vaiśvadeva). Medhātithi on Manu IV. 5 says that when a person makes a gift through compassion it is not the *dāna* and *pratigraha* spoken of by the śāstra ; just as when a man gives instruction as to what is beneficial he does not care to see what the caste of the person to be benefitted by the advice is, so a gift made through compassion is made irrespective of caste ; and that when non-brāhmaṇas reduced to a helpless condition take what is given by others, it cannot be said that they are assuming to themselves the livelihood by *pratigraha* which is a peculiar means of livelihood for brāhmaṇas.[249]

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247. गुर्वर्थनिवेशौषधार्थ-वृत्तिक्षीण-यक्ष्यमाणाध्ययनाध्वसंयोगवैश्वजितेषु द्रव्यसंविभागो बहिर्वेदि । भिक्षमाणेषु कृतान्नमितरेषु ॥ गौतम V. 19. 20; बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 24 reads सुब्राह्मणश्रोत्रियवेदपारगेभ्यः before गुर्वर्थ० and यथाशक्ति कार्यः before बहिर्वेदि. Vide रघुवंश V. 24 ' गुर्वर्थमर्थी श्रुतपारदृश्वा रघोः सकाशादनवाप्य कामम् । '.

248. सर्वान्वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीता श्वचण्डालेभ्यः । आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 5.

249. ननु च करुणया दानमदृष्टायैव। नेति ब्रूमः। न तत्र दानधर्मः । किं तर्हि करुणाभ्यासात्परोपकाराद्वा । तत्र यथा । हितोपदेशादावनुग्राह्यस्य विधिजात्यादि नापेक्षते तद्वत्करुणया दाने । तथा च शिष्टा नैवंविधे दाने वेदतत्त्वार्थविदुषे ब्राह्मणायेत्येतदनुरुध्यन्ते । अत एवाब्राह्मणा अपि दैन्यमापन्नाः परेण दत्तं गृह्णाना न ब्राह्मणवृत्तिं प्रतिग्रहमाश्रिता भवन्ति । मेधातिथि on मनु IV. 5. The words वेदतत्त्वार्थ० quoted here are from मनु III. 96. The Par. M. (I part 1 p. 189) quotes a verse from the Mahābhārata ' पङ्ग्वन्धबधिरा मूका व्याधिनोपहताश्च ये । भर्तव्यास्ते महाराज न तु देयः प्रतिग्रहः ॥. ' The idea is that प्रतिग्रह is a privilege, while charity to the poor and the diseased is due to *dayā* (compassion).

In spite of the noble ideal set before brāhmaṇas it appears that, owing to the growth of the Brāhmaṇa population and the paucity of gifts and invitations to officiate as priests, the strict rules about *dāna* and *pratigraha* had to be relaxed and in course of time it came to be said that a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or ignorant, was to be a donee and may accept gifts without any scruples. The first inroad[250] was made by the rule that in rites meant for gods the character and learning of brāhmaṇas need not be deeply inquired into, but that such enquiry was proper only when they were to be invited for śrāddha and other rites for the dead, the only exceptions being that a brāhmaṇa, who is a thief or is guilty of a *mahāpātaka*, or is impotent or an atheist was not to be invited even in rites for the gods (vide Manu III. 149–150). Gradually such views as the following came to be recommended. The Skandapurāṇa[251] as quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) makes Śiva say to Pārvatī 'the Vedic revelation is that śrāddha (food) should be given (to a brāhmaṇa) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without scrutiny, his pitṛs are satisfied and also gods.' The Vṛddha-Gautama smṛti (chap. III pp. 512–513 and 518, Jiv.) says 'Brāhmaṇas, whether well conducted or of bad conduct, whether vulgar or of polished intellect, should not be disrespected like fires covered with ashes. Just as fire in whatever condition it may be, is a great deity, so a brāhmaṇa is a great deity in whatever condition he may be.'[252] 'The wise should not despise brāhmaṇas, whether they be squint-eyed, humpbacked, dwarfs, indigent or diseased, since they are

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250. ब्राह्मणान्न परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित्। दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु न्याय्यमाहुः परीक्षणम् ॥ अनुशासन 90. 2. An instructive parallel may be found in Article XXVI of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church, whereby sacraments administered by a priest who is sinful do not suffer in efficacy.

251. श्राद्धं परीक्ष्य दातव्यमित्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः। परीक्षणाच्च रम्भोरु आर्जवं गुणवत्तरम्। अपरीक्ष्य तु यो दद्याच्छ्राद्धमार्जवमास्थितः। तस्य तुष्यन्ति पितरो देवताश्च न संशयः quoted by अपरार्क p. 455.

252. दुर्वृत्ता वा सुवृत्ता वा प्राकृता वा सुसंस्कृताः। ब्राह्मणा नावमन्तव्या भस्मच्छन्ना इवाग्नयः॥ ...... काणाः कुब्जा वामनाश्च दरिद्रा व्याधितास्तथा। नावमान्या द्विजाः प्राज्ञैर्मम रूपा हि ते द्विजाः॥ वृद्धगौतम (chap. III. pp. 512, 513); vide वनपर्व 200. 88–89 दुर्वेदा वा सुवेदा वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा। ...... ग्नयः॥ यथा श्मशाने दीप्तौजाः पावको नैव दुष्यति। एवं विद्वानविद्वान्वा ब्राह्मणो दैवतं महत् ॥

my forms (i. e. of Kṛṣṇa)'. The Anuśāsanaparva (152. 19)[253] says 'a brāhmaṇa who is not learned is a god and he is a worthy object for gifts and is a great purifier; a learned brāhmaṇa is a greater god (than an unlearned one).'

As already said above teaching could have brought very little wealth. There was no state educational system as in modern times with stability of tenure and graded rates of salary. Nor was there any Copyright Act under which a learned man could make money by writing books for students and the general public. The brāhmaṇas had no organised corporate body like the Anglican Church with its hierarchy of Archbishops, Bishops and other divines, nor was there in ancient India any practice of making wills whereby large estates came to the Church as in England (where statutes of Mortmain had to be passed to prevent enormous estates from going to the Church).[254] The emoluments of officiating priests and gifts given by charitably disposed persons must have been fitful and offered only a precarious means of livelihood, as they depended upon the volition of others and as the smṛtis recommended that even in śrāddha too many brāhmaṇas should not be invited.[255] Besides all brāhmaṇas could not have possessed the memory, intelligence and patience required to master the Vedic Literature after intensive study for decades of years. Therefore, there is no wonder that many brāhmaṇas were compelled by the force of circumstances to pursue for their livelihood avocations other than the three prescribed ones. From ancient times this was recognised by the dharmaśāstra works. Gaut. (VII. 6 and 7) says that if a brāhmaṇa cannot maintain himself by means of the three peculiar modes of livelihood viz. teaching or officiating as a priest for even an unworthy person or by receiving gifts, then he should maintain himself by doing the work peculiar to a kṣatriya (i. e. by fighting and protecting people) and if even that is not possible then by following the avocations of a vaiśya and Gaut. VII. 26 ordains that a kṣatriya may resort to the profession of the vaiśya in similar circumstances. Baudhāyana

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253. अविद्वान् ब्राह्मणो देवः पात्रं वै पावनं महत्। विद्वान् भूयस्तरो देवः पूर्णसागरसंनिभः। एवं यद्यप्यनिष्टेषु वर्तते सर्वकर्मसु। सर्वथा ब्राह्मणो मान्यो दैवतं विद्धि तत्परम्॥ अनुशासन 152. 19 and 23.

254. Vide Holdsworth's History of English Law (4th ed.) vol. III p. 87 for the origin of statutes of Mortmain from 1279 A. D. to 51 and 52 Vic. chap. 42.

255. Vide Manu III. 125-126, Gaut. 15. 7-8, Yāj. I. 228.

Dh. S. (II. 2. 77) says the same and then it adds (II. 2. 78 and 80) that Gautama says that it should not be so as the duties of a kṣatriya would be too terrific for a brāhmaṇa and that he should pursue the avocation of a vaiśya. Baudhāyana (I. 1. 20) notes that the profession of arms was practised by the brāhmaṇas of the north. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 22) lays down that persons (of the three higher varṇas) should, if they cannot maintain themselves by the peculiar avocations of their varṇa, resort to the means of livelihood prescribed for the varṇa which is immediately below their own. Manu X. 81–82, Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (ṛṇādāna 56), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 28, Śaṅkha-Likhita say the same [256] thing. It is further laid down by the same works that a person belonging to a lower varṇa should not resort to the modes of livelihood peculiar to a higher varṇa (*vide* Vas. Dh. S. II. 23, Manu X. 95). The smṛtis further ordain that when the calamity or distress ceases, the person who has taken to the avocations of another varṇa should perform prāyaścitta, should resume his proper avocations and abandon the wealth acquired by him by resorting to improper avocations ; vide Manu XI. 192–193 ; Viṣṇu Dh. S. (54. 27–28), Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (ṛṇādāna 59–60). Manu (X. 96) prescribes that, if a person of a lower varṇa maintains himself through greed by the avocation [257] peculiar to a higher varṇa, the king should confiscate the wealth and should at once banish him from the country. A classical example of the keenness with which good kings were expected to prevent persons of lower varṇas doing the actions allowed only to higher varṇas is furnished by the story of Śambūka narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa (VII. 73–76.) The Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti echoes the same sentiments. A śūdra [258] who engaged in *japa*, *homa*, *tapas* or became an ascetic or repeated (Vedic) *mantras* was to be punished (or killed) by the king and was also guilty of mortal sin. Manu (X. 98) allows a vaiśya, if unable to maintain himself by the pursuits peculiar to his varṇa, to live by means of the

256. आपत्काले मातापितृमतो बहुभृत्यस्यानन्तरका वृत्तिरिति कल्पः । तस्यानन्तरका वृत्तिः क्षात्रोऽभिनिवेशः । एवमप्यजीवन्वैश्यवृत्तिमुपजीवेत् । शङ्खलिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 930.

257. न कथंचन कुर्वीत ब्राह्मणः कर्म वार्षलम् । वृषलः कर्म वा ब्राह्मं पतनीये हि ते तयोः ॥ नारद (ऋणादान 57)

258. वध्यो राज्ञा स वै शूद्रो जपहोमपरश्च यः । ततो राष्ट्रस्य हन्तासौ यथा वह्नेश्च वै जलम् ॥ जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा प्रव्रज्या मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चैव स्त्रीशूद्रपतनानि षट् ॥ अत्रि 19. 136–137 (Ānan. ed.) ; vide वनपर्व 150. 36

actions proper for a śūdra viz. serving members of the twice-born classes. It is also said by Gaut. (VII. 22–24) that a brāhmaṇa may maintain himself in any way if unable to maintain himself (by the three means specially prescribed for him), but he should not resort to the actions peculiar to a śūdra, that according to some ācāryas he may do even those actions when life itself is in danger, but that when he stoops to the actions peculiar to śūdras for maintenance he should not mix himself up with members of that varṇa (by sitting on the same seat with them etc.) or eat articles forbidden to brāhmaṇas (such as leek and garlic) and should not be a mere menial servant. Vide Manu (IV. 4 and 6) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 57).

According[259] to all ancient authorities the special duty of the śūdra was to render service to the twice-born classes, to obtain his livelihood from them and serving a brāhmaṇa conferred greater happiness or benefit on the śūdra than serving a kṣatriya and serving a kṣatriya conferred greater good than serving a vaiśya. According to Gaut. (X. 60–61), Manu (X. 124–125) and others, the śūdra was to wear the old or cast-off clothes, umbrellas, sandals, mattress etc. of his patron and the leavings of food (ucchiṣṭa) were to be given to him. If he became old and unable to do work while serving anyone of the higher varṇas he was to be fed by him whom he had formerly served (Gaut. X. 63). In course of time the position of the śūdra improved. If a śūdra[260] was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving *dvijas*, he was allowed to maintain himself by having recourse to crafts like carpentry or drawing or painting pictures etc. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 58) allowed him to perform the work of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas in times of distress. Yāj. (I. 120) also says that, if unable to maintain himself by the service of *dvijas*, the śūdra may carry on the profession of a vaiśya or may take to the various crafts. The Mahābhārata allowed a śūdra[261] who could not maintain

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259. शुश्रूषा शूद्रस्येतरेषां वर्णानाम्। पूर्वस्मिन् पूर्वस्मिन्वर्णे निःश्रेयसं भूयः। आप. ध. I. 1. 1. 7–8 ; परिचर्या चोत्तरेषाम्। तेभ्यो वृत्तिं लिप्सेत। तत्र पूर्वं परिचरेत्। गौतम X. 57–59 ; प्रजापतिर्हि वर्णानां दासं शूद्रमकल्पयत्। शान्तिपर्व 60. 28; vide also Vas. Dh. S. II. 20, Manu X. 121-123, Yāj. I. 120, बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 5, वनपर्व 150. 36.

260. शिल्पाजीवं भृतिं चैव शूद्राणां व्यदधात्प्रभुः। वायुपुराण 8. 171 ; शूद्रस्य द्विजशुश्रूषा सर्वशिल्पानि चाप्यथ। शङ्खस्मृति I. 5 ; मनु X. 99–100.

261. वाणिज्यं पाशुपाल्यं च तथा शिल्पोपजीवनम्। शूद्रस्यापि विधीयन्ते यदा वृत्तिर्न जायते॥ शान्तिपर्व 295. 4 ; शूद्रस्य द्विजशुश्रूषा सर्वशिल्पानि चाप्यथ। विक्रयः सर्वपण्यानां शूद्रकर्म उदाहृतम्॥ उशनस् quoted in the स्मृतिच. I. p. 171; vide लघ्वाश्वलायन 22. 5.

himself by the service of higher varṇas to resort to the avocations of a vaiśya, to rearing cattle and to crafts. Others like Laghu-Āśvalāyana (22. 5), Vṛddha-Hārīta (VII. 189, 192) allowed agriculture to the śūdra. The Kālikāpurāṇa quoted in the Gṛ. R. (p. 479) allowed the śūdra to sell all commodities except honey, skins, lākṣā (lac), wines and flesh, while Bṛhat-Parāśara (p. 101) prohibited the śūdra from selling wine and flesh. Devala quoted in the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 120) prescribes that the śūdra should serve the twice-born and may engage in agriculture, rearing cattle, carrying loads, sale of commodities, drawing and painting, dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments like the flute, lute, drums and tabors.[262] The foregoing will show that the śūdra gradually rose in social status so far as occupation was concerned and could follow all occupations except those specially reserved for the brāhmaṇa, so much so that śūdras became even kings and Manu (IV. 61) had expressly to enjoin upon brāhmaṇas not to dwell in the kingdom of a śūdra.[263] The smṛtis however did not like that wealth should be accumulated in the hands of the śūdra (though they were quite willing that kṣatriyas and vaiśyas should command all wealth). Gaut. (X. 64–65) says that the śūdra's accumulation of wealth should be for the support and benefit of the other varṇas. Manu (X. 129) says that a śūdra, even though able to accumulate wealth, should not do so, as (on account of his pride of wealth and his ignorance) he may cause obstructions and trouble to brāhmaṇas. Śūdras were divided into numerous subcastes. But there were two main divisions. One was *aniravasita śūdras* (such as carpenters and blacksmiths) and the other *niravasita śūdras* (like cāṇḍālas); vide note 200 above. Another division of śūdras was into those who were bhojyānna (i. e. food prepared by whom could be partaken by brāhmaṇas) and *abhojyānna*. In the first were included one's

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262. शूद्रधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कलत्रादिपोषणं कर्षणपशुपालनभारोद्वहन-पण्यव्यवहार-चित्रकर्म-नृत्य-गीत-वेणु-वीणामुरजमृदङ्गवादनादीनि । देवल in मिता० on या. I. 120.

263. Compare आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 32. 18 (शूद्रान् शूद्राचारितांश्च देशान्न सेवेत) with मनु IV. 61. This dictum of Manu must have been pronounced at a time when śūdra kings were rare; otherwise it would have no meaning and brāhmaṇas would have been compelled to leave India. So it follows that Manu did not hold the view propounded in certain Purāṇas that after the Nandas there would be no kṣatriya kings and only śūdras will be kings.

slave, one's cowherd, barber, family friend and one who shared with one the crop reared on one's land (vide Yāj. I. 166). It is worthy of note that even the Mit. adds the potter to the above list. All the other śūdras were such that a brāhmaṇa could not take his food. A third and well-known division was into *sacchūdra* (well-conducted) and *asac-chūdra.* The former class included those śūdras who followed good occupations or trade, served *dvijas* and had given up meat and drinking or selling liquor.[264] The Śūdrakamalākara (p. 60.) says that asat-śūdras do not incur sin even if they partake of meat and liquor, provided they do not eat forbidden meat and that there is no lapse if one comes in contact with a śūdra that drinks liquor.

A few words may now be said about brāhmaṇas being allowed to follow the occupations of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. From very ancient times brāhmaṇas appear to have followed the profession of arms. Pāṇ. (V. 2. 71) teaches[265] the formation of the word 'brāhmaṇaka' as applied to a country, which means 'in which Brāhmaṇas follow the profession of arms.' Kauṭ.[266] (IX. 2) quotes the view of the ācāryas that when there are armies composed of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras each preceding one is better for enlistment than each subsequent, but Kauṭ. himself is against this and adds that the enemy may win over the army of brāhmaṇas by prostration before them. Āpastamba was against the idea of brāhmaṇas following the profession of arms. He says (I. 10. 29. 7)[267] 'a brāhmaṇa should not catch hold of a weapon even for examining it (much

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264. न सुरां सन्धयेद्यस्तु आपणेषु गृहेषु च। न विक्रीणाति च तथा सच्छूद्रो हि स उच्यते। भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्म section) chap. 44. 32.

265. Pāṇ. V. 2. 71 is not commented on by Patañjali and the Kāśikā explains the sūtra as above. But it is clear that Patañjali knew a country called Brāhmaṇaka as elsewhere he says (vol. II. p. 298 on Pāṇ. IV 2. 104, Vārtika 30, 'ब्राह्मणको नाम जनपदस्तस्माद्वुभयं प्राप्नोति। ब्राह्मणकीयः। ').

266. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसैन्यानां तेजःप्राधान्यात् पूर्वं पूर्वं श्रेयः संनाहयितुमित्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मबलं परोऽभिहारयेत्। कौटिल्य IX. 2.

267. परीक्षार्थोपि ब्राह्मण आयुधं नाददीत। आप. ध. I. 10. 29. 7; प्राणसंशये ब्राह्मणोपि शस्त्रमाददीत। गौ. VII. 25; अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा वर्णानां वापि संकरे। गृह्णीयातां विप्रविशौ शस्त्रं धर्मव्यपेक्षया॥ बौ. ध. II. 2. 80; आत्मत्राणे वर्णसंवर्गे ब्राह्मणवैश्यौ शस्त्रमाददीयाताम्। वसिष्ठ III. 24.

less for attacking others with it)'. Gaut. (VII. 6) allowed a brāhmaṇa to follow kṣatriya's profession in case of distress (āpad) and adds (in VII. 25) that even a brāhmaṇa while still following the peculiar avocation of a brāhmaṇa may wield weapons when his life is in danger. The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 80) quotes a verse 'for saving cows and brāhmaṇas, for preventing the mixture of varṇas, the brāhmaṇa and vaiśya may take to arms from their concern for dharma.' The Vas. Dh. S. (III. 24) allows a brāhmaṇa to wield a weapon for protecting himself and for preventing confusion or mingling of varṇas. Manu (VIII. 348–349) allows all *dvijātis* to resort to weapons where the observance of dharma (or of the duties of varṇas and āśramas) is obstructed (by violent men), when there is a disturbance (due to invasion etc.) involving the twice-born classes, in evil times for protecting one's self, when there is an attack for carrying away cows or other wealth (given as fees) and in order to protect women and brāhmaṇas and he incurs no sin if he kills (for these purposes). Among the heroes of the Mahābhārata there are great warriors and commanders like Droṇa, his son Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa (the maternal uncle of Aśvatthāman) who were brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmaṇa should fight at the order of the king.[268] The Śāntiparva (78. 18) calls upon persons of all varṇas to wield arms when the rules for holding society together are broken and when dasyus (robbers or low persons) cause confusion. From ancient times we find brāhmaṇas as commanders and founders of royal dynasties. The famous *Senāpati* Puṣyamitra belonged to the Śuṅga gotra and wrested an empire from the last of the Mauryas about 184 B. C. His line was followed by the Kāṇvāyanas, the founder being minister Vāsudeva, a brāhmaṇa, who killed the last Śuṅga about 72 B. C. We learn from the Talaguṇḍa pillar inscription of Kakusthavarman (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 24) that the founder of the Kadambas, Mayūraśarman, was a brāhmaṇa. In Maratha history there were the Peshwas and other brāhmaṇa warriors and commanders.

Though it is said that a brāhmaṇa in distress may follow the occupation of a vaiśya, there were several restrictions imposed upon brāhmaṇas following the occupations of money-lending, agriculture, trade, and the rearing of cattle, which were prescribed as the privileged occupations of vaiśyas.

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268. राज्ञो नियोगाद् योद्धव्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः। वर्तता क्षत्रधर्मेण ह्येवं धर्मविदो विदुः। शल्यपर्व 65. 42.

As to money-lending, Gaut.[269] (X. 5-6) allowed a brāhmaṇa to maintain himself and his family by agriculture, sale of commodities and money-lending only if he did not engage in these personally, but through the agency of others. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 40) enjoins upon brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas not to lend money like usurers and quotes two verses which define usury and say that a userer is a greater sinner than even one who is guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu (X. 117) also forbids usury to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, but allows them to charge a low rate of interest to persons engaged in low actions. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 111) forbids usury to brāhmaṇas even in the direst calamities. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a prāyaścitta [270] for a brāhmaṇa lending money at usurious rates. Bṛhaspati as quoted[271] in the Gṛ. R. has a rather amusing verse 'sages have enumerated numerous means of livelihood, but out of all of them money-lending is pre-eminent. There is loss in agriculture due to draught, to the fear of the exactions of the king and the ravages of rats and others, but there is no such loss in money-lending.' It appears that this is only a general or satirical statement and does not recommend money-lending to brāhmaṇas.

The obvious reasons and motives underlying these restrictions on brāhmaṇas were to make them live simple lives, to insist on the necessity and high value to themselves and to society of studying, preserving and augmenting the ancient literature and culture, to emphasize the fact that a highly spiritual life should not be given up for a mere secular life, to prevent the coarsening and hardening of the heart and emotions in a relentless and continuous pursuit of wealth or martial glory.

Agriculture—In the dharmaśāstra works there is a great conflict of views about agriculture as an occupation for

269. कृषिवाणिज्ये वाऽस्वयंकृते । कुसीदं च । गौ. X. 5-6 ; ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ वार्धुषी न दद्याताम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । समर्घं धान्यमुद्धृत्य महार्घं यः प्रयच्छति । स वै वार्धुषिको नाम ब्रह्मवादिषु गर्हितः । ब्रह्महत्यां च वृद्धिं च तुलया समतोलयत् । अतिष्ठद् भ्रूणहा कोट्यां वार्धुषिः समकम्पत । वसिष्ठ II. 40. Vide बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 93-94 for these two verses ; आपत्स्वपि हि कष्टासु ब्राह्मणस्य न वार्धुषम् । नारद (ऋणादान v. 111)

270. अनार्यां शयने बिभ्रद् ददद्वृद्धिं कषायपः । अब्राह्मण इव वन्दित्वा तृणेष्वासीत पृष्ठतप् । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 10.

271. बहवो वर्तनोपाया ऋषिभिः परिकीर्तिताः । सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां कुसीदमधिकं विदुः । अनावृष्ट्या राजभयाद् मूषिकाद्यैरुपद्रवैः । कृष्यादिके भवेद्धानिः कुसीदे सा न विद्यते ॥ बृहस्पति in गृह. र. p. 488

brāhmaṇas. The Vedic Literature does not condemn agriculture in the case of brāhmaṇas. The gambler's song[272] (Ṛg. X. 34) winds up with the exhortation 'do not play with dice, do engage in agriculture, thinking highly of my words (or of wealth), do find joy in wealth, in that (in agriculture) there are cows, there is your wife &c.' There are frequent references in Vedic Literature to fields, ploughshares and tilling the soil (vide Ṛg. X. 101. 3 = Tai. S. IV. 2. 5. 5, Vāj. S. XII. 67, Ṛg. I. 110. 5, I. 176. 2, X. 117. 7). Baudhāyana[273] says (1. 5. 101) 'The study of the Veda tends to the destruction of agriculture and (devotion to) agriculture tends to the loss (of the study) of the Veda. One who has the capacity (to look after both) may resort to both, but he who is unable (to look after both) should give up agriculture'. Baudhāyana further says (II. 2. 82–83) 'a brāhmaṇa should engage in agriculture before his morning meal and he should only coax again and again his oxen whose noses have not been pierced and whose testicles are not removed and without prodding them with a pointed awl'. The Vas. Dh. S. (II. 32–34) has a similar sūtra, adds that in summer he shall water his beasts (in the morning) and quotes Vāj. S. XII. 71. Manu (X. 83–84) says 'a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya compelled to follow the avocations of a vaiśya (owing to difficulty of maintenance otherwise) should by all means avoid agriculture which is full of injury to sentient beings and dependent on others (labourers, oxen &c.). Some regard agriculture as a good mode of livelihood but it is condemned by the good, (as) wood having an iron tip (i. e. the plough) strikes the earth and (the insects and germs) imbedded in the earth.' Manu IV. 5 designated agriculture by the word 'pramṛta' (pre-eminent in loss of life). Hārīta quoted[274] in Gṛ. R. p. 429 declares 'the ploughshare (i. e. agriculture) carries with it destruction of life, therefore it is not for brāhmaṇas; but if he were to follow it (agriculture) in distress he should pursue it only till his object (of tiding over

272. अक्षैर्मा दीव्यः कृषिमित्कृषस्व वित्ते रमस्व बहु मन्यमानः । तत्र गावः कितव तत्र जाया तन्मे विचष्टे सवितायमर्यः ॥ ऋ. X. 34. 13.

273. वेदः कृषिविनाशाय कृषिर्वेदविनाशिनी । शक्तिमानुभयं कुर्यादशक्तस्तु कृषिं त्यजेत् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 101; प्राक् प्रातराशात्कर्षी स्यात् । अस्यूतनासिकाभ्यां समुष्काभ्यामतुदन्नारया मुहुर्मुहुरभ्युच्छन्दयन् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 82–83.

274. सहसूनं लाङ्गलं तद्ब्राह्मणे न विद्यते । आपद्याचरित्वाथापि कुर्याद्यथार्थम् । हारीत in गृह. र. p. 429.

distress) is accomplished'. Parāśara[275] (II. 2-4, 7, 14) allows a brāhmaṇa to engage in agriculture, but lays down certain restrictions. 'The proper number of oxen to be yoked to the plough is eight, six being middling, four are yoked only by the cruel and two by those who sacrifice the lives of their oxen; he should not yoke an ox that is hungry, thirsty or tired, he should make the oxen work only for half the day and then bathe them in water, he should offer the five mahāyajñas and other sacrifices with corn raised by himself engaging in agriculture, the sin of ploughing the earth for a day with an iron-tipped ploughshare is equal to that incurred by a fisherman fishing for a year; he should give $\frac{1}{6}$ of the corn to the king, offer $\frac{1}{21}$ to gods and $\frac{1}{30}$ to brāhmaṇas and then he may not be smeared with sin'. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 937) has a long prose passage on the treatment to be given to oxen by brāhmaṇas and also Vṛddha-Gautama (Jiv. part 2 p. 571). Vṛddha-Hārīta[276] (VII. 179 and 182) says that agriculture is common to all varṇas and agriculture, rearing cattle and service are not forbidden to any. The above discussion shows how agriculture was viewed at different times and by different writers from different points of view.

Sale and barter—We have seen above that a brāhmaṇa is allowed to maintain himself by trade in distress or difficulties (*āpad*). But there were very great restrictions as to what things could be sold by a brāhmaṇa. According to Gaut. (VII. 8-14) a brāhmaṇa should not engage in the sale of fragrant things (like sandal-wood), fluids (like oils, ghee &c.), cooked food, sesame, hemp (and hempen articles like bags), kṣauma (linen), deer-skin, dyed and cleanly washed clothes, milk and its products (like curds &c.), roots, flowers, fruits, herbs (used as drugs), honey, meat, grass, water, deleterious drugs (like opium, poison), animals (for being killed), men (as slaves), barren cows, heifers and cows liable to abortion. He adds (Gautama VII. 15) that according to some a brāhmaṇa could not sell land, rice, *yava*, goats and sheep, horses, bulls, freshly delivered cows and

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275. षट्कर्मनिरतो विप्रः कृषिकर्माणि कारयेत्। हलमष्टगवं धर्म्यं षड्गवं मध्यमं स्मृतम्। चतुर्गवं नृशंसानां द्विगवं वृषघातिनाम्॥ पराशर II. 2; ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषिं कृत्वा महादोषमवाप्नुयात्। राज्ञे दत्त्वा तु षड्भागं देवानां चैकविंशकम्। विप्राणां त्रिंशकं भागं कृषिकर्ता न लिप्यते॥ पराशर II. 12-13. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by अपरार्क p. 936, गृह. र. p. 431. The verse अष्टागवं धर्म्यहलं occurs in Atri 222-223, Āpastamba (in verse) I. 22-23, Hārīta in Gṛ. R. p. 431.

276. कृषिस्तु सर्ववर्णानां सामान्यो धर्म उच्यते। ...... कृषिर्भृतिः पाशुपाल्यं सर्वेषां निषिध्यते। वृद्धहारीत VII. 179, 182.

oxen that are yoked to carts. These restrictions did not apply to a kṣatriya engaging in trade. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 20. 12–13[277] has a similar list but adds among forbidden articles of sale 'weapons, sticky things (śleṣma, like lac), young stalks (tokma), fermented liquids (kiṇva), the expectation of merit (sukṛtāśā) and says that among corns sesame and rice are on no account to be sold. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 77–78 condemns the sale of sesame and rice by saying that he who sells them sells respectively his *pitṛs* (dead ancestors) and his prāṇas. This arose probably from the close connection of sesame with *śrāddha* and *tarpaṇa*. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 24–29) gives a similar list and adds a prohibition against the sale of stones, salt, silk, iron, tin, lead, all wild animals, all tame animals with uncloven hoofs and those that have a mane, birds and animals having fangs. It quotes a verse at II. 27 (which is the same as Manu X. 92) 'a brāhmaṇa immediately becomes a sinner by the sale of meat, lac and salt and he becomes a śūdra by selling milk for three days'. About sesame, Baud. Dh. S.[278] (II. 1. 76), Manu (X. 91) and Vas. Dh. S. (II. 30) present the same verse 'If a man deals with sesame in any way other than eating them or using them for bathing (i. e. applying sesamum oil to the body before a bath) and making a gift of them, becomes a worm and sinks together with his pitṛs in the ordure of a dog'. But it appears that Vasiṣṭha [279] (II. 31), Manu (X. 90) allow the sale of sesame if a man engages in agriculture and himself produces them (but sale must be only for purposes of religious duties, according to Manu). Yāj. (III. 39) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 66) say that sesame may be bartered for an equal measure of other corn to raise means for religious purposes (and for medicine also according to Nārada). Manu (X. 86–89), Yāj. (III. 36–38), Nārada (ṛṇādāna 61–63) give long lists of articles that Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to sell and that include a few more than those specified above. For example, Manu forbids the sale of bee's wax, kuśa, indigo, while Yāj. adds soma, mud, blankets made of goat wool, hair (of *camarī* deer) and oilcakes (piṇyāka) to things forbidden to

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277. आपदि व्यवहरेत पण्यानामपण्यानि व्युदस्यन्। मनुष्यान् रसान्रागान् गन्धानन्नं चर्म गवां वशां श्लेष्मोदके तोक्मकिण्वे पिप्पलीमरीचे धान्यं मांसमायुधं सुकृताशां च। तिलतण्डुलांस्त्वेव धान्यस्य विशेषेण न विक्रीणीयात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 11–13.

278. भोजनाभ्यञ्जनाद्दानाद् यदन्यत्कुरुते तिलैः। कृमिभूतः श्वविष्ठायां पितृभिः सह मज्जति॥ मनु X. 91 ; यम quoted in स्मृतिच.. I. 180 has a similar verse.

279. कामं वा स्वयं कृष्योत्पाद्य तिलान् विक्रीणीरन्। वसिष्ठ II. 31.

be sold. Śaṅkha-Likhita,[280] Udyoga-parva 38. 5, Śāntiparva 78. 4–6, Hārīta (as quoted by Aparārka p. 1113) contain long lists of things the sale of which was forbidden to brāhmaṇas. Apart from these negative rules, there are some that are positive and prescribe what may be sold. For example, the Baud. Dh. S.[281] prescribes the sale of grass and wood in their natural state and quotes a verse 'Oh! Brāhmaṇa, these are the articles you may sell, viz., domestic animals that have only one row of teeth, minerals except salt and threads (i. e. cloth) that are not coloured with some dye.' Nārada[282] (ṛṇādāna 64–65) states 'a brāhmaṇa may sell dried wood and grass, except fragrant articles, *erakā* (a kind of grass), rattan, cotton, roots, kuśa grass; cereals that get split up of their own accord, *badara* and *iṅguda* among fruits, cords and threads of cotton provided they are not coloured'. Śaṅkha-Likhita also (as quoted by Aparārka p. 933) have the same rules as Nārada and further enjoin upon the brāhmaṇa not to higgle for the price but to have a fixed price.

Yāj. (III. 40) says that the sale of lac, salt and meat lead to a brāhmaṇa's fall (i. e. he loses the right to perform the duties of dvijātis) and the sale of milk, curds and liquor reduces him to the status of a low class (i. e. of a śūdra). Manu (XI. 62), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (37. 14) and Yāj. (III. 234) include the sale of forbidden articles among upapātakas and Yāj. (III. 265) prescribes cāndrāyaṇa and other prāyaścittas for it. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 1113 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 265) prescribes various prāyaścittas for the sale of various forbidden articles. Laghu-Śātātapa prescribes (v. 87) cāndrāyaṇa for the sale of honey, meat, wine, soma, lac, salt.[283] Nārada (ṛṇādāna 67) calls upon

280. न विक्रीणीयादविक्रेयाणि । तिलतैलदधिक्षौद्रलवणलाक्षामद्यमांसकृतान्नस्त्री-पुरुषहस्त्यश्ववृषभगन्धरसकृष्णाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रयात्सद्यः पतति ब्राह्मणः ॥ शङ्खलिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 1113 and स्मृतिच. I. 180 ; अविक्रेयं लवणं पक्वमन्नं दधिक्षीरं मधु तैलं घृतं च। तिला मांसफलमूलानि शाकं रक्तं वासः सर्वगन्धा गुडाश्च ॥ उद्योगपर्व 38. 5.

281. तृणकाष्ठमविकृतं विक्रेयम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । पशवश्चैकतोदन्ता अश्मा च लवणोद्धृतः । एतद् ब्राह्मण ते पण्यं तन्तुश्चारजनीकृतः ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 81–82 ; sale of minerals would be opposed to Vasiṣṭha II. 24.

282. ब्राह्मणस्य तु विक्रेयं शुष्कं दारु तृणानि च । गन्धद्रव्यैरकावेत्रं तूलस्तूलीकृताहृते (?) । स्वयं शीर्णं च विदलं फलानां बदरेङ्गुदे । रज्जुः कार्पासिकं सूत्रं तच्चेदविकृतं भवेत् । नारद (ऋणादान 64–65) ; शुष्ककाष्ठबदरेङ्गुदबिल्वरज्जुकार्पासिकसूत्रैरविकृतैर्द्रव्यमाहरेत् । शङ्खलिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 934 ; सकृदेवोक्तं मूल्यमिच्छेत् । शङ्खलिखित quoted in अपरार्क p. 934.

283. मधुमांससुरासोमं लाक्षां लवणमेव च । एतेषां विक्रयेणैव द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ लघुशातातप 87.

the king to inflict a heavy fine upon a brāhmaṇa who engages in the sale of articles forbidden to be sold and strays from the path (proper for brāhmaṇas) in the absence of distress.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7. 20. 14-15)[284] states the general rule that exchange or barter also of those articles that are forbidden to be sold cannot be resorted to, but adds that barter is allowed of foods with foods, of slaves with slaves, of fragrant things with other fragrant things, of one kind of learning with another. Gaut.[285] (VII. 16-21) allows the exchange of *rasas* with *rasas*, of domestic animals with other domestic animals, of cooked food with an equal measure of uncooked food for immediate use, but forbids the barter of salt, cooked food and sesame with other articles. Manu (X. 94) allows the exchange of one rasa (liquid like molasses) with another (like ghee), of cooked food with uncooked food, of sesame with an equal quantity of other corn, but does not allow the barter of salt for any *rasa*. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 37-39) has rules similar to Manu and Āp.[286]

Manu (X. 116)[287] enumerates ten means of maintaining oneself in *āpad* (distress) viz. learning, arts and crafts, work for wages, service (i. e. carrying out another's orders), rearing cattle, sale of commodities, agriculture, contentment, alms, money-lending. Out of these some cannot be followed by a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya when there is no distress (e. g. a brāhmaṇa cannot engage in service). Yāj. III. 42 enumerates seven of these and adds 'cart' (i. e. driving carts for hire), mountain (subsisting on the price of grass and fuel taken from hills), a country full of water, trees and shrubs, king (i. e. resorting to or begging from a king). Chāgaleya quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 449[288]

284. अविहितश्चैतेषां मिथो विनिमयः। अन्नेन चान्नस्य मनुष्याणां च मनुष्यै रसानां च रसैर्गन्धानां च गन्धैर्विद्यया च विद्यानाम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 14-15.

285. नियमस्तु। रसानां रसैः। पशूनां च। न लवणकृतान्नयोः। तिलानां च। समेनामेन तु पक्कस्य संप्रत्यर्थे। गौतम VII. 16-21.

286. रसा रसैर्महतो हीनतो वा विमातव्याः। न त्वेव लवणं रसैः। तिलतण्डुलपक्वान्नं विद्या मानुष्याश्च विहिताः परिवर्तकेन। वासिष्ठ II. 37-39.

287. विद्या शिल्पं भृतिः सेवा गोरक्ष्यं विपणिः कृषिः। धृतिर्भैक्ष्यं कुसीदं च दश जीवनहेतवः॥ मनु X. 116; कृषिः शिल्पं भृतिर्विद्या कुसीदं शकटं गिरिः। सेवानूपं नृपो भैक्षमापत्तौ जीवनानि तु॥ या. III. 42.

288. शकटं शाकिनी गावो जालमस्यन्दनं वनम्। अनूपं पर्वतो राजा दुर्भिक्षे नव वृत्तयः। छागेलय in गृह. र. p. 449. The बृहद्देवता VI. 138 has the first half and reads the 2nd half as समुद्रः पर्वतो राजा एवं जीवामहे वयम्. In some Mss. of the निरुक्त this verse occurs in VI. 5 where the readings are °आस्यन्दनं वनम्। उदधिः पर्वतो राजा दुर्भिक्षे नव वृत्तयः॥. आस्यन्दन may be the same as स्यन्दन (रथ).

speaks of nine means of livelihood in a season of drought, viz. cart, plot of vegetables, cows, fishing, asyandana (maintaining oneself by the slightest effort possible ?), forest, a country full of water, trees and shrubs, a mountain, king. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 50–55) says that three modes of acquiring wealth are common to all, viz. inheritance, a gift of friendliness or affection and what comes to a man with a wife (at the time of marriage); that each of the three varṇas has three special modes of acquiring wealth, viz., receiving gifts, fees as priest and fees for teaching in the case of brāhmaṇas; booty in war, taxes and fines in judicial trials in the case of kṣatriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle and sale of commodities in the case of vaiśyas. Nārada (ṛṇādāna verses 44–47) divides wealth into śukla (white, pure), śabala (dark-white, mixed) and kṛṣṇa (dark) and each of these into seven varieties. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 58 also divides the wealth of householders into these three varieties and says that what is earned by the special modes prescribed for each varṇa, inherited wealth, gifts of affection and what comes with the wife-these are śukla (pure); what is obtained by following the special avocation of the varṇa immediately lower than one's own varṇa and what is acquired by giving bribes or by sale of forbidden articles or from one who is under one's obligations is śabala; what is obtained by following the avocations of a varṇa other than the immediately lower one and what is acquired by gambling, theft, violence or fraud is called kṛṣṇa. Baud. Dh. S. (III. 1. 5–6) speaks of ten kinds of vṛttis (means of livelihood) and III. 2 explains them at length. Manu (IV. 4–6) speaks of five ways of livelihood viz. ṛta (i. e. subsisting on grains left in the fields), amṛta (what comes without begging), mṛta (alms obtained by begging), pramṛta (agriculture), satyānṛta (sale of commodities) and forbids śvavṛtti (service, lit. living like a dog). Manu (IV. 9) further says that some brāhmaṇas live by six means (i. e. adhyāpana, yājana, pratigraha, agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), some by three (viz. the first three), some by two (yājana and adhyāpana) and others again only by one (adhyāpana).

The avocations practised by brāhmaṇas in the pursuit of wealth were many and varied, so much so that from very ancient times the lists of brāhmaṇas not eligible for invitation at śrāddhas because they followed unworthy callings were very formidable. Atri (Ānan. ed.) verses 373–383 names ten kinds of brāhmaṇas and briefly defines them, viz. deva-brāhmaṇa (who

daily performs bath, saṁdhyā, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests and vaiśvadeva), muni-br. (who is given up to staying in a forest, subsists on roots, fruits and vegetables and performs daily śrāddhas), dvija-br. (who studies the Vedānta, gives up all attachments and is engaged in reflecting over Sāṁkhya and Yoga), kṣatra-br. (who fights), vaiśya-br. (who engages in agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), śūdra-br. (who sells lac, salt, dyes like kusumbha, milk, ghee, honey, meat), niṣāda-br. (who is a thief and robber, a backbiter and always fond of fish and meat), paśu-br. (who knows nothing about *brahma* and is only proud of his wearing the sacred thread), mleccha-br. (who obstructs or destroys wells, tanks, gardens, without any qualm)and caṇḍālā-br. (who is a fool, devoid of prescribed rites, beyond the pale of all dharma and cruel). Atri (384) rather[289] humorously adds 'those who are devoid of Vedic lore, study the śāstras (like grammar, logic &c.), those devoid of śāstric lore study purāṇas (and earn money by reciting them), those who are devoid even of purāṇa reading become agriculturists, those who are devoid even of that become *bhāgavatas* (pose as great devotees of Śiva or Viṣṇu i. e. become what is called in modern Marathi 'buvā').' Devala quoted[290] by Aparārka (pp. 284–285) speaks of eight kinds of brāhmaṇas (of whom each succeeding one is superior to each preceding one) viz. mātra (one who is only born in a brāhmaṇa family but has not studied any part of the Veda nor performs the actions appropriate to brāhmaṇas), brāhmaṇa (who has studied a portion of the Veda), śrotriya (who has studied one vedic śākhā with the six aṅgas and performs the six duties of brāhmaṇas), anūcāna (who knows the meaning of the Veda and the vedāṅgas, is of pure heart and has kindled the sacred fires), bhrūṇa (who besides being anūcāna always performs yajñas and eats what is left after performing yajñas), ṛṣikalpa (who has gained all worldly and Vedic knowledge, and has his mind

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289. वेदैर्विहीनाश्च पठन्ति शास्त्रं शास्त्रेण हीनाश्च पुराणपाठाः । पुराणहीनाः कृषिणो भवन्ति भ्रष्टास्ततो भागवता भवन्ति ॥ अत्रि 384.

290. These verses about the eight kinds of ब्राह्मणs are quoted in the दानरत्नाकर also (MS.). The वैखानसगृह्य I. 1 also gives brief definitions of these eight kinds of ब्राह्मणs 'संस्कृतायां ब्राह्मण्यां ब्राह्मणाज्जातमात्रः पुत्रमात्रः (पुत्रः मात्रः ?) । उपनीतः सावित्र्यध्ययनाद् ब्राह्मणः । वेदमधीत्य शारीरैरा पाणिग्रहणात्संस्कृतः पाकयज्ञैरपि यजन् श्रोत्रियः । स्वाध्यायपर आहिताग्निर्हविर्यज्ञैरप्यनूचानः । सोमयज्ञैरपि भ्रूणः । संस्कारैरेतैरुपेतो नियमयमाभ्यामृषिकल्पः । साङ्गचतुर्वेदतपोयोगादृषिः । नारायणपरायणो निर्द्वन्द्वो मुनिरिति । संस्कारविशेषात्पूर्वात्पूर्वात्परो वरीयानिति विज्ञायते ।'

under control), ṛṣi (one who is celibate, of austere life, of truthful speech and able to curse or favour), muni (to whom a clod of earth and gold are the same, who has ceased from all activity, is devoid of desires and anger &c.). Śātātapa[291] quoted by Aparārka (pp. 286–287) speaks of six classes of persons who, though born brāhmaṇas, are really not brāhmaṇas viz. one who has taken service with a king, one who engages in sale and purchase (of commodities), one who officiates for many yajamānas, one who is the officiating priest for the whole village, one who is in the service of a village or town, one who does not perform saṁdhyā adoration in the morning and evening at the proper time. The Anuśāsanaparva (33. 11 ff) shows that some brāhmaṇas were great rogues, others engaged in austerities, some resorted to agriculture and rearing cattle, others subsisted by begging, some were thieves and others were false, some were acrobats and dancers (but it yet recommends that brāhmaṇas must be honoured).

The smṛtis teach that brāhmaṇas doing certain things are to be treated as śūdras. For example, Baud.[292] Dh. S. (II. 4. 20) requires a religious king to employ brāhmaṇas who do not perform the morning and evening adoration (*saṁdhyā*) in doing work appropriate to śūdras. Vas.[293] Dh. S. (III. 1–2) says that brāhmaṇas who are not śrotriyas (learned in the Veda), who do not teach the veda or who do not kindle the sacred fires become reduced to the status of śūdras and quotes a Mānava śloka (Manu II. 168) 'that a brāhmaṇa who without studying the Veda works hard to master something else is quickly reduced while still living to the status of a śūdra together with his family.' Manu (VIII. 102 = Baud. Dh. S. I.

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291. अब्राह्मणाश्च षट् प्रोक्ता ऋषिः शातातपोऽब्रवीत्। आद्यो राजाश्रयस्तेषां द्वितीयः क्रयविक्रयी। तृतीयो बहुयाज्यः स्यात् चतुर्थो ग्रामयाजकः। पञ्चमस्तु भृतस्तेषां ग्रामस्य नगरस्य च। अनागतां तु यः पूर्वां सादित्यां चैव पश्चिमाम्। नोपासीत द्विजः संध्यां स षष्ठोऽब्राह्मणः स्मृतः॥ अपरार्क pp. 286–287 ; सायण in his भाष्य on ऐ. ब्रा. chap. III. khaṇḍa 5 quotes with variations these very verses (viz. चतुर्थोऽश्रौतयाजकः। पञ्चमो ग्रामयाजी च षष्ठो ब्रह्मबन्धुः स्मृतः॥).

292. सायं प्रातः सदा संध्यां ये विप्रा नो उपासते। कामं तान् धार्मिको राजा शूद्रकर्मसु योजयेत्॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 20 (this and the preceding verse are cited as प्रजापति's by some writers.)

293. अश्रोत्रिया अननुवाक्या अनग्नयो वा शूद्रसधर्माणो भवन्ति। मानवं चात्र श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति। योऽनधीत्य द्विजो वेदमन्यत्र कुरुते श्रमम्। स जीवन्नेव शूद्रत्वमाशु गच्छति सान्वयः॥ वसिष्ठ III. 1–2; this verse is also लघ्वाश्वलायन 22. 23 ; vide also वसिष्ठ V. 10 and लघ्वाश्व० 22. 21–22 ; गायत्रीरहितो विप्रः शूद्रादप्यशुचिर्भवेत्। पराशर VIII. 24; but the very next verse is दुःशीलोऽपि द्विजः पूज्यो न शूद्रो विजितेन्द्रियः॥

5. 95) asks the king to treat as śūdras brāhmaṇas who engage in rearing cattle, in the sale of commodities, who are artisans and actors, who are mere servants and money-lenders. Vide Manu X. 92 quoted above (p. 127). Parāśara (VIII. 24) says[294] that a brāhmaṇa who does not repeat the Gāyatrī *mantra* is more impure than even a śūdra and that brāhmaṇas who do not offer oblations to sacred fires, who are bereft of saṁdhyā adoration and who do not study the veda are all śūdras and that therefore one should study at least a portion of the veda if he cannot study the whole. Manu (V. 4)[295] sums up in one place the reasons why brāhmaṇas are seized by Death before the allotted span of human life 'on account of not studying the Vedas, on account of giving up the rules of conduct prescribed for them, through idleness and through the faults arising from (partaking forbidden) food, Death desires to kill brāhmaṇas.'

A few words must be said about begging. The smṛtis prescribe begging as specially appropriate to brahmacārins (vedic students) and ascetics (yatis), which will be dealt with at length later on. Begging was not allowed to others except under considerable restrictions. The king of Kekaya[296] is made to boast in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 77. 22) that no one who is not a brahmacārin begs in his kingdom. Gifts of food were to be made daily while performing the five mahāyajñas (this will be treated under vaiśvadeva). Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 1–4 recognizes that begging can properly be resorted to for the following reasons, viz. for the teacher, for (one's first) marriage, for a sacrifice, in anxiety to support one's parents, for warding off the non-observance of the duties of a worthy person; he enjoins that on these occasions there is a duty to give according to one's ability and according to the worth of the person begging and that if a man begs only for the gratification of his senses (and not for pressing wants) one should pay no heed to such[297]

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294. अग्निकार्यात्परिभ्रष्टाः संध्योपासनवर्जिताः । वेदं चैवानधीयानाः सर्वे ते वृषलाः स्मृताः ॥ अध्येतव्योऽप्येकदेशो यदि सर्वं न शक्यते । पराशर XII. 32–33.

295. अनभ्यासाच्च वेदानामाचारस्य च वर्जनात् । आलस्यादन्नदोषाच्च मृत्युर्विप्राञ्जिघांसति ॥ मनु V. 4

296. नाब्रह्मचारी भिक्षावान् भिक्षुर्वाऽब्रह्मचर्यवान् । शान्तिपर्व 77. 22.

297. भिक्षणे निमित्तमाचार्यो विवाहो यज्ञो मातापित्रोर्बुभूर्षाऽर्हतश्च नियमविलोपः । तत्र गुणान् समीक्ष्य यथाशक्ति देयम् । इन्द्रियप्रीत्यर्थस्य तु भिक्षणमनिमित्तम् । तस्मान्न तदाद्रियेत । आप. ध. II. 5. 10. 1–4; compare Manu IV. 251, XI. 1–2, Yāj. I. 216, Gaut. V. 19–20. शान्तिपर्व 165. 1–2 are 'कृतार्थो यक्ष्यमाणश्च सर्ववेदान्तगश्च यः । आचार्यपितृकार्यार्थं स्वाध्यायार्थमथापि च । एते वै साधवो दृष्टा ब्राह्मणा धर्मभिक्षवः ॥.'

begging. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 2–3 says that 'a man oppressed by hunger may beg for a little viz. a cultivated or uncultivated plot, a cow, a sheep or ewe, and at last gold, corn or cooked food; but a *snātaka* should not faint through hunger; this is the instruction'. Vide Manu X. 114 for practically the same words and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 3. 79–80. Baud Dh. S. II. 1. 64 includes begging by one who has finished his course of studenthood among actions that make a man impure (*aśucikara*). Manu XI. 16–17 says that when a person has had no food for three days he may take away (by theft even) from one who is lower than himself in class as much corn as will be enough for one day, either from the threshing floor or from the field or from his house or from whatever place he can get it, but he should announce his action when the owner asks. Gaut. (18. 28–30) and Yāj. III. 43 are to the same effect. Aṅgiras[298] quoted in Gr. R. (p. 450) allows begging to the diseased, the indigent, to one who is torn away from his family and who is on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita[299] as quoted in Gr. R. (p. 457) say 'when a man begs he should state the purpose (such as marriage, completion of sacrifice) of his begging; he should not beg of a woman or of those who are minors or unable to conduct their affairs, nor when the donor is not in a proper place or at a proper time. He should apply the alms to the purpose for which he begged. He should give that portion of the alms which remains unused to priests or any other excellent person'. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 4) and Parāśara[300] (I. 60) call upon the king to fine that village where persons of the higher classes wander about begging though they are not observers of vows (like brahmacārins) and are not studying the Veda. The foregoing will show that indiscriminate begging was never allowed or encouraged by the smṛtis even for brāhmaṇas, much less for others.

It has been seen above how even during the Vedic period brāhmaṇas had come to be highly eulogised as if they were gods and held superior merely on account of birth. The

298. व्याधितस्य दरिद्रस्य कुटुम्बात्प्रच्युतस्य च । अध्वानं प्रतिपन्नस्य भिक्षाचर्या विधीयते । अङ्गिरस् in गृह र. p. 450.

299. भिक्षमाणो वा निमित्तान्तरं ब्रूयात् । ...... न स्त्रीं नाप्राप्तव्यवहारान् । अपर्याप्तसंनिधानान् । अनुद्दिश्यान्नं भिक्षेत । यदर्थं भिक्षेत तमेवार्थं कुर्यात् । शेषमृत्विग्भ्यो निवेदयेत् । यो वान्यः साधुतमस्तस्मै दद्यात् । शङ्खलिखित in गृह. र. p. 457.

300. अव्रता ह्यनधीयाना यत्र भैक्षचरा द्विजाः । तं ग्रामं दण्डयेद्राजा चोरभक्तप्रदो हि सः ॥ वसिष्ठ III. 4 and पराशर I. 60.

Tai. Br. III. 7. 3 says 'One should sacrifice in the right hand of a brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa indeed is Agni-vaiśvānara'. Vide Śāntiparva 343. 13–14, Manu IV. 117, Likhita 31, Vas. Dh. S. 30. 2–5. The same ideas of the sacredness and the superiority of brāhmaṇas were carried forward and further emphasized by the dharma-śāstra works. Most exaggerated and hyperbolical descriptions of the greatness of brāhmaṇas are sown broadcast over all the smṛtis and the purāṇas. It is not possible to set out even a small fraction of them. But a few passages may usefully be cited here by way of samples. The Viṣṇu Dh. S.[301] (19. 20–22) says 'the gods are invisible deities, but brāhmaṇas are visible deities; the worlds are supported by brāhmaṇas; the gods stay in heaven by the favour of brāhmaṇas; words spoken by brāhmaṇas never come to be untrue'. Manu (I. 100) declares 'whatever[302] wealth exists on this earth—all that belongs to the brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa deserves everything on account of his superiority due to his descent (from the mouth of the Creator).' Manu IX. 313–321 contain a hyperbolical eulogy of the power of brāhmaṇas, two of which may be set out 'who would prosper if he oppresses brāhmaṇas that, when angered, might create other worlds and other guardians of the worlds and that might deprive the deities of their position as deities' (315); 'a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or not, is a great deity' (verse 317). Manu XI. 84 is 'a brāhmaṇa by the very fact of his birth is an object of honour even to the deities.' Parāśara (VI. 52–53) holds 'whatever defects there may be in *vratas*, in austerities, or in sacrificial rites, they all vanish when brāhmaṇas support them. Whatever words are spoken by brāhmaṇas are spoken by the gods; brāhmaṇas have all the gods in them and therefore their words do not fail.'[303] The Mahābhārata indulges in very

301. देवाः परोक्षदेवाः प्रत्यक्षदेवा ब्राह्मणाः । ब्राह्मणैर्लोका धार्यन्ते । ब्राह्मणानां प्रसादेन दिवि तिष्ठन्ति देवताः । ब्राह्मणाभिहितं वाक्यं न मिथ्या जायते क्वचित् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19. 20–22. With the first sūtra note 85 above may be compared.

302. This is a mere *arthavāda*. It means 'it is as if his', for Manu himself (in VIII. 338) prescribes for brāhmaṇas who knowing everything are guilty of theft 64 or 100 or 128 times as much fine, as a śūdra guilty of the same theft has to pay if he unknowingly commits it, while the latter pays eight times as much if he knowingly commits it.

303. व्रतच्छिद्रं तपश्छिद्रं यच्छिद्रं यज्ञकर्मणि । सर्वं भवति निश्छिद्रं ब्राह्मणैरुपपादितम् ॥ ब्राह्मणा यानि भाषन्ते भाषन्ते तानि देवताः । सर्वदेवमया विप्रा न तद्वचनमन्यथा । पराशर VI. 52–53. शातातप (I. 30–31) has the same two verses with slight variations.

frequent eulogies of brāhmaṇas. Ādiparva (28. 3-4) says[304] 'a brāhmaṇa, when provoked, becomes fire, the sun, poison, and weapon; a brāhmaṇa is declared to be the *guru* of all beings.' Vanaparva[305] (303. 16) says 'a brāhmaṇa is the highest light, he is the highest *tapas*; the sun shines in heaven on account of the salutations made by the brāhmaṇas'. This and similar dicta closely follow what was expressed in the Vedic period long before e. g. 'the sun would not rise if the brāhmaṇa did not make sacrifice' (Śatapatha II. 3. 1. 5); the refrain of Ṛg. II. 15. 2-9 is that Indra performed his great and heroic works under the intoxication of the soma (offered by the priests in sacrifices). Ṛg. IV. 50. 7-9 say that a king and others for whom the purohita offers prayers win battles, secure booty and help from gods. Anuśāsana-parva[306] (33. 17) says 'they may make a non-deity into a deity and a deity into a non-deity; that man may become a king whom they desire to be so, and he who is not desired by them may be defeated.' Śānti (56. 22) declares 'In this world brāhmaṇa is the highest being'.

It should not be supposed that the brāhmaṇas inserted these eulogies solely for the purpose of increasing their importance, and tightening their hold on the other classes. If the other classes had not themselves more or less shared these ideas, no amount of iteration on the part of brāhmaṇas would have given them the influence which they as a matter of fact wielded. Their influence was a growth of centuries and they themselves were as much parts of the huge edifice of the caste system as the other varṇas. Besides the brāhmaṇas had no military force behind them. They could only succeed in influencing the other varṇas by persuasion and their own worth. The brāhmaṇas were the creators and custodians of the vast literature that had grown up, they were the guardians of the culture of ages, they were expected to shoulder the burdens of teaching and preserving the vast literature on such gifts as were voluntarily made. Though many among them did not

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304. अग्निरर्को विषं शस्त्रं विप्रो भवति कोपितः । गुरुर्हि सर्वभूतानां ब्राह्मणः परिकीर्तितः ॥ आदिपर्व 28. 3-4; vide आदि० 81. 23 and 25 and मत्स्यपुराण 30. 23 and 25 for a similar idea.

305. ब्राह्मणो हि परं तेजो ब्राह्मणो हि परं तपः । ब्राह्मणानां नमस्कारैः सूर्यो दिवि विराजते ॥ वनपर्व 303. 16.

306. अदैवं दैवतं कुर्युर्दैवतं चाप्यदैवतम् । यमिच्छेयुः स राजा स्याद्यो नेष्टः स पराभवेत् ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 33. 17 and 152. 16.

live up to the high ideals set up for their order, there must have been not a few who made as near an approach to the fulfilment of the ideal as possible. It was the greatness of these latter that led to the glorification of the whole order to which they belonged. Learning and *tapas* are more or less elusive and impalpable, while birth from brāhmaṇa parents was quite an apparent and palpable thing. Therefore that was seized upon by some writers as the principal reason for the respect to be given to brāhmaṇas. For centuries human societies have everywhere acquiesced in the government and control exercised by small coteries of the elite, generally the elite of birth, who have guided the destinies of their societies on traditional lines of religious and social order. It must be remembered that the smṛti works also extol the office of the king (which was generally hereditary and is so even now) to the skies. Manu (VII. 4-11) propounds[307] the theory that the king has in him the parts of such gods as Indra and that a king is a great deity in human form. The theory of varṇas as conceived by Manu and other smṛtikāras was based upon the idea of the division of labour, on the idea of balancing the rival claims of various sections of the community; it laid greatest emphasis upon the duties of the varṇas rather than upon their rights and privileges. It raised the brāhmaṇa to the highest pinnacle of reverence, but at the same time it placed before him the ideal of not hankering after temporal power, of leading a life of comparative poverty and of making his knowledge available to the other classes for a scanty and precarious return. It made the military caste feel that they were not all-in-all, but had to look up to some other class as superior to themselves. European writers severely condemn brāhmaṇas for their greed, selfishness and constant praises of gifts to themselves. But they forget to take account of the circumstances under which the brāhmaṇas were forced to sing the praises of gifts to them. The ideal before brāhmaṇas was to lead a life of comparative poverty; they were forbidden to follow many worldly pursuits and depended on the generosity of their patrons. They did not live in monasteries as Buddhist and Christian monks did nor were they entitled to fixed and fat salaries like the bishops in some Christian countries. They had further to bring up their own families and pupils and had themselves also to make gifts to others. In modern capitalist societies those who have brains

307. महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ मनु VII. 8.

and knowledge tend to become financiers and capitalists, all wealth is centred in their hands, they reduce most other men to mere wage-earners who are often hardly better than helots. While finding fault with the brāhmaṇa writers of over two thousand years ago for the eulogies they bestowed upon themselves, one should not forget that even in the 20th century when the pursuit of scientific studies is professed to have reached its zenith, we hear ecstatic and arrogant eulogies of the white man's burden, of the great and glorious achievements of the Nordic race and the greater and more glorious future it is destined to attain (vide the very first sentence in Spengler's 'The Decline of the West', English translation by C. F. Atkinson). The brāhmaṇas never arrogated to themselves the authority to depose kings and to hand over vast territories for ever to whomsoever they liked, as Pope Alexander VI by his Bull of 1493 made over the New World to Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon (vide Dean Inge's 'Christian Ethics' 1930 p. 160 where this astounding Bull is set out).

It has been seen already that brāhmaṇas had the special privileges of teaching, officiating as priests and accepting gifts made as a religious duty. It is desirable that a comprehensive list of all the privileges claimed by brāhmaṇas (though not always conceded as the sequel will show) should be set out once for all.

(1) The brāhmaṇa was to be *guru* (object of reverence)[308] to all varṇas by the mere fact of birth. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 5) says so. Vas. Dh. S. (IV. 1) says 'the system of four varṇas is distinguished by its origin and by the special features of the sacraments (each of them undergoes)' and quotes Ṛg. X. 90. 12 in support. Manu (I. 31 and 94) says that the Creator produced the four varṇas respectively from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, that (I. 93) the brāhmaṇa is by right the master of this whole world on account of his birth from the best limb (i. e. the mouth) of the Creator, on account of his priority (in birth to the kṣatriya and others) and on account of possessing Vedic lore. Manu (X.3) uses almost the same words as Vasiṣṭha 'the brāhmaṇa is the master of the varṇas on account of the peculiar excellence

308. चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राः । तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयान् । आप. ध. सू. । I. 1. 1. 5; प्रकृतिविशिष्टं चातुर्वर्ण्यं संस्कारविशेषाच्च । ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः इत्यपि निगमो भवति । वसिष्ठ IV. 1–2; जातीनां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । भीष्म 121. 35.

(of his caste), on account of his superiority of origin (from the mouth of the Creator), on account of his submitting himself to discipline (or holding up Vedic lore) and on account of the eminence of the sacraments (saṁskāras) in his case '. Bhīṣmaparva (121. 35) says that the brāhmaṇa is superior among all castes. This sense of superiority was carried so far that Āpastamba[309] (I. 4. 14. 23), Manu (II. 135) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (32. 17) say that a brāhmaṇa only ten years old was to be honoured as a father by a kṣatriya 100 years old.

(2) The brāhmaṇa was to expound the duties of all other classes, to indicate to them proper conduct and their means of livelihood and they were to abide by his directions and the king was to rule in accordance with such directions (Vas. Dh. S. I. 39-41, Manu VII. 37, X. 2). This is supported by the words of the Kāṭhakasaṁhitā[310] (IX. 16) and the Tai. Br. that the brāhmaṇa is indeed the supervisor over the people. The Ait. Br. (37. 5) declares that where the might of kṣatriyas is under the control (or direction) of brāhmaṇas that kingdom becomes prosperous, that kingdom is full of heroes[311] &c. This idea is somewhat similar to the teaching of Plato who held that philosophers that had undergone a special training were to rule and were to be politicians, that the government of the best (aristocracy) was the ideal system. The problem is how to find out the best. Ancient India solved it by leaving the decision of knotty points to the learned brāhmaṇas and the execution of the decisions arrived at by them to the king and the kṣatriyas.

(3) ' The king was the ruler of all, except brāhmaṇas'— Gautama[312] XI. 1. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 explains that these words were only laudatory of the greatness of brāhmaṇas and were not to be taken literally and that the king could punish brāhmaṇas in appropriate cases. These words of Gautama are a mere echo of certain passages like those in the Vāj. S. (IX. 40) and the Śat.[313] Br. (V. 4, 2. 3 and IX. 4. 3. 16), where it is said

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309. दशवर्षश्च ब्राह्मणः शतवर्षश्च क्षत्रियः । पितापुत्रौ स्म तौ विद्धि तयोस्तु ब्राह्मणः पिता । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 23.

310. ब्राह्मणो वै प्रजानामुपद्रष्टा ॥ तै. ब्रा. II. 2. 1 and काठकसंहिता IX. 16.

311. तद्यत्र वै ब्रह्मणः क्षत्रं वशमेति तद्राष्ट्रं समृद्धं तद्वीरवदाहास्मिन्वीरो जायते । ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 5.

312. राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम् । गौ. XI. 1, न च राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जमिति गौतमवचनाच्च ब्राह्मणो दण्ड्य इति मन्तव्यम् । तस्य प्रशंसार्थत्वात् । मिता० on या. II. 4.

313. सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा । शतपथ V. 4. 2. 3, तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽनाद्यः सोमराजा हि भवति । शतपथ IX. 4. 3. 16.

'Soma is the king of us brāhmaṇas'. The idea was that brāhmaṇas had to prepare soma and offer it in sacrifices to the gods i.e. they held all wealth for Soma and owed all allegiance to Soma, while other people owed allegiance only to the king. The brāhmaṇas alone were to eat the sacrificial food and drink Soma (and kṣatriyas were to drink only a substitute for Soma). Vide Ait. Br. (chap. 35 khaṇḍa 4). In the Mahābhārata, however, many kings are described as *Somapas*. So the practice of not allowing the kṣatriyas to drink *soma* was not universally accepted. Further it was probably not a privilege at all, but only indicates that Soma sacrifices had been mostly neglected by all except brāhmaṇas.

(4) 'The king should exonerate (the brāhmaṇa) in the six matters, viz. (a brāhmaṇa) should not be beaten (whipped), he should not have fetters put on him, he should not be mulcted in fines of money, he should not be driven out (of the village or country), he should not be censured, he should not be abandoned'– Gaut. VIII.[314] 12–13. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 explains that these words are not applicable to every brāhmaṇa, but only to deeply learned brāhmaṇas described in the preceding sūtras (Gaut. VIII. 4–11). Haradatta adds that even a learned brāhmaṇa is treated in this way only if he commits an offence without pre-meditation but only through ignorance or oversight. As to corporal punishment for brāhmaṇa offenders, the matter stands thus. Gaut XII. 43 says that there is no corporal punishment for a brāhmaṇa (even when he being a thief comes to the king confessing his guilt and asking the king to beat him with a heavy club on the head). Vide Manu XI. 99–100 also. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 18–19) first lays down that a brāhmaṇa is to undergo no beating for any offence but allows for a brāhmaṇa guilty of the mortal sins (of brāhmaṇa-murder, incest, drinking liquor, theft of gold) the punishment of branding on the forehead with red-hot iron and banishment from the country. Manu IX. 237 (= Matsyapurāṇa 227. 163–164), Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 4–7 prescribe the

314. यत्तु षड्भिः परिहार्यो राज्ञाऽवध्यश्चाबन्ध्यश्चादण्ड्यश्चाबहिष्कार्यश्चापरिवाद्यश्चापरिहार्यश्चेति (गौ. 8. 12–13) तदपि स एष बहुश्रुतो भवति...विनीत इति (गौतम 8. 4–11) प्रतिपादितबहुश्रुतविषयं न ब्राह्मणमात्रविषयम् ॥ मिता॰ on या. II. 4, न शारीरो ब्राह्मणदण्डः । गौतम 12. 43; अवध्यो वै ब्राह्मणः सर्वापराधेषु । ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्महत्यागुरुतल्पगमनसुवर्णस्तेयसुरापानेषु कुसिन्ध-भगसृगालसुराध्वजास्तप्तेनायसा ललाटेऽङ्कयित्वा विषयान्निर्धमनम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 18-19, the verse in the मृच्छकटिक (IX) 'अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुरब्रवीत् । राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवैरक्षतैः सह ॥' pointedly refers to मनु VIII. 280.

various figures that were to be branded on the forehead of a brāhmaṇa in the case of various offences. Manu (VIII. 379–380) prescribes shaving of the head for brāhmaṇa offenders where others would have had to suffer the extreme penalty of death and adds that a brāhmaṇa was not to be sentenced to death whatever offence he might have committed and that he is to be banished from the country taking with him all his possessions. Even on this the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 81) observes that it applies only when it is the brāhmaṇa's first offence (i. e. he may be fined for repeating an offence). Yāj. (II. 270), Nārada (sāhasa, verse 10) and Śaṅkha[315] prescribe branding and banishment as punishment for brāhmaṇas (particularly in the case of theft). The brāhmaṇa was never above being fined. Manu (VIII. 123) prescribes fine and banishment for a perjured brāhmaṇa witness, while Manu VIII. 378 prescribes heavy fines for a brāhmaṇa guilty of rape or adultery. The Mit. on[316] Yāj. II. 302 quotes a verse of Manu (not found in the extant Manusmṛti) that in the case of the brāhmaṇa corporal punishment takes the form of complete shaving of the head, he is liable to banishment from the town, he may be branded on the forehead and he may be made to ride through the town on the back of an ass (looked upon at all times as the highest form of indignity). Kauṭ. also[317] (IV. 8) forbids corporal punishment for brāhmaṇas in all offences but prescribes branding on the forehead in the same way as Manu (IX. 237) and also banishment and labour on mines. But Kauṭ. makes an exception, viz. he allows a brāhmaṇa to be drowned in water if he is guilty of high treason, or of forcible entry in the king's harem or of inciting the enemies of the king &c. Kātyāyana[318] (quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 281) prescribes death sentence even for a brāhmaṇa when the latter is guilty of the destruction of a foetus, of theft, of

315. त्रयाणां वर्णानां धनापहारवधबन्धक्रिया विवासनाङ्ककरणं ब्राह्मणस्य । शङ्ख quoted by the मिता. on या. II. 270.

316. ब्राह्मणस्य पुनः 'न शारीरो ब्राह्मणे दण्डः' इति निषेधाद्वधस्थाने शिरोमुण्डनादिकं कर्तव्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य वधो मौण्ड्यं पुरान्निर्वासनाङ्कने । ललाटे चाभिशस्ताङ्कः प्रयाणं गर्दभेन तु ॥' इति मनुस्मरणात् । मिता० on या II. 302; the latter half is नारद (साहस 10), the first half being शिरसो मुण्डनं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं पुरात् ।

317. सर्वापराधेष्वपीडनीयो ब्राह्मणः । तस्याभिशस्ताङ्को ललाटे स्याद्व्यवहारपतनाय । स्तेये श्वा ...... सुरापाने मद्यध्वजः । ब्राह्मणं पापकर्माणमुद्घुष्याङ्ककृतव्रणम् । कुर्यान्निर्विषयं राजा वासयेद्वाकरेषु वा ॥ कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र IV. 8

318. तथा च कात्यायनः । गर्भस्य पातने स्तेनो ब्राह्मण्यां शस्त्रपातने । अदुष्टां योषितं हत्वा हन्तव्यो ब्राह्मणोऽपि हि ॥ कात्या. quoted by विश्वरूप on या. II. 281.

striking a brāhmaṇa woman with a weapon and of killing an innocent woman. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 thinks it possible that kings sentenced brāhmaṇas to death in spite of the prohibition of corporal punishment and we have a classical illustration in the death sentence passed on the brāhmaṇa Cārudatta by king Pālaka in the Mṛcchakaṭika (IX). The foregoing discussion shows that the only special privilege claimed for the brāhmaṇa in the law courts of the land was freedom from death sentence or other corporal punishment like whipping, though rarely he was liable to be sentenced to death also. He was subject to the indignities of branding and being paraded on the back of an ass, to fines and banishment. These claims were very moderate as compared with the absurd lengths to which the doctrine of 'benefit of clergy' was carried in England and other western countries.[319] The clergyman in England was not by birth, he had to be ordained. Yet clergymen claimed that an ordained clerk, a monk or nun charged with serious offences called felonies could be tried only by an ecclesiastical court and this was conceded by the ordinary courts; this privilege was gradually extended to persons not ordained viz. to doorkeepers, readers, exorcists (all of whom merely assisted the clergy) and finally to all who could read or pretended to read a few words from the Bible. Holdsworth, Pollock and Maitland admit that the procedure in the ecclesiastical courts was little better than a farce (P and M vol. I. p. 426, Holdsworth vol. III p. 296). The ecclesiastic courts never pronounced a judgment of blood, the bishop only deprived the offending clerk of orders, and relegated him to a monastery, or kept him in prison for life or a shorter period and very rarely whipping and branding were ordered. Even in the first quarter of the 20th century, European British subjects and Europeans and Americans in general could claim in British India some startling privileges when charged with criminal offences which even the brāhmaṇas of over two thousand years ago did not claim. For example, under Sec. 443 of the Criminal Procedure Code of India (as it existed before 1923) they could not be tried by any Indian Magistrate (however senior and experienced) and that in serious cases like murder, even a Sessions Judge who was himself an European British

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319. Vide Pollock and Maitland's 'History of English Law' (1895) vol. I. pp. 424–440 and Holdsworth's History of English Law 4th Ed.) vol. I. pp. 615–616, vol. III. pp. 294–302 for the history of the doctrine.

subject could not sentence an European British subject to more than one year's imprisonment (Section 449). Any European or American could claim to be tried by a mixed jury of which not less than one half had to be Europeans or Americans, while an Indian offender could not claim the privilege in his own country that not less than one half of the jury that tried him must be Indians. In England even now a peer indicted for treason or felony must be tried by his peers and not by the tribunals that try ordinary men (vide Halsbury's Laws of England, 2nd Ed. vol. 25 p. 46). The brāhmaṇas had to submit to trial in the ordinary courts and the smṛtis do not generally provide for trial of brāhmaṇas in special ecclesiastical courts of their own class. The only approach to this western doctrine of benefit of clergy is to be found in the Āp. Dh. S.,[320] where it is said that the teacher and others who have authority over a brāhmaṇa guilty of transgressions should prescribe prāyaścittas for him : if he does not abide by their orders, he should be taken to the king who should hand him over to his own *purohita*; the latter was to prescribe prāyaścittas (penances for atonement) for brāhmaṇa offenders. If the latter did not carry out the penances then he was to break them by disciplines according to their ability except that he (the purohita) was not to prescribe corporal punishment and slavery for brāhmaṇa offenders.

(5) Most smṛtis lay down that a śrotriya (a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda) was to be free from taxes. Certain passages of the Śat. Br. suggest that even in those times brāhmaṇas were not taxed.[321] Āp. Dh. S.[322] II. 10. 26. 10, Vas. Dh. S. 19. 23, Manu VII. 133 say this. Some claimed this exemption for all brāhmaṇas e. g. Vas. Dh. S. (I. 42-43) says "a king ruling over his subjects according to the rules of the śāstra should take the sixth part of all wealth except from brāhmaṇas"; the Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 26 says 'a king should

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320. तस्य चेच्छास्त्रमतिप्रवर्तेरन्। राजानं गमयेत्। राजा पुरोहितं धर्मार्थकुशलम्। स ब्राह्मणान्नियुञ्ज्यात्। बलविशेषेण वधदास्यवर्जं नियमैरुपशोषयेत्॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 10. 14-18.

321. अथातो दक्षिणानाम्। मध्यं प्रति राष्ट्रस्य यदन्यद्भूमेश्च ब्राह्मणस्य च वित्तात्। शतपथ XIII. 6. 2. 18.

322. अकरः श्रोत्रियः। आप. ध. सू. II. 10 26. 10.; राजा तु धर्मेणानुशासत् षष्ठं धनस्य हरेत्। अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात्। वसिष्ठ I. 42-43; ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात्। ते हि राज्ञो धर्मकरदाः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 26-27.

not recover taxes from brāhmaṇas'. Kauṭ.[323] (II. 1) requires the king to make gifts of *brahmadeya* lands to *ṛtviks* (who officiate at solemn sacrifices), teachers, purohitas, śrotriyas, that will yield substantial produce and on which no fines and taxes will be levied. The reason assigned was the belief that the king shared in the religious merit accumulated by the brāhmaṇas. Vas.[324] (I. 44-46) explains '(freedom from taxation is there) because he (the king) secures the sixth part of the iṣṭāpūrta (the merit due to sacrifices and performing charitable works of public utility) and it is declared (in a Brāhmaṇa text) that the brāhmaṇa enriches the Veda, he relieves (others) from calamities and therefore the brāhmaṇa is not a source of subsistence (i. e. should not be taxed by the king) since Soma is his king; and it is further declared that bliss awaits after death (the king who does not tax brāhmaṇas).' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 27 says 'they render unto him the tax of religious merit'. Manu VII. 136 says 'by the religious merit which the śrotriya accumulates every day when protected by the king, the king's life, wealth and kingdom increase.' Vide Manu 8. 305. This sentiment is expressed even by a great poet like Kālidāsa[325] 'forest-dwellers give a sixth part of their *tapas* (merit due to austerities) to the king and that is an inexhaustible treasure'. It is further to be noted that not only śrotriyas, but also many other persons were free from taxation. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 26. 11-17) exempts from taxation all women of the four varṇas, all boys before they show signs of manhood (i. e. before they attain majority), those who stay with their teachers for learning (even though they may be grown up), those engaged in austerities and devoted to right practices, a śūdra who washes the feet (of men of the three higher classes), the blind, the dumb and the diseased, those who are forbidden to possess wealth (i. e. ascetics etc.). The Vas. Dh. S. (19. 23.)[326] exempts from taxation the king's servants, helpless

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323. ऋत्विगाचार्य-पुरोहित-श्रोत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मदेयान्यदण्डकराण्याभिरूपदायकानि प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य II. 1.

324. इष्टापूर्तस्य तु षष्ठमंशं भजतीति ह। ब्राह्मणो वेदमाढ्यं करोति ब्राह्मण आपद उद्धरति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोनाद्यः। सोमोस्य राजा भवतीति ह। प्रेत्य चाभ्युदयिकमिति ह विज्ञायते। वसिष्ठ I. 44-46; compare the passage from the Śatapatha quoted above in note 313.

325. यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम्। तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्यका हि नः॥ शाकुन्तल II. 13

326. अकरः श्रोत्रियो राजपुमाननाथप्रव्रजितबालवृद्धतरुणप्रजाताः। वसिष्ठ 19. 23

persons, ascetics, minors, senile men (above 70), young men, and women who are recently delivered. Manu VIII. 394 contains a similar provision. Bṛhat-Parāśara[327] (chap. III, Jiv. part II p. 113) says ' a brāhmaṇa engaged in agriculture had to pay nothing to anybody '. It is extremely doubtful whether in actual practice kings respected all these rules. Note 275 shows that a brāhmaṇa engaging in agriculture had to pay ⅙th of the produce just as others did. An inscription of Vikramāditya V. found near Gadag dated śake 934 (1012 A. D.) refers to taxes levied even on upanayana, marriages and vedic sacrifices (E. I. vol. XX. pp. 64 and 70). The Śāntiparva (76. 2–10) contains an interesting disquisition on the taxation of brāhmaṇas. Those brāhmaṇas who have mastered all the lores and who treat all equally well are called brahmasama. Those brāhmaṇas who have studied the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda and who stick to the peculiar duties of their class are styled devasama (verses 2 and 3). A religious king should make those who are not śrotriyas and who do not kindle the sacred fires render taxes and forced labour (verse 5). Then certain brāhmaṇas are described as kṣatrasama and vaiśyasama. A king whose treasury is empty should levy taxes from all brāhmaṇas except those that are described as brahmasama and devasama.[328] Even if these rules were honoured, the claim was not very excessive. The brāhmaṇas who ministered to the religious wants of the people and who were to conserve the religious literature and spiritual inheritance of the country and to teach without the liberty to make a contract for fees were never entitled to raise taxes from the people for their benefit. According to the practice of the Roman Catholic Church ' the clergy owed no allegiance to the secular power ; they were not under the laws of the land, they paid no taxes to the State. All benefices were put under the Holy See and the Roman chancery compiled a tariff of prices for which each might be bought '. It would take too long to

327. ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषिं कुर्वन्वाहयेदिच्छया धराम् । न किंचित्कस्य चिद्द्यात्स सर्वस्य प्रभुर्यतः ॥ बृहत्पराशर III.

328. विद्यालक्षणसंपन्नाः सर्वत्र समदर्शिनः । एते ब्रह्मसमा राजन् ब्राह्मणाः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ ऋग्यजुःसामसंपन्नाः स्वेषु कर्मस्ववस्थिताः । एते देवसमा ...... अश्रोत्रियाः सर्व एव सर्वे चानाहिताग्नयः । तान् सर्वान् धार्मिको राजा बलिं विष्टिं च कारयेत् ॥ ...... एतेभ्यो बलिमाददीत हीनकोशो महीपतिः । ऋते ब्रह्मसमेभ्यश्च देवकल्पेभ्य एव च ॥ शान्तिपर्व 76. 2–3, 5, 9.

enumerate the other exactions of the same kind—the Tithes, Annates, Procurations, Subsidies and Dispensations.[329]

(6) In the matter of treasure trove the brāhmaṇa was more favourably treated than members of other classes. If a treasure was found by a learned brāhmaṇa he was entitled to keep the whole of it; in other cases the treasure belonged to the king, except a sixth part which was given to the finder if he honestly informed the king about the finding of the treasure. If a king himself found buried treasure, he was to distribute half of it among brāhmaṇas and was to keep for himself the other half. Vide Gautama (X. 43–45), Vas Dh. S. (III. 13–14), Manu (VIII. 37–38), Yāj. II. 34–35, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (III. 56–64), Nārada (asvāmivikraya verses 7–8).

(7) The general rule about the property of one dying heirless is that it escheats to the king, but there was an exception in the case of an heirless brāhmaṇa. Such property was to be distributed among śrotriyas or brāhmaṇas. Vide Gautama[330] 28. 39–40, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 84–87, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 118–122, Manu IX. 188–189, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 17. 13–14, Śaṅkha.[331]

(8) The rule of the road was in favour of brāhmaṇas even as against the king. If on a road there was a crowd or obstruction, precedence was to be given to the cartman, to a very old man, to one suffering from a disease, to a woman, to a snātaka, to the king; but a king was to give precedence to a śrotriya—Gaut. VI. 21–22. Āp. adds that one carrying[332] a burden should be given precedence and all who desire their own welfare should

329. Vide Dean Inge in 'Christian Ethics' chap. IV pp. 160–161 for the enormous greed of the Romish Church.

330. श्रोत्रिया ब्राह्मणस्यानपत्यस्य रिक्थं भजेरन्। राजेतरेषाम्। गौतम 28. 39–40; न तु ब्राह्मणस्य राजा हरेत्। ब्रह्मस्वं तु विषं घोरम्। न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते। विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रकमिति। त्रैविद्यसाधुभ्यः संप्रयच्छेत्। वसिष्ठ 17. 84–87.

331. परिषद्गामि वा श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न राजगामि। शङ्ख quoted in वि. र. p. 598.

332. चक्रिदशमीस्थानुग्राह्यवधूस्नातकराजभ्यः पथो दानम्। राज्ञा तु श्रोत्रियाय। गौतम VI.21-22; राज्ञः पन्था ब्राह्मणेनासमेत्य। समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः। यानस्य भाराभिनिहितस्यातुरस्य स्त्रिया इति सर्वैर्दातव्यः। वर्णज्यायसां चेतरैर्वर्णैः। अशिष्टपतितमत्तोन्मत्तानामात्मस्वस्त्ययनार्थेन सर्वैरेव दातव्यः। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 5–9; अन्धस्य पन्था बधिरस्य पन्थाः स्त्रियः पन्था भारवाहस्य पन्थाः। राज्ञः पन्था ब्राह्मणेनासमेत्य समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः॥ वनपर्व 133. 1; पन्था देयो ब्राह्मणाय गोभ्यो राजभ्य एव च। वृद्धाय भारतप्ताय गर्भिण्यै दुर्बलस्य च। अनुशासन 104. 25–26. This is almost the same as बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 57 (which reads गवे राज्ञे ह्यचक्षुषे); the latter half of Vanaparva 133. 1 is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 5. 5–6. Vide शङ्ख 'अथ ब्राह्मणायाग्रे पन्था देयो राज्ञ इत्येके। तत्रानिष्टं गुरुर्ज्येष्ठश्च ब्राह्मणो राजानमतिशेते तस्मै पन्थाः।' quoted by the मिता. on या. I. 117.

give precedence to fools, *patita*, the intoxicated and lunatics and a person of a lower varṇa should give precedence to one of a higher varṇa. The Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 133. 1) adds the blind and the deaf, (Anuśāsana 104. 25-26) cows, a pregnant woman and a weak man. Vas. Dh. S. (13.58-60) enumerates the same persons, but says that the snātaka (one who has just returned from his stay with his *guru*) has precedence over the king and that the bride has precedence over all when being taken in a procession (to the house of the bridegroom). Manu II. 138-139 has the same list and prefers the snātaka to the king ; Yāj. I. 117 has the same rules. Śaṅkha (quoted in the Mit. on Yāj I. 117) mentions the view of some that the king has precedence over the brāhmaṇa, but disapproves of it. Vide Brahmapurāṇa 113. 39 for a list. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (34. 39-41) has a long list which includes a prostitute and one who is an enemy. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 91) prescibes a fine of 25 kārṣāpaṇas for him who does not give precedence on the road to one who deserves it. It will be conceded by every one that the above rules (except the one about the precedence of brāhmaṇas over even the king) are quite reasonable and are informed by a spirit of humanity and chivalry. The rule about learned brāhmaṇas probably owes its origin to the emphasis laid on the importance of the diffusion of learning (which was not the direct concern of the state in those days, but of the brāhmaṇas) and the superiority of knowledge over mere brute force or military achievements.

(9) The person of the brāhmaṇa was regarded as very sacred from ancient times and so *brahmahatyā* (killing a brāhmaṇa) was looked upon as the greatest sin. The Tai. S.[333] (V. 3. 12. 1-2) says that he who performs the horse-sacrifice goes beyond (i. e. gets rid of) all sins, even the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder. The Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1 narrates how Indra incurred the sin of *brahmahatyā* by killing Viśvarūpa and how all beings ran him down as 'brahmahan'. In the Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 we read (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) 'thereby the gods redeem all sin, yea, even the slaying of a brāhmaṇa they thereby redeem' and 'whosoever kills a human brāhmaṇa here he forsooth is deemed guilty, how much more so who strikes him (Soma), for Soma is god' (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 243). The Chāndogya Up. V. 10. 9 quotes

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333. अपि वैतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन् सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते ॥ तै. सं. V. 3. 12. 1-2. The words सर्वं ...... यजते are quoted by Gaut. 19. 9. and Vas. 22. 6.

a verse declaring brāhmaṇa murder as one of the five mortal sins (*mahāpātakas*). Gaut. (21. 1) places the murderer of a brāhmaṇa at the head of his list of *patitas* (persons guilty of mortal sins). Vas. Dh. S. (I. 20) uses the word *bhrūṇahatyā*.[334] Manu XI. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35. 1, Yāj. III. 227 enumerate five mahāpātakas of which brāhmaṇa-murder is one. Manu VIII. 381 declares that there is no worse sin in the world than brāhmaṇa-murder.

A question that very much exercised the minds of all smṛtikāras and writers of digests[335] was whether a brāhmaṇa who was himself guilty of violence or serious offences could be killed in self-defence by one attacked. The dicta of the smṛtis are somewhat conflicting. Manu IV. 162 lays down a general rule prohibiting *hiṁsā* (death or injury) of one's teacher (of Veda), expounder (of the meaning of the Veda), one's parents, one's other teachers (or elders), brāhmaṇas, cows and all persons engaged in austerities. Manu XI. 89 lays down that there is no expiation (prāyaścitta) that will wipe off the sin of intentionally killing a brāhmaṇa. But Manu himself (VIII. 350–351 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 189–190 = Matsyapurāṇa 227. 115–117 = Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 349–350) says 'one may surely kill without hesitation a man who comes down upon one as an ātatāyin[336] (a desperate character or violent man), whether he be a teacher, a child or an old man or a learned brāhmaṇa. In killing an ātatāyin, the killer incurs no sin (or fault), whether he kills him in the presence of people or alone; (in such a case) wrath meets wrath'. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 15–18) expressly says 'by killing an ātatāyin they say the killer incurs no sin whatever' and quotes three verses 'an incendiary, a poisoner, one armed with a weapon, a robber, one who wrests a field or carries away one's wife—these six are called ātatāyin. When

334. The word 'bhrūṇa' has several meanings. Baud. Gṛ. (I. 4. 8) says that bhrūṇa is one who knows the whole Vedic lore of his śākhā up to sūtra and *pravacana* (bhāṣya ?); Vaik. (I. 1) says that bhrūṇa is a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda who has performed soma sacrifices. Vide note 290 above. Gaut. 21. 9 uses the word in the sense of 'garbha (foetus),' while in Gaut. 17. 9 'bhrūṇahā' is equal to 'brahmahā'. Both Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 94 and Vas. Dh. S. II. 42 quote a verse where bhrūṇahā means brahmahā, while Vas. Dh. S. 20. 23 gives two meanings to it.

335. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 222 and the Mit. on Yāj II. 21, Aparārka pp. 1042–44, Sm. C. (Vyavahāra pp. 313–15.).

336. 'Ātatāyin' literally means 'one who goes with his bow strung (i. e. ready to kill or fight). Śiva is called ātatāyin in Vāj. S. 16. 18 and Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā 17. 12.

an ātatāyin comes (to attack) with the desire to kill (or harm), one may kill him even though he be a complete master of Vedānta; by so doing one does not become a brāhmaṇa-murderer. If a person kills one who has studied the Veda and who is born of a good family, because the latter is an ātatāyin, he does not thereby become a brāhmaṇa-murderer as in that case fury meets fury.'[337] In the Śāntiparva (34. 17 and 19)[338] we have similar verses 'If a brāhmaṇa approaches wielding a weapon in a battle and desirous of killing a person, the latter may kill him even if the former be a complete master of the Veda. If a person kills a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin who has swerved from right conduct, he does not thereby.........fury'. Udyogaparva (178. 51–52) says that, if a man kills in a battle a brāhmaṇa who fights like a kṣatriya, it is a settled rule that he does not incur the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder. Śānti (22. 5–6) is to the same effect. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 191–192) speaks of seven persons as ātatāyin viz. 'one who has a weapon ready to strike, one who is about to set fire or administer poison, one who has raised his hand to give a curse, who sets about to kill by the magic rites mentioned in the Atharvaveda (e. g. such sūktas as I. 19, II. 19, III. 1–2, VII. 108), one who is a backbiter and informs the king, one who violates or assaults another's wife.' The Matsyapurāṇa (227. 117–119) is practically to the same effect. Sumantu as quoted by the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 21) and by Aparārka (p. 1043) says 'there is no sin in killing an ātatāyin except a cow or a brāhmaṇa'.[339] This implies that a brāhmaṇa even if an ātatāyin should not be killed, but if he be killed sin is incurred. Kātyāyana[340] (quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests) declares that one should not kill a brāhmaṇa who is eminent by reason of his *tapas*, Vedic study and birth, even though he be an ātatāyin; Bhṛgu allows killing when the offender is of a lower caste than that of brāhmaṇa'. Bṛhaspati[341] also says that he who would not kill a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin

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337. This last verse is also quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 14 and the latter half of it is the same as Śāntiparva 15. 55.

338. प्रगृह्य शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे । जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयान्न तेन ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ शान्ति 34. 17.

339. नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात् । सुमन्तु in मिता. on या. II. 21.

340. आततायिनि चोत्कृष्टे तपःस्वाध्यायजन्मतः । वधस्तत्र तु नैव स्यात्पापे हीने वधो भृगुः ॥ कात्यायन in स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार p. 315)

341. आततायिनमुत्कृष्टं वृत्तस्वाध्यायसंयुतम् । यो न हन्याद्वधप्राप्तं सोऽश्वमेधफलं लभेत् । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 315)

deserving to be killed for his violence would obtain the merit of an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Commentators and writers of digests differ in their interpretations. Viśvarūpa[342] (on Yāj. III. 222) remarks that he is guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder who kills a brāhmaṇa except in battle or except when the latter is an ātatāyin, or who kills a brāhmaṇa (not an ātatāyin nor fighting) on his own account without being employed by another or who brings about the death of such a brāhmaṇa by hiring another to perpetrate the murder for money. He further adds that the man who kills a brāhmaṇa at the instigation of another for money is not guilty of the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder, but it is the instigator who is so guilty on the analogy of the rule that the merit or fruit of a sacrifice belongs to him on whose behalf the ṛtviks perform it. The Mit.[343] on Yāj. (II. 21) says that the real purport of Manu VIII. 350–351 is not to ordain that a brāhmaṇa must be killed if he is an ātatāyin, but those two verses are only an *arthavāda* (laudatory or recommendatory dicta), the real meaning being that even a *guru* and a brāhmaṇa who are most highly honoured and who are not fit to be killed at all, may have to be killed if ātatāyins (then what of others?). The final conclusion of the Mit. is that if a brāhmaṇa who is an ātatāyin is being opposed in self-defence without any desire to kill him and if he dies through mistake or inattention, then the killer incurs no punishment at the hand of the king and has to undergo a slight prāyaścitta i. e. there is really a prohibition to kill an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa and verses like Manu VIII. 351 refer to an ātatāyin who is not a brāhmaṇa. Medhātithi appears to have held the same view (on Manu VIII. 350–351). Kullūka explains Manu VIII. 350 as meaning that 'a *guru* or a brāhmaṇa or others coming as ātatāyins may be killed when it is impossible to save oneself even by fleeing from them'. Aparārka is of opinion[344]

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342. आततायिसंग्रामव्यतिरेकेण यो ब्राह्मणमन्येनाप्रयुक्तः स्वातन्त्र्येण हन्यात्, अन्यं वा द्रव्यदानादिना वशीकृत्य घातयति स प्रत्येतव्यः। ...... यस्तु धनक्रीतः परप्रयुक्तो हन्यात् तस्य स्वामिगामित्वात्क्रियाफलानामृत्विजामिव ब्रह्महत्याजन्यफलसंबन्धो नास्त्येव। विश्वरूप on या. III. 222.

343. नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चनेत्येतदपि ब्राह्मणादिव्यतिरिक्तविषयमेव। अतश्च ब्राह्मणादय आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसंधिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमादाद्यदि विपद्येरंस्तत्र लघु प्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः। मिता० on या. II. 21.

344. तद्व्यापारनिवारणं च यत्र वधमन्तरेण न संभवति तत्रैव तद्वधानुज्ञा। यत्र तु दण्डशस्त्रादिप्रहारमात्रेणैव शक्यो निवारयितुं तत्र तु तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव। अपरार्क on या. III. 227 p. 1043.

that where an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa cannot be prevented from his wicked intent except by killing him, there only the śāstras allow the killing of a brāhmaṇa but where it is possible to ward him off by a mere blow (i. e. without actually killing him) there would be the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder if he were actually killed. The Sm. C. in a long note appears to hold that an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa rushing upon a man to kill him may be killed by the person attacked (there is no sin and no punishment nor penance for it), that a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin (who does not come to kill but) who only siezes one's fields or wife should not be killed (but lesser harm may be done to him with impunity) and that kṣatriyas and others if ātatāyin may be killed outright. The Vyavahāra-Mayūkha[345] adds a rider that, on account of the prescription contained in the section on kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the Kali age) viz. 'the killing in a properly conducted fight of brāhmaṇas that are ātatāyin ' (is forbidden in Kali), an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa even when about to kill a person should not be killed by that person in the Kali age, that such a brāhmaṇa was allowed to be killed in former ages, that an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa other than one bent upon killing another was not be killed in all ages. The Vīramitrodaya (pp. 19–27) has a long disquisition on this subject but space forbids us from giving even a brief summary of it. It will have been noticed how the sacredness of the brāhmaṇa's person went on increasing in later ages.

(10) Even threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault, or striking him or drawing blood from his body drew the severest condemnation from very ancient times. The Tai.[346] S. (II. 6. 10. 1–2) contains these words ' He who threatens a brāhmaṇa should be fined a hundred, he who strikes a brāhmaṇa should be fined a thousand, he who draws blood would not reach (or find) the abode of pitṛs for as many years as the dust particles that may be made into a paste by the quantity of blood drawn. Therefore one should not threaten a brāhmaṇa with assault, nor strike him nor draw his blood '. Gaut. (22. 20–22) has a

345. किं च 'आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम्' इति कलौ वधोद्यतस्याततायिनो विप्रस्य हननं निषिद्धम्। व्यवहारमयूख p. 242; for कालिवर्ज्य texts vide Appendix.

346. योऽपगुराते शतेन यातयाद्यो निहनत् सहस्रेण यातयाद्यो लोहितं करवद्यावतः प्रस्कद्य पांसून् संगृह्णीयात् तावतः संवत्सरान् पितृलोकं न प्रजानादिति। तस्मात् ब्राह्मणाय नापगुरेत न निहन्यान्न लोहितं कुर्यात्। तै. सं. II. 6. 10. 1–2.

similar[347] dictum, viz. that threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault in wrath prevents entry into heaven for a hundred years (or leads to hell for a hundred years) &c. Jaimini III. 4. 17 considers the question whether the passage in the Tai. S. is kvatvartha or puruṣārtha.

(11) For certain offences a brāhmaṇa received lesser punishment than members of other classes. For example, Gaut. says[348] 'if a kṣatriya reviled a brāhmaṇa the fine was one hundred (kārṣāpaṇas), if a vaiśya did so it was 150 ; but if a brāhmaṇa reviled a kṣatriya the fine was 50; if he reviled a vaiśya it was only 25, and if a brāhmaṇa reviled a śūdra he was not to be fined.' Vide Manu VIII. 267–268 (but Manu prescribes a fine of twelve for a brāhmaṇa reviling a śūdra) which are the same as Nārada (vākpāruṣya verses 15–16), Yāj. II. 206–207. But in the case of certain crimes the brāhmaṇa was to receive heavier punishment. For example, in the case of theft, if a śūdra thief was fined[349] eight, a vaiśya 16 and a kṣatriya 32, a brāhmaṇa was fined 64, 100 or 128. Vide Gaut. 21. 12–14 and Manu VIII. 337–338.

(12) According to Gaut.[350] (XIII. 4) a brāhmaṇa could not be cited as a witness by a litigant who was not a brāhmaṇa and the king would not summon him, provided he (the brāhmaṇa) was not an attesting witness on a document. Nārada (ṛṇādāna verse 158) lays down that[351] 'śrotriyas, those engaged in austerities, old men, those who have become ascetics, are not to be witnesses because the authoritative texts so prescribe but there is no cause assigned for this rule.' So Nārada's view was that a śrotriya could never be cited as a witness by any litigant (even by a brāhmaṇa litigant). Gaut. impliedly shows that even a śrotriya could be cited as a witness by a brāhmaṇa. Manu VIII. 65, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VIII. 2 also forbid citing a śrotriya as a witness.

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347. अभिक्रुद्धावगोरणं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्षशतमस्वर्ग्यम्। निघाते सहस्रम्। लोहितदर्शने यावतस्तत्प्रस्कन्द्य पांसून् संगृह्णीयात्। गौतम 22. 20–22.

348. शतं क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणाक्रोशे। अध्यर्धं वैश्यः। ब्राह्मणस्तु क्षत्रिये पञ्चाशत्। तदर्धं वैश्ये। न शूद्रे किंचित्। गौतम 21. 6–10.

349. अष्टापाद्यं स्तेयकिल्बिषं शूद्रस्य। द्विगुणोत्तराणीतरेषां प्रतिवर्णम्। विदुषोऽतिक्रमे दण्डभूयस्त्वम्। गौतम 21. 12–14

350. ब्राह्मणस्त्वब्राह्मणवचनादनवरोध्योऽनिबद्धश्चेत्। गौ. XIII. 4.

351. श्रोत्रियास्तापसा वृद्धा ये च प्रव्रजिता नराः। असाक्षिणस्ते वचनान्नात्र हेतुरुदाहृतः॥ नारद (ऋणादान 158).

(13) Only certain brāhmaṇas were to be invited for dinner in śrāddhas and in rites for gods. Vide Gaut. 15. 5 and 9, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Manu III. 124 and 128, Yāj. I. 217, 219, 221.

(14) Certain sacrifices could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. For example, the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice and the sacrifices called sattras could be performed only by brāhmaṇas.[352] But it has to be noted that the Rājasūya sacrifice could performed only by kṣatriyas and that according to Jaimini VI. 6. 24–26 even brāhmaṇas of Bhṛgu, Śunaka and Vasiṣṭha gotras could not perform a sattra.

(15) The periods of mourning were less in the case of brāhmaṇas. Gaut. 14. 1–4 prescribes ten days of mourning for brāhmaṇas, eleven for kṣatriyas, twelve for vaiśyas and a month for śūdras. Vas. Dh. S. IV. 27–30, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 1–4, Manu V. 83, Yāj. III. 22 contain similar provisions. Later on ten days' mourning came to be prescribed for all castes.[353]

Several other lesser privileges are enumerated by Nārada (prakīrṇaka, verses 35–39) 'The king shall show his face in the morning before brāhmaṇas first of all and shall salute them all. When nine or seven persons (of different rank) meet, they shall first make room for the brāhmaṇa to pass[354] by. Further privileges assigned to brāhmaṇas are: free access to the houses of other people for the purpose of begging alms; the right to collect fuel, flowers, water and the like without its being regarded as a theft[355] and to converse with other men's wives without being restrained (in such conversation) by others; and the right to cross rivers without paying any fare for the ferry-boat and to be conveyed (to the other bank) before other people. When engaged in trading and using a ferry boat, they shall have to pay no toll. A brāhmaṇa who is engaged in travelling, who is tired and has

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352. सत्राणि ब्राह्मणानामृत्विक्श्रुतेः । कात्या. श्रौ. I. 6. 13 ; so also Jaimini VI. 6. 16–23 for सत्रs and VI. 6. 24–26 for the proposition that ब्राह्मणs of भृगु, शुनक and वसिष्ठ gotras were not entitled to perform सत्रs.

353. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतके मृतके तथा । दशाहाच्छुद्धिरेतेषामिति शातातपोऽब्रवीत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् in मिता० on या. III. 22.

354. Vide privilege No. 8 (rule about making way) above. Gautama (VI. 21–22 quoted above p. 146) names seven persons, while Vasiṣṭha (13. 58–60) mentions nine persons about this rule. Nārada has probably these two sūtra works in view here.

355. Vide आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 3, मनु VIII. 339, या. II. 166.

nothing to eat, commits no wrong by taking two canes of sugar or two esculent roots.

There were some disabilities also in the case of brāhmaṇas which have been indicated in the above discussion (viz. as to avocations, selling articles &c.).

It may be convenient to bring together the disabilities of the śūdra :

(1) He was not allowed to study the Veda. Many of the smṛtikāras and writers of digests[356] quote several Vedic passages on this point. A śruti text reads '(The Creator) created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī (metre), the rājanya with Triṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagatī, but he did not create the śūdra with any metre; therefore the śūdra is known to be unfit for the saṁskāra (of upanayana)'. The study of the Veda follows after Upanayana and the Veda speaks of the Upanayana of only three classes[357] 'one should perform upanayana for a brāhmaṇa in spring, for a rājanya in summer and in śarad (autumn) for a vaiśya.' Not only was the śūdra not to study the Veda, but Veda study was not to be carried on in his presence (vide note 75 above).[358] This attitude need not cause wonder. The sacred Vedic literature was largely created and preserved entirely by the brāhmaṇas (the kṣatriyas contributing if at all a very small share in that task). If the brāhmaṇas desired to keep their sacred treasure for the twice-born classes in these circumstances, it is understandable and for those ages even excusable. In the 20th century there are vast majorities who are not allowed by small minorities of imperialistic and capitalistic tendencies to control the just and equitable distribution of the material goods produced mostly by the labour and co-operation of those majorities and doctrines are being openly professed that certain races alone should be imparted higher and scientific knowledge while other so-called inferior races should be only hewers of wood and drawers of water.

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356. गायत्र्या ब्राह्मणमसृजत त्रिष्टुभा राजन्यं जगत्या वैश्यं न केनचिच्छन्दसा शूद्रमित्यसंस्कार्यो विज्ञायते । वसिष्ठ IV. 3, quoted by अपरार्क p. 23 who quotes यम ' न केनचित्समसृजच्छन्दसा तं प्रजापतिः । '

357. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यमिति । This is the basis of Jaimini VI. 1. 33 and is relied on by Śabara. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1.1.6.

358. अथापि यमगीताञ्श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । श्मशानमेतत्प्रत्यक्षं ये शूद्राः पापचारिणः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे तु नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन ॥ वसिष्ठ 18. 13. Vide गौ. 16. 18–19, आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 9. 9 (श्मशानवच्छूद्रपतितौ), या. I. 148, आदिपर्व 64. 20.

There are however faint traces that in ancient times this prohibition of Veda study was not so absolute and universal as the smṛtis make it. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad IV. 1–2, we have the story of Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa and Raikva where the latter addresses Jānaśruti as śūdra and imparts to him the Saṁvarga (absorption) *vidyā*.[359] It appears that Jānaśruti was a śūdra to whom the vidyā embodied in the Chāndogya (which is also Veda) was imparted. It is no doubt true that in the Vedāntasūtra[360] (I. 3. 34) the word śūdra is explained not as referring to the class, but as meaning that sorrow (*śuc*) arose in Jānaśruti on hearing the contemptuous talk of the flamingoes about himself and he was overcome (from *dru*) by that (i. e. śūdra is derived from *śuc* and *dru*). But this far-fetched explanation had to be given because of the practice current in the times of the Vedāntasūtras that the śūdra is not entitled to study the Veda. Gaut. XII. 4 went so far as to prescribe ' if the śūdra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac ; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue may be cut off ; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be hacked '[361].

Though the śūdra could not study the Veda, he was not debarred from hearing the itihāsas (like the Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas. The[362] Mahābhārata (Śānti 328. 49) expressly says that the four varṇas should hear the Mahābhārata through a brāhmaṇa as reader. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa[363] says that as the three Vedas cannot be learnt by women, śūdras and brāhmaṇas (who are so only by birth), the sage (Vyāsa) composed the story of the Bhārata out of compassion for them. The Śūdrakamalākara[364] (pp. 13-14) cites several passages from the purāṇas

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359. तमु ह परः प्रत्युवाचाह हारेत्वा शूद्र तवैव सह गोभिरस्त्विति। छान्दोग्य IV.2.3.

360. शुगस्य तदनादरश्रवणात्तदाद्रवणात्सूच्यते हि। वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 34; vide वायुपुराण vol. I. 8. 158 where this derivation is followed.

361. अथ हास्य वेदमुपशृण्वतस्त्रपुजतुभ्यां श्रोत्रपूरणमुदाहरणे जिह्वाच्छेदो धारणे शरीरभेदः। गौतम 12. 4 ; vide मृच्छकटिक IX. 21 'वेदार्थान् प्राकृतस्त्वं वदसि न च ते जिह्वा निपतिता'

362. श्रावयेच्चतुरो वर्णान्कृत्वा ब्राह्मणमग्रतः। शान्तिपर्व 328. 49 ; vide also आदिपर्व 62. 22, and 95. 87.

363. स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा। इति भारतमाख्यानं मुनिना कृपया कृतम्॥ भागवत I. 4. 25; vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन IV. 28 ब्रह्मण्याकरणं कृत्वा हुत्वा वै पावके हविः। शालग्रामशिलां स्पृष्ट्वा शूद्रो गच्छत्यधोगतिम्॥

364. तस्मिन्नं शूद्रस्य विप्रद्वारा पुराणश्रवणेन ज्ञानमिति। शूद्रकम. p. 17 ; पुराणश्रवणं विप्रान्नरसिंहस्य पूजनम्। नृसिंहपुराण। 58. 13.

to the effect that the śūdra could not study the smṛtis and purāṇas by himself. Even Manu II. 16 seems to suggest that only the dvijātis had the privilege to listen to the Manusmṛti (and not śūdras). The only privilege conceded by the Śūdrakamalākara to the śūdra is that he can acquire knowledge by listening to the purāṇas read by a brāhmaṇa (p. 17) ; the Kalpataru and other works allowed the śūdra to read and repeat Purāṇa mantras. Śaṁkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 38) quotes Śānti 328. 49 and says that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* (eligibility) for brāhmavidyā based upon a study of the Veda, but that a śūdra can attain spiritual development (just as Vidura and Dharmavyādha mentioned in the Mahābhārata did) and that he may attain to *mokṣa*, the fruit of correct knowledge. In certain digests we find a smṛti quotation to the effect that śūdras are Vājasaneyins. This is[365] explained as meaning that the śūdra should follow the procedure prescribed in the gṛhyasūtra of the Vājasaneya Śākhā and a brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for him. This is probably based on the Harivaṁśa (Bhaviṣyat-parva, chap. III. 13) "all will expound brahma ; all will be Vājasaneyins ; when the *yuga* comes to a close śūdras will make use of the word 'bhoḥ' in address" (sarve brahma vadiṣyanti sarve Vājasaneyinaḥ).

(2) The śūdras were not to consecrate sacred fires and to perform the solemn Vedic sacrifices. Vide note 73 above. Jaimini (I. 3. 25–38) elaborately discusses this question and arrives at the conclusion that the śūdra cannot consecrate the three sacred fires and so cannot perform Vedic rites. Among the reasons given are that in several Vedic passages only the three higher classes are referred to in the case of the consecration of fires, about the *sāmans* to be sung, about the food to be taken when observing vrata.[366] It is however interesting to note that at least one ancient teacher (Bādari)[367] was found who advocated that

365. तेन ब्राह्मणेन तत्र मन्त्रः पठनीय इति तात्पर्यम्। तत्र यजुर्वैदिको मन्त्रः। तथा स्मृतिः। आर्षक्रमेण सर्वत्र शूद्रा वाजसनेयिनः। अस्माच्छूद्रः स्वयं कर्म यजुर्वेदीव कारयेत्॥ आर्षक्रमेण मुन्युक्तक्रमेण यजुर्वेदिसंबन्धिगृह्यादिना। शूद्रकृत्यतत्त्व (p. 634). The वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 575) quotes the words शूद्रा वाजसनेयिनः as from कूर्मपुराण; while शूद्रकम. p. 51 says शूद्रा वाजसनेयिन इति गौडनिबन्धे दक्षोक्तेः।

366. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यः शरदि वैश्यः। ...... पयो व्रतं ब्राह्मणस्य यवागू राजन्यस्य आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य। These are the vedic texts relied upon by Jaimini (I. 3. 25–38) and Śabara.

367. निमित्तार्थेन बादरिस्तस्मात्सर्वाधिकारं स्यात्। जै I. 3. 27.

even śūdras could perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta sūtra[368] (V. 2. 8) states the opinion of some that the śūdra can consecrate the three sacred Vedic fires. The Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra (I. 4. 5) prescribes that all can perform Vedic rites except those who are deficient in a limb, who are not learned in the[369] Veda, who are impotent and śūdras; but the commentary thereon states by way of pūrvapakṣa that there are certain Vedic texts which lead to the inference that the Śūdra had the adhikāra for Vedic rites e. g. in Śat. Br. I. 1. 4. 12 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 28) it is said with reference to the Haviṣkṛt call "Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. 'Come hither' (ehi) in the case of a brāhmaṇa; 'approach' (āgahi) and 'hasten hither' (ādrava) in the case of a vaiśya and a member of the military caste and 'run hither' (ādhāva) in that of a śūdra." Similarly in the Somayāga in place of the payovrata (vow to drink milk only) *mastu* (whey) is prescribed for śūdra (indicating thereby that the śūdra could perform Somayāga) and in Śat. Br. (XIII 8. 3. 11, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 435) with reference to sepulchral mounds it is said 'for the kṣatriya he may make as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiśya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee'. The commentary on the Kātyāyana Śrauta I. 1. 6 says that the word śūdra here stands for rathakāra because (acc. to Yāj, I. 91) his mother's mother is a śūdra woman.

Though the śūdra was not authorized to perform Vedic rites, he was entitled to perform what is called *pūrta-dharma*[370] i. e. the building of wells, tanks, temples, parks and distribution of food as works of charity and gifts on such occasions as eclipses and the Sun's passage from one zodiacal sign into another and on the 12th and other *tithis*. He was allowed to perform the five daily sacrifices called Mahāyajñas

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368. विद्यते चतुर्थस्य वर्णस्याग्न्याधेयमित्येके न विद्यत इत्यपरम्। भारद्वाजश्रौतसूत्र V. 2. 8. (Journal of Vedic studies, Lahore, vol I for Sep. 1934).

369. अङ्गहीनाश्रोत्रियषण्ढशूद्रवर्जम्। कात्या. श्रौ. सू. I. 4. 5; com. आधावेति शूद्रस्य मस्तु शूद्रस्येति सोमे पयोव्रतस्थाने। अष्ठीवद्दघ्नं शूद्रस्येति पितृमेधे।. The first is शतपथ I. 1. 4. 12 and the last is शतपथ XIII. 8. 3. 11.

370. इष्टापूर्तौ द्विजातीनां सामान्यौ धर्मसाधनौ। अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रः पूर्तधर्मे न वैदिके॥ अत्रि verse 46; लघुशङ्ख verse 6; अपरार्क p. 24 'वापीकूपतडागादि देवतायतनानि च। अन्नप्रदानमारामः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते॥ ग्रहोपरागे यद्दानं सूर्यसंक्रमणेषु च। द्वादश्यादौ च यद्दानं पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते॥. The first verse is quoted from the महाभारत and the second from जातूकर्ण्य.

in the ordinary fire, he could perform śrāddha, he was to think of the devatās and utter loudly the word 'namaḥ' which was to be the only *mantra* in his case (i. e. he was not to say 'Agnaye svāhā' but to think of Agni and say[371] 'namaḥ'). Manu X. 127 prescribes that all religious rites for the śūdra are without (Vedic) *mantras.* According to some the śūdra could also have what is called Vaivāhika fire (i. e. fire kindled at the time of marriage) in Manu III 67 and Yāj. I. 97, but Medhātithi (on the same verse), the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 121), the Madanapārijāta (p. 231) and other works say that he should offer oblations in the ordinary fire and that there is no Vaivāhika fire for the śūdra. All persons including the śūdras and even caṇḍālas were authorized to repeat the Rāmamantra of 13 letters (Śrī Rāma jaya Rāma jaya jaya Rāma) and the Śiva mantra of five letters (namaḥ Śivāya), while dvijātis could repeat the Śiva mantra of six letters (Om namaḥ Śivāya). Vide Śūdra-kamalākara pp. 30–31, where passages of Varāha, Vāmana and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas are cited to show that śūdras are entitled to learn and repeat mantras of Viṣṇu from the Pāñcarātra texts and of Śiva, the Sun, Śakti and Vināyaka. The Varāhapurāṇa (128. 22–31) describes the initiation (dīkṣā) of a śūdra as a devotee of Viṣṇu (as a bhāgavata).

(3) As to Saṁskāras, there is some apparent conflict among the authorities. Manu X. 126 says 'The śūdra incurs no sin (by eating forbidden articles like onions and garlic), he is not fit for saṁskāras, he has no *adhikāra* for (authority to perform) *dharma* nor is he forbidden from performing dharma' and in IV. 80 (which is the same as Vas. Dh. S. 18. 14 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 48–52) we see 'one should not give advice to a śūdra, nor give him leavings of food nor of sacrificial oblations, one

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371. अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः। पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेतेत्येके । गौ. 10. 66–67 ; पञ्चयज्ञविधानं तु शूद्रस्यापि विधीयते। तस्य प्रोक्तो नमस्कारः कुर्वन्नित्यं न हीयते॥ लघुविष्णु V. 9; दानं च दद्याच्छूद्रोपि पाकयज्ञैर्यजेत च। पित्र्यादिकं च वै सर्वं शूद्रः कुर्वीत तेन वै॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 8. 33.; स्वाहाकारवषट्कारौ मन्त्रः शूद्रे न विद्यते । तस्माच्छूद्रः पाकयज्ञैर्यजेताव्रतवान् स्वयम्॥ शान्तिपर्व 60. 37–38; या. I. 121 'भार्यारतिः शुचिर्भृत्यभर्ता श्राद्धक्रियारतः। नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्च यज्ञान्न हापयेत्॥' on which the मिता॰ gives the view of some that the namaskāra mantra is 'देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च। नमः स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव नमो नमः॥.' मेधा. (on मनु III. 121 सायं त्वन्नस्य सिद्धस्य पत्न्यमन्त्रं बलिं हरेत्।) remarks यथा शूद्रो नमस्कारमुच्चारयति अनुज्ञातो ...... मन्त्र इति (गौ. X. 66) इति नमस्कारेण प्रत्याम्नातः शूद्रस्य मन्त्र इति नमस्कारोऽनुज्ञातोस्य न देवतापदम्।'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 20 says about sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddha that it may be performed for śūdras on the 12th day (from death) without mantras 'मन्त्रवर्जं हि शूद्राणां द्वादशेऽह्नि'।

śhould not impart religious instruction to him nor ask him to perform vratas '. Laghuviṣṇu[372] (I. 15) contains the dictum that the śūdra is devoid of any saṁskāra. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 explains the words of Manu IV. 80 about vratas in the case of śūdras as applicable only to those śūdras who are not in attendance upon members of the three higher castes and establishes that śūdras can perform vratas (but without homa and muttering of *mantras*). Aparārka on the same verse (Manu IV. 80) explains that the śūdra cannot perform vratas in person, but only through the medium of a brāhmaṇa. The Śūdrakamalākara (p. 38) holds that śūdras are entitled to perform vratas, fasts, mahādānas and prāyaścittas, but without *homa* and *japa*. Manu X. 127 allows religious śūdras to perform all religious acts which dvijātis perform, provided they do not use Vedic mantras. On the other hand Śaṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 13) opines that saṁskāras may be performed for śūdras but without Vedic mantras. Yama quoted in Sm. C. (I. p. 14) says the same. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 17) prescribes that ten saṁskāras (viz. garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, caula, karṇavedha and vivāha) can be performed in the case of śūdras, but without Vedic mantras. Haradatta (on Gautama X. 51) quotes a gṛhyakāra to the effect that even in the case of the śūdra the rites of niṣeka, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana and caula are allowed but without Vedic mantras. When Manu prescribes (II. 32) that the śūdra should be given a name connected with service, he indicates that the śūdra could perform the ceremony of nāmakaraṇa. So when Manu (IV. 80) states that he deserves no saṁskāra, what he means is that no saṁskāra with Vedic mantras was to be performed in his case. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 80 says that the prohibition to give advice and impart instruction in dharma applies only when these are done for making one's livelihood, but if a śūdra is a friend of the family of a brāhmaṇa friendly advice or instruction can be given. Vide Śūdrakamalākara p. 47 for several views about the saṁskāras allowed to śūdras.

(4) **Liability to higher punishment for certain offences.** If a śūdra committed adultery with a woman of the three

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372. शूद्रश्चतुर्थो वर्णस्तु सर्वसंस्कारवर्जितः । उक्तस्तस्य तु संस्कारो द्विजेष्वात्मनिवेदनम् ॥ लघुविष्णु I. 15.

higher castes, Gaut.[373] (XII. 1–2) prescribed the cutting off of his penis and forefeiture of all his property and if he was guilty of this offence when entrusted with the duty of protecting her, he was to suffer death in addition. Vaṣ. Dh. S. 21. 1, Manu VIII. 366 prescribe death in the case of a śūdra having intercourse with a brāhmaṇa woman whether she was willing or unwilling. On the other hand, if a brāhmaṇa committed rape on a brāhmaṇa woman he was fined a thousand and five hundred if he was guilty of adultery with her (Manu VIII. 378) and if a brāhmaṇa had intercourse with a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra woman, who was not guarded, he was fined five hundred (Manu VIII. 385). Similarly in the case of *Vākpāruṣya* (slander and libel) if a śūdra reviled a brāhmaṇa he received corporal punishment or his tongue was cut off (Manu VIII. 270), but if a kṣatriya or vaiśya did so they were respectively fined 100 or 150 (Manu VIII. 267) and if a brāhmaṇa reviled a śūdra, the brāhmaṇa was fined only 12 (Manu VIII. 268) or nothing (acc. to Gaut. XII. 10). In the case of theft, however, the śūdra was fined much less. Vide above p. 152 (No. 11 among the privileges of brāhmaṇas).

(5) In the matter of the period for impurity on death or birth the śūdra was held to be impure for a month, while a brāhmaṇa had to observe ten days' period only. Vide above p. 153 (No. 15 among the privileges of brāhmaṇas).

(6) A śūdra could not be a judge or propound what dharma was. Manu (VIII. 9) and Yāj. I. 3 lay down that when the king does not himself look into the litigation of people owing to pressure of other business, he should appoint a learned brāhmaṇa as a judge. Manu (VIII. 20) further says that a king may appoint as his judge even a brāhmaṇa who is so by birth only (i. e. who does not perform the peculiar duties of brāhmaṇas), but never a śūdra. Kātyāyana (as quoted

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373. आर्यस्त्र्यभिगमने लिङ्गोद्धारः स्वहरणं च । गोप्ता चेद्वधोऽधिकः । गौतम 12. 1–2. In parts of America the penalty for an attempt to commit a rape on a white woman is burning alive, but only if the offender has a black skin. As to Rome vide Westermarck's 'The Origin and Development of moral Ideas' (1912) vol. I. p. 433 "from the beginning of Empire the citizens were divided into privileged classes and commonalty—*uterque ordo* and *plebs*—and whilst a commoner who was guilty of murder was punished with death, a murderer belonging to the privileged classes was generally punished with deportation only."

in[374] the Mit. on Yāj. I. 3) says that when a brāhmaṇa is not available (as a judge) the king may appoint as judge a kṣatriya or a vaiśya who is proficient in dharmaśāstra, but he should carefully avoid appointing a śūdra as judge.

(7) A brāhmaṇa was not allowed to receive gifts from a śūdra except under great restrictions. Vide above note 239.

(8) A brāhmaṇa could take[375] food at the houses of members of the three classes who performed the duties prescribed for them by the śāstras (according to Gaut.), but he could not take food from a śūdra except when the śūdra was his own cowherd, or tilled his field or was a hereditary friend of the family, or his own barber or his dāsa. Vide Gaut. XVII. 6 and Manu IV. 253 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 16), Yāj. I. 166, Parāśara IX. 19. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 22 says[376] 'that food which is brought by an impure śūdra should not be eaten by a brāhmaṇa;' but Āpastamba allows śūdras to be cooks in brāhmaṇa households provided they were supervised by a member of the three higher classes and observed certain hygienic rules about paring nails, the cutting of hair. Manu IV. 211 forbade in general the food of a śūdra to a brāhmaṇa and by IV. 223 he laid down that a learned brāhmaṇa should not take cooked food from a śūdra who did not perform śrāddha and other daily rites (mahāyajñas) but that he may take from such a śūdra uncooked grain for one night, if he cannot get food from anywhere else. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) requires a brāhmaṇa to avoid the food of vṛṣalas (śūdras). Gradually rules about taking food from śūdras became stricter. The Śaṅkhasmṛti (13. 4) remarks that brāhmaṇas fattened on the food given by śūdras are *Paṅktidūṣaka*. Parāśara[377] XI. 13 ordains that a brāhmaṇa may take from a śūdra ghee, oil, milk, molasses and food fried in oil or ghee, but should eat it on a river bank and not in the śūdra's house and the Par. M. adds

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374. ब्राह्मणो यत्र न स्यात्तु क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् । वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥ कात्यायन (quoted by मिता॰ on या. I. 3)

375. प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत । ...पशुपालक्षेत्रकर्षककुलसंगतकारयितृपरिचारका भोज्यान्नाः । गौतम 17. 1 and 6.

376. अप्रयतेन तु शूद्रेणोपहृतमभोज्यम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 16. 23, आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः । आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 4.

377. घृतं तैलं तथा क्षीरं गुडं तैलेन पाचितम् । गत्वा नदीं तटे विप्रो भुञ्जीयाच्छूद्रभोजनम् ॥ पराशर XI. 13 and 'एतच्च क्षत्रियादिवर्णत्रयभोजनस्याभ्यनुज्ञानं मार्गश्रान्त्यादौ पूर्ववर्णासंभवे वेदितव्यम् । आपदि यावता विना प्राणरक्षणं न भवति तावदन्नमभ्यनुज्ञायते न तु ततोऽधिकम् ।' परा. मा. II. part 1 pp. 411-12.

(II. 1. pp. 411–12) that this permission is meant to apply only when the brāhmaṇa is tired by travelling and no food from a member of another class is available. Haradatta on Gaut. XVII. 6 remarks that a brāhmaṇa could take food from a śūdra who was a cowherd &c. only in the case of very extreme calamities. Aparārka also (p. 244 on Yāj. I. 168) says the same. In the kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the kali age) the old practice of eating the food of cowherds, barber &c. was forbidden.[378]

(9) The śūdra gradually came to be so much looked down upon that he could not touch a brāhmaṇa, though at one time he could be a cook in a brāhmaṇa household and a brāhmaṇa could eat food from his house. In the Anuśāsanaparva (59.33) it is said[379] 'a brāhmaṇa should be served by a śūdra from a distance like blazing fire; while he may be waited upon by a kṣatriya or vaiśya after touching him.' Aparārka (p. 1196) quotes two smṛti texts 'a brāhmaṇa on touching a śūdra or niṣāda becomes pure by ācamana (ceremonial sipping of water); on touching persons lower than these, he becomes pure by bathing, prāṇāyāma and the strength of *tapas*; on seeing a ram, a cock, a crow, a dog, a śūdra and an antyāvasāyin (an antyaja), one should stop the rite that is being performed and on touching them one should take a bath'. On this Aparārka explains that if a man who touched a śūdra cannot bathe then he may resort to sipping water, but if able he must take a bath or that on touching a sat-śūdra one may have recourse to ācamana and on touching an asat-śūdra one must take a bath. We find from the Gṛhyasūtras[380] that in Madhuparka offered to a snātaka the feet of the guest (even if he was a brāhmaṇa) were washed by a śūdra male or female. So there could have been no ban against a śūdra touching a brāhmaṇa then. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 3. 6. 9–10) says that two śūdras should wash the feet of a guest, according to some teachers (in the case of a householder who has several dāsas), while Āpastamba

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378. 'शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणाम् । भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य' quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (I. p. 12), परा. मा. I. part 1 pp. 134–137 and the उद्वाहतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

379. दूराच्छूद्रेणोपचर्यो ब्राह्मणोऽग्निरिव ज्वलन् । संस्पृश्य परिचर्यस्तु वैश्येन क्षत्रियेण च ॥ अनुशासन 59. 33.

380. e. g. हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 12. 18–20 'अथास्मै पाद्यमिति प्राह । तेनास्य शूद्रः शूद्रा वा पादौ प्रक्षालयति सव्यमग्रे ब्राह्मणस्य दक्षिणमितरयोः'.

himself says that one śūdra should wash the guest's feet and another should sprinkle him with water.[381]

(10) As the śūdra could not be initiated into Vedic study, the only āśrama out of the four that he was entitled to was that of the householder. In the Anuśāsanaparva (165. 10) we read[382] 'I am a śūdra and so I have no right to resort to the four āśramas'. In the Śāntiparva[383] (63. 12–14) it is said, 'in the case of a śūdra who performs service (of the higher classes), who has done his duty, who has raised offspring, who has only a short span of life left or is reduced to the 10th stage (i. e. is above 90 years of age), the fruits of all āśramas are laid down (as obtained by him) except of the fourth.' Medhātithi on Manu VI. 97 explains these words as meaning that the śūdra by serving brāhmaṇas and procreating offspring as a house-holder acquires the merit of all āśramas except *mokṣa* which is the reward of the proper observance of the duties of the fourth āśrama.

(11) The life of a śūdra was esteemed rather low. Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66 include the killing of a woman, a śūdra, a vaiśya and a kṣatriya among upapātakas; but the prāyaścittas and gifts prescribed for killing these show that the life of the śūdra was not worth much. On killing a kṣatriya, the prāyaścitta prescribed was brahmacarya for six years, gift of 1000 cows and a bull; for killing a vaiśya, brahmacarya for three years and gift of 100 cows and a bull; for killing a śūdra brahmacarya for one year, gift of 10 cows and a bull. Gaut. XXII. 14–16, Manu XI, 126–130, Yāj III. 266–267 say practically the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 25. 14–I. 9. 26. 1) says that on killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a cakravāka, flamingo, bhāsa, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog, a cow and draught ox the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra. Manu (XI. 131) says 'on killing a cat, an ichneumon,

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381. तस्य पादौ प्रक्षालयेच्छूद्रमिथुनावित्येके । अन्यतरोऽभिषेचने स्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 6. 9–10.

382. शूद्रोहं नाधिकारो मे चातुराश्रम्यसेवने । अनुशासनपर्व 165. 10.

383. शुश्रूषोः कृतकार्यस्य कृतसंतानकर्मणः । अभ्यनुज्ञातराजस्य शूद्रस्य जगतीपते । अल्पान्तरगतस्यापि दशधर्मगतस्य वा । आश्रमा विहिताः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा निराशिषम् । शान्ति० 63. 12–14; सर्वे आश्रमास्तु न कर्तव्याः किं तर्हि शुश्रूषयापत्योत्पादनेन च सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते द्विजातीन् शुश्रूषमाणो गार्हस्थ्येन सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते परिव्राजकफलं मोक्षं वर्जयित्वा । मेधातिथि on मनु. VI. 97.

cāṣa, a frog, a dog, iguana, owl and crow, the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra.[384]

If the śūdra laboured under certain grave disabilities, he had certain compensating advantages. He could follow almost any profession except the few specially reserved for brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas. Even as to the latter many śūdras became kings and Kauṭ. in his Arthaśāstra (IX. 2) speaks of armies of śūdras (vide note 266 above). The śūdra was free from the round of countless daily rites. He was compelled to undergo no *saṁskāra* (except marriage), he could indulge in any kind of food and drink wine, he had to undergo no penances for lapses from the rules of the śāstras, he had to observe no restrictions of gotra and pravara in marriage. Those western writers who turn up their nose at the position of the śūdras in ancient and medieval India conveniently forget what atrocious crimes were perpetrated by their people in the institution of slavery and in their dealings with the Red Indians and other backward coloured races; how nations of Europe out of false pride of race have passed in the 20th century laws prohibiting marriages between the so-called Aryans and non-Aryans and preventing the latter from holding state offices and carrying on several occupations and how discrimination is made against coloured men on railways, in hotels and other places of public resort and how even in India separate third class compartments were reserved on railways for Europeans, for entering which Indians were prosecuted and sentenced in their own country. Vide *Emperor* vs *Narayan* 25 Bom. L. R. 26 for such a case.

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384. Those who are familiar with the cases decided in India in which Indian servants or coolies were kicked by European employers and died as a result and in which the offenders were either acquitted or let off on a small fine (on the ground that the deceased had an enlarged spleen) need not feel surprised at the above statement of affairs in India over two thousand years ago.

CHAPTER IV

UNTOUCHABILITY

Those who have written on the Indian caste system have always been struck by the fact of the existence of certain castes that are treated as untouchables. But it should not be supposed that this is something confined only to India. Even nations that have no caste system at all have often carried out complete segregation of certain people dwelling in their midst, which in essentials is the same as the system of untouchability in India. The Encyclopaedia of social sciences vol. XI. p. 339 says that in the southern States of U. S. A. discrimination against Negroes took the form of 'residential segregation, separation of the races in public conveyances and places of amusement, exclusion of Negroes from public institutions and educational discrimination. Disenfranchisement and social discrimination had their economic counterpart in all branches of industry except agriculture and domestic and personal service,[385] occupations to which Negroes had been habituated under the slave regime.' It is also within living memory that Mahatma Gandhi had to lead a movement of *satyāgraha* in South Africa against the discriminating treatment of Indians and even now in Natal and other parts of British Africa there is legislation restricting Indians in the matter of residence and purchases of land.

In the early Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the smṛtis as antyajas occur. We have carmamna (a tanner of hides?) in the Ṛgveda (VIII. 5. 38), the Caṇḍāla and Paulkasa occur in the Vāj. S., the Vapa or Vaptā (barber) even in the Ṛg., the Vidalakāra or Bidalakāra (corresponding to the buruḍa of the smṛtis) occurs in the Vāj. S. and the Tai. Br., Vāsaḥpalpūlī (washerwoman) corresponding to the Rajaka of the smṛtis in the Vāj. S. But there is no

385. Vide Westermarck's 'The Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I. pp. 370–371 for the treatment of Bushmen in Africa and Australia and of Negroes in America. Vide 'Satyagraha in South Africa' by Mahatma Gandhi translated by Mr. Valji Govindji Desai (published by S. Ganesan, 1928).

indication in these passages whether these, even if they formed castes, were at all untouchables. The utmost that can be said is that as the Paulkasa is assigned to *bībhatsā* (in Vaj. S. 30. 17) and Cāṇḍāla to Vāyu (in the Puruṣamedha), the Paulkasa lived in such a way as to cause disgust and the Cāṇḍāla lived in the wind (i. e. probably in the open or in a cemetery). The only passage of Vedic literature on which reliance can be placed for some definite statement about cāṇḍālas is in the Chāndogya Up.[386] V. 10. 7. where while describing the fate of those souls that went to the world of the moon for enjoying the rewards of some of their actions it is stated ' those who did praiseworthy actions here, quickly acquire birth in a good condition, viz. in the condition of a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya or vaiśya, while those whose actions were low (reprehensible) quickly acquire birth in a low condition i. e. as a dog, or a boar or a caṇḍāla. ' This occurs in Pañcāgnividyā, the purpose of which is to teach *vairāgya* and disgust with the transmigratory world. This passage does not enjoin anything, it is a bare statement by way of explanation or elucidation. All that can be legitimately inferred from this is that the first three varṇas were commended and that caṇḍālas were looked upon as the lowest in the social scale. It is to be noticed that the śūdra varṇa does not occur in this passage at all. So probably even in the times of the Chāndogya the caṇḍāla was looked upon as a śūdra, though lowest among the several śūdra subcastes. The caṇḍāla is equated with the dog and the boar in this passage, but this leads hardly anywhere. It is no doubt stated in the Śat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 4[387] that 'three beasts are unclean in relation to a sacrifice viz. the vicious (filthy) boar, the ram and the dog. ' Here it is clear that every boar is not unclean, but probably only that variety that subsists on the village offal. On the other hand the flesh of boars was said to cause great delight to the Pitṛs when offered in śrāddha (vide Manu III. 270 and Yāj. I. 259). Therefore this Upaniṣad passage does not say anything on the point whether the Caṇḍāla was in its day untouchable. This passage may be compared with another in which the śūdra is said to be a walking

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386. तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन् ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा। छान्दोग्य V. 10. 7. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8–11 deals with this passage.

387. त्रयो ह त्वाव पशवोऽमेध्याः। दुर्वराह एडकः श्वा। तेषां यद्यधिश्रितेऽग्निहोत्रेऽन्तरेण कश्चित्सञ्चरेत्किं तत्र कर्म का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति। शतपथ XII.4. 1. 4.

cemetery. If the śūdra was not untouchable in the Vedic literature, and if he was allowed to be a cook for brāhmaṇas and to wash the feet of brāhmaṇa guests in spite of that passage (as stated in the Dharmasūtras quoted above pp. 161–162), there is no reason to suppose that the Chāndogya passage indicates that the caṇḍāla was untouchable in the remote ages. Another passage is relied upon by orthodox writers to support the theory that untouchability of caṇḍālas is declared in Vedic writings. In the Bṛ. Up. I. 3 the story is narrated that gods and *asuras* had a strife and the gods thought that they might rise superior to the asuras by the Udgītha. In this vidyā occurs the passage[388] 'this devatā (Prāṇa) throwing aside the sin that was death to these devatās (vāk etc.) sent it to the ends of these quarters and he put down the sin of these devatās there ; therefore one should not go to people (outside the Āryan pale) nor to the ends (of the quarters) thinking 'otherwise I may fall in with *pāpman* i. e. death'. In the first place there are no peoples expressly named here. Śaṁkara explains that by 'end of the quarters' are meant regions where people opposed to Vedic culture dwell. This description can only apply to people like the mlecchas and not to cāṇḍālas who are not opposed to Vedic knowledge (but who have no adhikāra to learn it). Besides cāṇḍālas might stay outside the village, but they do not stay at the end of the quarters[389] (or at the end of the ārya territory). Hence this passage does not help in establishing the theory of untouchability for Vedic times.

Next comes the consideration of the evidence derived from the sūtras and smṛtis. But certain preliminary observations must be made to clarify the position. The theory of the early smṛtis was that there were only four varṇas and there was no fifth varṇa. Vide Manu X. 4 and Anuśāsanaparva 47.18.[390] When in modern times the so-called untouchables are referred

388. सा वा एषा देवतैतासां देवतानां पाप्मानं मृत्युमपहत्य यत्रासां दिश यांचकार। तदासां पाप्मनो विन्यदधात्तस्मान्न जनमियान्नान्तमियान्नेत् पाप्मानं मृत्युमन्ववायानीति। बृह. उ. I. 3. 10.

389. The Mlecchas were known to the Śat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 24 'tasmān na brāhmaṇo mlecchet). Vide Ait. Br. 33. 6 '*antān* vaḥ. prajābhakṣīṣṭa' quoted above in note 118 for the meaning of 'diśām antaḥ'.

390. चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु शूद्रो नास्ति तु पञ्चमः। मनु 10. 4; स्मृतास्तु वर्णाश्चत्वारः पञ्चमो नाधिगम्यते। अनुशासन 47. 18.

to as the *pañcamas*,[391] that is something against the smṛti tradition. Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and Patañjali[392] say that a Samāhāra-dvandva compound can be formed from several subdivisions of śūdras that are not *niravasita* e. g. we can have the compound 'takṣāyaskāram' meaning carpenters and blacksmiths, but not '*caṇḍāla-mṛtapam*', because caṇḍālas and mṛtapas are niravasita śūdras (and so the compound will be 'caṇḍālamṛtapāḥ). Therefore it follows that Pāṇ. and Patañjali included caṇḍālas and mṛtapas among śūdras. When Aṅgiras (note 171 above) includes kṣatṛ, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava (that are pratiloma castes) among antyāvasāyins along with cāṇḍāla and śvapaca, he makes it clear that he regarded cāṇḍālas as included among śūdras, for Manu X. 41 declares that all pratiloma castes are similar to śūdras in their dharma and because the Śāntiparva 297.28[393] expressly says that the vaidehika is called śūdra by learned *dvijas*. Gradually however, a distinction was made between śūdras and castes like cāṇḍālas. Fresh castes were then added to the list of untouchables by custom and usage and the spirit of exclusiveness, though there is no warrant of the śāstras for such a procedure.

Untouchability did not and does not arise by birth alone. It arises in various ways. In the first place, persons become outcasted and untouchable by being guilty of certain acts that amount to grave sins. For example, Manu IX. 235–239 prescribes that those who are guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder, theft of brāhmaṇa's gold or drinkers of spirituous liquors should be excommunicated, no one should dine with them or teach them, or officiate as priests for them, nor should marriage relationship be entered into with them and they should wander over the world excluded from all Vedic dharmas. But if they perform the proper prāyaścitta they are restored to caste and become touchable. Secondly, persons were treated as untouchables simply through religious hatred and abhorrence because they belonged to a different sect or religion. For example, Aparārka

391. N. P. Dutt in 'Origin and growth of caste in India' vol. I. p. 105, (1931) speaks of 'Nishadas, chandalas and paulkasas as the fifth varṇa'.

392. Vide note 200 above for the quotation from the Mahābhāṣya.

393 शूद्राणां तु सधर्माणः सर्वेऽपध्वंसजाः स्मृताः ॥ मनु X. 41; वैदेहिकं शूद्रमुदाहरन्ति द्विजा महाराज श्रुतोपपन्नाः । शान्तिपर्व 297. 28.

(p. 923) and Sm. C.[394] (I. p. 118) quote verses from the Ṣaṭtriṁśan-mata and Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa that 'on touching Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas (Sāṁkhyas) and brāhmaṇas guilty of doing actions inconsistent with their caste one should enter water with the clothes on and also on touching Śaivas and atheists'. It is worthy of note that Aparārka[395] p. 923 quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya that on touching cāṇḍālas, pukkasas, mlecchas, Bhillas and Pārasīkas and persons guilty of mahāpātakas one should bathe with the clothes on. Thirdly, certain persons, though not untouchable ordinarily, became so, if they followed certain occupations, e. g. if a person touches a brāhmaṇa who is *devalaka* (i. e. has been doing worship to an image for money for three years) or who is a priest for the whole village, or a person who sells a soma plant, then he has to bathe with his clothes on.[396] Fourthly, persons become untouchable when in certain conditions e. g. a person if he touches even his wife in her monthly period or during the first ten days after delivery or if he touches a person during the period of mourning on the death of some relative or a person who has carried a corpse to the cemetery and has not yet bathed, he then has to take a bath with his clothes on (vide Manu V. 85). Fifthly, certain races such as mlecchas and persons from certain countries and the countries themselves were regarded as impure (vide notes 40, 42, 49). Further the smṛtis say that persons following certain filthy, low and disapproved avocations were untouchable e. g. Saṁvarta[397] quoted

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394. षट्त्रिंशन्मतात् । बौद्धान् पाशुपतांश्चैव लोकायतिकनास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 923, स्मृतिच. I. p. 118; मिता० on या. III. 30 quotes it as from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (reading शैवान् for बौद्धान् and शूद्रान् for स्पृष्ट्वा); vide वृद्धहारीत IX. 359, 363, 364 for bath on touching शैवs and entering Bauddha or Śaiva temples; स्पृष्ट्वा देवलकं चैव सवासा जलमाविशेत् । quoted by मिता० on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 923 ; शान्तिपर्व 76. 6 has 'आह्वायका देवलका नाक्षत्रा ग्रामयाजकाः । एते ब्राह्मणचाण्डाला महापथिकपञ्चमाः ।'

395. चण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिल्लपारासिकादिकम् । महापातकिनश्चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचैलकम् ॥ वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 923.

396. च्यवनः । श्वानं श्वपाकं प्रेतधूमं देवद्रव्योपजीविनं ग्रामयाजकं सोमविक्रयिणं यूपं चितिं चितिकाष्ठं ...... शवस्पृशं रजस्वलां महापातकिनं शवं स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलमम्भोवगाह्योत्तीर्याग्निमुपस्पृश्य गायत्र्यष्टशतं जपेद् घृतं प्राश्य पुनः स्नात्वा त्रिराचमेत् । मिता० on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 922.

397. कैवर्त-मृगयु-व्याध-सौनिशाकुनिकानापि । रजकं च तथा स्पृष्ट्वा स्नात्वैवाशनमाचरेत् ॥ संवर्त quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

by Aparārka p. 1196 says 'on touching a fisherman, a deer-hunter, a hunter, a butcher, a bird-catcher, and a washerman one must first bathe and then take one's meal'. It is to be remarked that such texts do not expressly make a man of those castes untouchable even if he does not pursue the occupation stated, but they have rather the occupation in view. Such occupations were thought impure, as it was believed that if one was to secure the final goal of liberation, one must cultivate purity of mind as well as body, and as great importance came to be attached to cleanliness and the ceremonial purity of the body for spiritual purposes; and emphasis was laid upon not coming in contact with persons carrying on filthy or impure pursuits, but also with animals and even inanimate objects. These restrictions were not inspired by any hardness of heart or any racial or caste pride as is often said, but they were due to psychological or religious views and the requirements of hygiene. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 16 says 'a person touched by a dog should take a bath with his clothes on'. Vide also Vas. Dh. S. 23. 33, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 69. Vṛddha-Hārīta (chap. 11. 99–102) enumerates certain vegetables and herbs (such as leek) and other articles on touching which one was to bathe. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 4. 9. 5) requires every house-holder to give food after Vaiśvadeva to all including cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows. And this practice is followed even now by those who perform Vaiśvadeva. The ancient Hindus had a horror of uncleanliness and they desired to segregate those who followed unclean professions like those of sweepers, workers in hide, tanners, guardians of cemeteries &c. This segregation cannot be said to have been quite unjustifiable. Besides those who are not familiar with ancient or even modern Hindu notions must be warned against being carried away by the horror naturally felt at first sight when certain classes are treated as untouchable. The underlying notions of untouchability are religious and ceremonial purity and impurity. A man's nearest and dearest women relatives such as his own mother and wife or daughter are untouchable to him during their monthly periods. To him the most affectionate friend is untouchable for several days when the latter is in mourning due to death in the latter's family. A person cannot touch his own son (whose thread ceremony has been performed) at the time of taking meals. In this latter case there is no idea of impurity and in most of these cases there is no idea of superiority or inferiority. As many professions and crafts were in ancient times hereditary, gradually the idea arose

that a man who belonged to a caste pursuing certain filthy or abhorred avocations or crafts was by birth untouchable. Medieval and modern usage had no doubt reached the stage that if a man belonged by birth to a caste deemed by custom to be untouchable he remained an untouchable whatever profession or craft he may pursue or even if he pursued no profession. But ancient and medieval writers thought otherwise and there was also great divergence of view as to who were untouchables and to what extent. The only caste that is said by the most ancient Dharmasūtras to be untouchable by birth is that of cāṇḍālas and the word cāṇḍāla has a technical meaning in these works as stated above (p. 81) under cāṇḍāla. Gaut. (IV. 15 and 23) says that the cāṇḍāla is the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman and that he is the most reprehensible among the pratilomas. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 8–9[398] states that on touching a cāṇḍāla one should plunge into water, on talking to him one should converse with a brāhmaṇa (for purification), on seeing him one should look at the luminaries (either the Sun or moon or stars). We have seen above that there were three kinds of cāṇḍālas and they were all so by virtue of the circumstances of their birth. Manu (X. 36, 51) makes only the andhra, meda, cāṇḍāla and śvapaca stay outside the village and makes the antyāvasāyin (X. 39) stay in a cemetery. That leads to the inference that other men even of the lowest castes could stay in the village itself. Hārīta[399] quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) states 'if a dvijāti's limb other than the head is touched by a dyer, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a dancer (naṭa), a man of actor caste, oilman, vintner, hangman, village cock or dog, he becomes pure by washing that particular limb and by sipping water (i. e. he need not bathe)'. Here most of the seven antyajas are included and it is expressly said that their touch is not so impure as to require a bath. Aṅgiras (verse 17) states that a *dvija* when he comes in contact with a washerman, a shoemaker, a dancer (naṭa), a fisherman or a worker in bamboo becomes pure by merely *ācamana* (by

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398. यथा चाण्डालोपस्पर्शने संभाषायां दर्शने च दोषस्तत्र प्रायश्चित्तम्। अवगाहनमपामुपस्पर्शने संभाषायां ब्राह्मणसंभाषणं दर्शने ज्योतिषां दर्शनम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 2. 8–9.

399. हारीतः। ...... रजकश्चर्मकृच्चैव व्याधजालोपजीविनौ। निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च नटः शैलूषकस्तथा॥ चक्री ध्वजी वध्यघाती ग्राम्यकुक्कुटसूकरौ। एभिर्यदङ्गं स्पृष्टं स्याच्छिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु। तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्ताः प्रयता मताः। अपरार्क p. 279 ; the same verses are quoted as शातातप's by स्मृतिच॰ I p. 119.

sipping water). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 130) quotes a verse[400] to the effect that even on coming in contact with cāṇḍālas and pukkasas one need not bathe, if the latter stand near a temple of Viṣṇu and have come for the worship of Viṣṇu. Alberuni in his work on India (tr. by Sachau vol. I. chap. IX) refers to two classes of *antyajas*, the first of which had eight guilds (seven of which were practically the same as the seven in note 170 above, the eighth being the weaver) and a second group of four viz. Hadi, Doma, Chandala and Bhadatau. As to the first group he says that they intermarried except the fuller, shoemaker and weaver. Alberuni seems to have been misinformed as to this and what caste he means by Bhadatau is not clear. Medhātithi[401] in his commentary on Manu X. 13 is positive that the only pratiloma who is untouchable is the cāṇḍāla and no bath is necessary on coming in contact with the other pratilomas (viz. sūta, māgadha, āyogava, vaidehika and kṣatṛ). Kullūka also says the same. Therefore it follows that in spite of the smṛti texts (notes 170, 171, 173) including the pratilomas among antyajas along with the cāṇḍālas, such authoritative and comparatively early commentators as Medhātithi (about 900 A. D.) were firmly of opinion that they were not untouchable. Manu[402] V. 85 and Aṅgiras 152 prescribe a bath for coming in bodily contact with a *divākīrti* (a cāṇḍāla), udakyā (a woman in her monthly period), patita (one outcasted for sin &c.), sūtikā (a woman after delivery), a corpse, one who has touched a corpse. It follows therefore that the only antyaja who was *aspṛśya* according to Manu was the cāṇḍāla. But gradually the spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of ritual purity were carried to extremes and more and more castes became untouchable. Some very orthodox writers of smṛtis went so far as to hold that on touching even a śūdra a *dvijāti* had to bathe.[403] Among the

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400. विष्ण्वालयसमीपस्थान् विष्णुसेवार्थमागतान्। चाण्डालपुक्कसांश्चापि स्पृष्ट्वा न स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ quoted by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 130.

401. चण्डाल एकः प्रतिलोमोऽस्पृश्यः। मेधा० on मनु X. 13.; अतश्चाण्डाल एवैकः प्रतिलोमतः स्पर्शादौ निरस्यते। कुल्लूक.

402. दिवाकीर्तिमुदक्यां च पतितं सूतिकां तथा। शवतत्स्पृष्टिनं चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ मनु V. 85 on which मेधा० says दिवाकीर्तिश्चाण्डालः ...... न नापितस्तस्य स्पृश्यत्वाद्भोज्यान्नत्वाच्च।'

403. एडकं कुक्कुटं काकं श्वशूद्रान्त्यावसायिनः। स्पृष्ट्वैतान् नाचरेत्कर्म स्पृष्ट्वैतान्स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

earliest occurrences of the word *asprśya* (as meaning untouchables in general) is that in Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 104 ; Kātyāyana also uses the word in that sense [404]. It will have been seen from the quotations above that cāṇḍālas, mlecchas and Pārasīkas are placed on the same level as regards being asprśya. Atri [405] (267–269) says 'if a dvija comes in contact with a cāṇḍāla, patita, mleccha, a vessel containing intoxicating drink, a woman in her monthly course, he should not take his meals (without first bathing) and if he comes in contact with these while taking his meal, he should stop, throw away the food and bathe'. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 76 about talking with mlecchas and cāṇḍālas. But so far as mlecchas are concerned these restrictions of untouchability have been given up long ago at least in public. Similarly the washerman, the worker in bamboo, the fisherman, the naṭa, among the seven well-known *antyajas*, are no longer untouchable in several provinces (though not in all) and were not so even in the times of Medhātithi and Kullūka.

Once the spirit of exclusiveness and exaggerated notions of ceremonial purity got the upper hand they were carried to extremes. It does not appear from the ancient smṛtis that the shadow of even the cāṇḍāla was deemed to be polluting. Manu V. 133 (which is nearly the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 52) declares 'flies, spray from a reservoir, the shadow (of a man), the cow, the horse, the sun's rays, dust, the earth, the wind and fire should be regarded as pure.' Yāj. I. 193 is a similar verse (Mārk. Purāṇa 35. 21 is almost the same). Manu IV. 130 prescribes that one should not knowingly cross the shadow of the image of a deity, of one's *guru*, of the king, of a snātaka, of one's teacher, of a brown cow or of a man who has been initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Here no reference is made to the shadow of a cāṇḍāla. Medhātithi on Manu V. 133 expressly says that 'shadow' means 'shadow of a cāṇḍāla and the like'. Kullūka, however, adds on Manu IV. 130 that on account of the word 'ca' in that verse the shadow of cāṇḍālas was included in the injunction of that verse. Therefore it is legitimate to infer that Manu and Yāj. did not prescribe that even the shadow of

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404. Vide कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार (ed. by me) verses 433, 783 that are quoted by the मिता. on या. II. 99 and by अपरार्क p. 813.

405. चाण्डालं पतितं म्लेच्छं मद्यभाण्डं रजस्वलाम् । द्विजः स्पृष्ट्वा न भुञ्जीत भुञ्जानो यदि संस्पृशेत् । अतः परं न भुञ्जीत त्यक्त्वान्नं स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ अत्रि (आनन्दाश्रम ed.) verses 267–269.

a cāṇḍāla was impure and caused pollution. Not only so, Aparārka[406] quotes a verse 'the shadow of a cāṇḍāla or patita, if it falls on a man, is not impure'. But Aparārka himself[407] adds on this verse the comment that this favourable rule about the shadow of a cāṇḍāla or patita is applicable only if he is at a greater distance from a man than the length of a cow's tail. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (para 8) describes how the cāṇḍāla girl entered the royal assembly-hall though she was untouchable and stood at some distance from the king. It appears that there was no difficulty about her entering the hall of audience or polluting the assembly by her shadow. Gradually some smṛtis prescribed a bath for a brāhmaṇa coming under the shadow of a cāṇḍāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30 quotes a verse of Vyāghrapāda that if a cāṇḍāla or patita comes nearer to a person than the length of a cow's tail, then the latter must take a bath and another verse of Bṛhaspati to the effect 'a patita, a woman in her monthly period, a woman freshly delivered and a cāṇḍāla should be kept respectively at a distance of one yuga, two, three and four'. As yuga is four cubits, this means that a cāṇḍāla cannot approach within 16 cubits of a caste Hindu.[408]

As regards public roads Yāj. I. 194 says that they become pure by the rays of the sun and the moon and by the wind even when they are trodden by cāṇḍālas. In Yāj. I. 197 it is stated that the mud and water on public roads and on houses built of baked bricks, though touched by cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows, are rendered pure by the mere blowing of the wind over them.[409]

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406. चण्डालपतितच्छाया स्पर्शे दुष्टा तु नो भवेत् । भस्म क्षौद्रं सुवर्णं च सदर्भाः कुतपास्तिलाः ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 275.

407. पतितचाण्डालयोर्गोपुच्छपरिमितदेशाद्विप्रकृष्टदेशस्थयोश्छायानुग्रहोऽयम् । अपरार्क p. 275.

408. यस्तु छायां श्वपाकस्य ब्राह्मणो ह्यधिरोहति । तत्र स्नानं प्रकुर्वीत घृतं प्राश्य विशुध्यति ॥ अत्रि 288–289, अङ्गिरस् quoted by the मिता० on या III. 30, अपरार्क p. 923; अपरार्क p. 1195 ascribes a similar verse to Śātātapa. औशनसस्मृति (ed. Jiv. chap. IX part 1 p. 552) also says the same. युगं च द्वियुगं चैव त्रियुगं च चतुर्युगम् । चण्डालसूतिकोदक्यापतितानामधः क्रमात् ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by मिता० on या. III. 30; सूतिकापतितोदक्याश्चण्डालश्च चतुर्थकः । यथाक्रमं परिहरेदेकद्वित्रिचतुर्थकम् ॥ व्यास quoted by स्मृतिच. part I. p. 17. क्षीरस्वामी on 'युगं युग्मं कृतादिषु' in the अमरकोश remarks 'हस्तचतुष्कं च यथा विघ्नरेयुगमात्रहस्त'.

409. रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि स्पृष्टान्यन्त्यश्ववायसैः । मारुतेनैव शुध्यन्ति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि च ॥ या I. 197; अङ्गिरस् (verse 144) is almost the same.

These rules show that the smṛtis followed a reasonable rule about the public roads and do not countenance the restrictions maintained in some parts of South India, particularly in Malabar, about the use of public roads by the untouchables viz. that an untouchable must not approach within a certain distance of a high caste Hindu, must leave the road to allow him passage or must shout to give warning of his presence in order to avoid pollution to the caste Hindu. Vide Wilson's 'Indian Castes' vol. II p. 74 (footnote) for details of the distance. In South India also there are various grades of distances within which members of the several lowest castes cannot approach high caste Hindus.

Certain provisions were made in the smṛtis by way of exceptions to the general rules about the untouchability of certain castes. Atri[410] (verse 249) says ' there is no taint of untouchability when a person is touched by an untouchable in a temple, religious processions and marriages, in sacrifices, and in all festivals '. Śātātapa quoted in the Sm. C. declares that there is no doṣa (lapse) in touching (untouchables) in a village (i. e. on the public road), or in a religious procession or in an affray and the like, and also when the whole village is involved in a calamity.[411] Bṛhaspati also remarks that there is no fault (and so no prāyaścitta) if one comes in contact (with untouchables) at a sacred place, in marriage processions and religious processions, in battle, when the country is invaded, or when the town or village is on fire. The Sm. C. adds that these verses were variously interpreted; some saying that they apply only where one does not know that the man who has touched him is an untouchable, while others hold that they apply to the touch of impure persons who are not ucchiṣṭa (i. e. risen from meals without washing their hands &c). The Smṛtyarthasāra[412]

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410. देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥ अत्रि 249. In the स्मृतिच० I. pp. 121–122 this is quoted as from षट्त्रिंशन्मत (v. l. यज्ञेषु प्रकृतेषु च and स्पृष्टा स्पृष्टिर्न). The first word must be taken to be formed of three separate members as the quotation from the Smṛtyarthasāra will show.

411. ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्यात्रायां कलहादिषु। ग्रामसन्दूषणे चैव स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते। शातातप quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 119.

412. संग्रामे हट्टमार्गे च यात्रादेवगृहेषु च । उत्सवक्रतुतीर्थेषु विप्लवे ग्रामदेशयोः ॥ महाजलसमीपेषु महाजनचरेषु च । अग्न्युत्पाते महापत्सु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति ॥ प्राप्यकारीन्द्रियं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टि त्वितरेन्द्रियम् । तयोश्च विषयं प्राहुः स्पृष्टास्पृष्टत्वभिधानतः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 79.

(p. 79) summarises the places where no blame in incurred on the ground of mixing with untouchables viz. in battle, on public roads leading to a market, in religious processions, in temples, in festivals, in sacrifices, at sacred places, in calamities or invasions of the country or village, on the banks of large sheets of water, in the presence of great persons, when there is a sudden fire or other great calamity. It is somewhat remarkable that the Smṛtyarthasāra speaks of untouchables entering temples. The Par. M. (vol. II part I p. 115) says that there is no *doṣa* when cāṇḍālas take water from a large tank (used by higher castes), but as regards small reservoirs the same rules apply to them that apply to the purification of wells touched by untouchables.[413] Vide Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 405–406 for the purification of a well.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 104)[414] prescribed that if an untouchable deliberately touched a man of the three higher castes he should be punished with beating, while Yāj. II. 234 prescribes that if a cāṇḍāla (deliberately) touches any one of the higher castes the cāṇḍāla should be fined one hundred paṇas.

Elaborate rules are laid down about the penance for drinking from the wells or vessels of untouchables, for partaking of their food (either cooked or uncooked), for staying with them and for having sexual intercourse with untouchable women. These matters will be briefly dealt with under prāyaścitta.

The so-called untouchables were not entirely excluded from worship. When it is said (as in Yāj. I. 93 or Gaut. IV. 20)[415] that the cāṇḍāla is outside all dharma, the meaning is that he is outside such Vedic rites as upanayana, not that he cannot worship the Hindu deities nor that he is not bound by the moral code. He could worship images of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu (vide note 364 above). The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage of the Devīpurāṇa that expressly authorizes *antyajas* to establish a temple of Bhairava. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa[416] X. 70. 43 says that 'even the

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413. महत्सु तु तटाकादिषु चाण्डालादिसंबन्धेपि नास्ति कश्चिद्दोषः। अल्पेषु तु कूपन्यायः। तदाह विष्णुः। जलाशयेष्वथाल्पेषु स्थावरेषु महीतले। कूपवत्कथिता शुद्धिर्महत्सु तु न दूषणम्॥ परा. मा. vol. II. part 1 p. 115.

414. कामकारेणास्पृश्यस्त्रैवर्णिकं स्पृशन् वध्यः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 104.

415. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः। गौतम IV. 20.

416. श्रवणात्कीर्तनाद् ध्यानात्पूयन्तेन्तेवसायिनः। तव ब्रह्ममयस्येश किमुतेक्षाभिमर्शिनः॥ भागवत X. 70. 43, अत्राधिकारिण उक्ताः कृत्यकल्पतरौ देवीपुराणे। .... चतुर्वर्णैस्तथा विष्णुः प्रतिष्ठाप्यः सुखार्थिभिः। भैरवोपि चतुर्वर्णैरन्त्यजानां तथा मतः।......... निर्णयसिन्धु III (;under देवप्रतिष्ठा).

antyāvasāyins are purified by listening to the praises or names of Hari, by repeating the names of Hari and by contemplation on Him, much more therefore will those (be purified) who can see or touch your images'. This however shows that to the author of the Bhāgavata it never occurred that an untouchable could see or touch the image of Viṣṇu enshrined in a temple of caste Hindus. In south India among the famous Vaiṣṇava saints called Āḻvārs, Tiruppāṇa Āḻvār was a member of the depressed classes and Nammāḻvār was a Veḷḷāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 remarks that the pratiloma castes (which include cāṇḍāla) have the right to perform vratas.[417]

In modern times the eradication of the system of untouchability is engaging the minds of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi whose fast for 21 days for effecting a change of heart among caste Hindus is famous throughout the world. The principal matters of concern to the so-called untouchables or depressed classes are facility for education in schools, removal of restrictions about places of public resort such as public wells, roads, restaurants and eating houses and entry in public temples. A good deal has been done by a few zealous workers from among the higher castes in these respects. The Christian missionaries have been doing good work among the untouchables, but their efforts are mainly devoted to direct or indirect proselytization. The conscience of the educated among the higher castes has been roused. But the total removal of untouchability is yet a matter of the distant future. The greatest draw-back is illiteracy among the masses of India. Hardly twelve per cent of the population are literate. The diffusion of literacy and the spread of the idea of the equality of all men before the law and in public are the only sure solvents of the evils associated with untouchability which have existed for ages. Popular Governments in the provinces are doing what they with their limited resources can do to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. The Government of India Act (of 1935) has given special representation to the Scheduled Castes (the name given to the depressed classes or untouchables) in the Provincial and Federal Legislatures of India. The Government of India Scheduled Castes Order of 1936

417. अतः स्त्रीशूद्रयोः प्रतिलोमजानां च त्रैवर्णिकवद् व्रताधिकार इति सिद्धम्। यत्तु गौतमवचनं प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इति तदुपनयनादिविशिष्टधर्माभिप्रायम्। मिता॰ on या. III. 262.

sets out the names of the numerous scheduled castes in the several provinces of British India. The Provincial Governments have issued circulars to enforce the rule that no discrimination be made against the scheduled castes in places of public resort and have tackled to some extent the question of the entry of untouchables in temples by passing such acts as the Bombay Act XI of 1938 viz. Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of disabilities Act) and the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act of 1939. Much will depend upon the untouchables themselves. As among the caste Hindus, the untouchables also have *inter se* numerous divisions and subdivisions each of which regards itself as superior to several others of them and will not condescend to mix with them in the public or dine with them. They must also throw up from among themselves selfless and capable leaders. This is a vast problem and the appalling evils which have been growing for ages cannot be wholly removed in a day. The leaders of the so-called untouchables also should not make exaggerated claims. For the present they should rest content with equality in public places, public services and before the law and at the most entry into public temples. But if they indulge in the tall talk of destroying the caste system at one stroke and requiring that all caste Hindus should dine with them and inter-marry with them, they may find that at least two hundred millions of caste Hindus will be dead opposed to them, and the cause of the removal of the evils of untouchability is bound to suffer a set-back. Besides it should not be forgotten that the amelioration of the condition of untouchables is bound up with the problem of the poverty of the entire rural population of India. It should not be supposed that all the untouchables are the poorest of the poor. I know from personal knowledge that many among certain classes of untouchables like the Mahars and Chaṃbhars of the Deccan are economically better off than the ordinary cultivators in many villages. The *mahars* are hereditary village servants in the Deccan and they recover from every householder bread every day as part of their remuneration or a certain measure of corn from the threshing floor. Vide Grant Duff's 'History of the Marathas' (ed. of 1863 vol. I p. 23) for the *balutedars* (village servants) among whom the *mahar* occupies an important place and Hereditary Offices Act (Bombay Act III of 1874, section 18) for Legislative recognition of their ancient rights. The population of untouchables in India has been estimated at various figures from three

crores to six crores. The Simon Commission Report (1930) vol. I. p. 40 estimated that there were about 43 millions of untouchables in the whole of India, the criterion adopted being whether pollution by touch or approach within a certain distance is caused. The ratio of untouchables to the total population of India or to the Hindu population varies greatly in different parts of India. The total Harijan (the name given to untouchables by Mahatma Gandhi) population is 14 per cent of the whole population of India. In the Bombay Presidency the ratio of Harijans to Hindus is only about eleven per cent being the lowest of all provinces and States in India, while in Bengal the ratio is about 32 per cent which is the highest in India except in Assam.[418] The High Courts in India have held that the untouchables are included among śūdras for purposes of marriage. Vide *Sohan Singh* vs. *Kabla Singh* 10 Lahore 372, *Muthusami* vs. *Masilamani* 33 Mad. 342.[419]

418. Vide Census of India (1931), vol. I part 1, p. 494.

419. Several books and papers have been recently published on the question of untouchables in India. Vide "The Psychology of a suppressed people" (1937) by Rev. J. C. Heinrich; 'Untouchable Classes of Mahārāshtra' by M. G. Bhagat.

CHAPTER V

SLAVERY

Slavery has existed as a constant element in the social and economical life of all nations of antiquity such as Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome and also of many nations of Europe.[420] It was however left to such Christian nations of the West as England and the United States of America to carry on the institution of slavery in the most horrible manner possible never dreamt of by any nation of antiquity, viz. by sending out kidnapping expeditions to Africa to collect slaves, to huddle them in ships in such unspeakably filthy conditions that half of them died on the voyage, to sell them to plantation owners and others like chattel. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I (1912) p. 711 was constrained to observe 'This system of slavery, which at least in the British colonies and slave states surpassed in cruelty the slavery of any pagan country ancient and modern, was not only recognised by Christian Governments but was supported by the large bulk of the clergy, Catholic and Protestant alike.' Slavery was abolished in the British Dominions only in 1833 and in British India by Act V of 1843.

It has been seen above (pp. 26–27) that the word 'dāsa' in the Ṛg. generally stands for the opponents of the āryas. It is possible that when the dāsas were vanquished in battle and taken prisoners they were treated as slaves. In the Ṛgveda, however, there are not many passages where the word 'dāsa' can be said to have been used in the sense of slave. In Ṛg VIII. 56. 3[421] we

420. Vide Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vol. XIV, p. 74 'To the ancient mind slavery was a fixed and accepted element of life and no moral problem was involved. That slavery already was established as a recognized institution in the Sumerian culture of the Babylonian area in the 4th millenium B. C. may be confidently assumed from the fragments of Sumerian legislation upon slaves which date from the first half of the 3rd millenium'.

421. शतं मे गर्दभानां शतमूर्णावतीनाम् । शतं दासाँ अति स्रजः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 56. 3; यो मे हिरण्यसन्दृशो दश राज्ञो अमंहत । अधस्पदा इच्चैद्यस्य कृष्टयश्चर्मम्ना अभितो जनाः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 5. 38; अदान्मे पौरुकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं त्रसदस्युर्वधूनाम् । ऋ. VIII. 19. 36.

read 'thou madest a gift to me of one hundred donkeys, of one hundred fleece-bearing ewes and one hundred dāsas'. It appears that here dāsa means slaves or serfs. In Ṛg VIII. 5. 38 the sage praises his patron Caidya Kaśu 'the common people sit down at the feet of Caidya Kaśu like men crowding round tanners of hides, (Caidya) who honoured me by giving me ten noblemen that were like gold in appearance'. Here probably there is an allusion to the gift of ten captured nobles made to the sage by Caidya Kaśu, the victor. A sage declares in Ṛg. VIII. 19. 36 'Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, gave me fifty young women'. This probably refers to the gift of female slaves (dāsīs). The Tai. S. VII. 5. 10. 1 says 'dāsīs (girl slaves) place on their heads jars full of water and singing this *madhu* and beating their feet against the ground dance round the *mārjālīya*' &c.[422] The Tai. S. II. 2. 6. 3. refers to the gift of a horse or a male (slave). 'He obtains a portion of himself who accepts (in gift) a being with two rows of teeth, (such as) a horse or a human male; on accepting an animal with two rows of teeth one should offer to Vaiśvānara a mess cooked on twelve potsherds'[423]. The Ait. Br. 39. 8 mentions large gifts such as 10,000 girls (dāsī) and 10,000 elephants made by a king to his *purohita* performing coronation. When the angel of Death tries to dissuade Naciketas from his curiosity to know the destiny of a person after death, he tempts the inquirer (Kaṭha Up. I. 1. 25) 'Here are such handsome women with chariots and musical instruments as cannot be secured (ordinarily) by men; make them, when gifted by me, serve you; do not ask me what happens after death'. The women referred to were probably meant to be serving (or slave) girls who attended on a man as maids and who could dance and sing. In the Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 23 Janaka after receiving instruction in Brahmavidyā from Yājñavalkya exclaims 'I make a gift to your honour of the Videhas together with myself for being your slave'. We read in the Chān. Up. 'In this world they speak of cows and horses, elephants and gold, wives and slaves, fields and houses as *mahimā* (greatness).'*

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422. उदकुम्भानधिनिधाय दास्यो मार्जालीयं परिनृत्यन्ति पदो निघ्नतीरिदं मधु गायन्त्यो मधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्यम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 10. 1.

423. आत्मनो वा एष मात्रामाप्नोति य उभयादत्प्रतिगृह्णात्यश्वं वा पुरुषं वा वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेदुभयादत्प्रतिगृह्य। तै. सं. II. 2. 6. 3; सोऽहं भगवते विदेहान् ददामि मां चापि सह दास्याय। बृह. उ. IV. 4. 23; गो अश्वमिह महिमेत्याचक्षते हस्तिहिरण्यं दासभार्यं क्षेत्राण्यायतनानीति। छा. उ. VII. 24. 2,

Vide also Chān. Up. V. 13. 2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 7 for references to dāsīs. These passages show that in the Vedic period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves.

Though Manu ordained (I. 91, VIII. 413, 414) that the principal duty of the śūdra was to wait upon the three higher castes or that the śūdra was created by the Creator for the service of brāhmaṇas, the śūdra who thus served a *dvijāti* as a duty was not his slave. Jaimini (VI. 7. 6)[424] makes this perfectly clear by saying that when a man makes a gift in the Viśvajit sacrifice of everything belonging to himself he cannot make a gift of the śūdra who waits upon him as his duty. Śabara in his bhāṣya adds 'the śūdra may not desire to serve the man to whom the sacrificer gives his all and the latter has no power over him if he is unwilling.'

We have seen how the Gṛhya Sūtras speak of *dāsas* being employed to wash the feet of honoured guests. It appears that the ideal placed before the masters was to treat the slave humanely. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 11[425] says that one may indeed stint oneself, one's wife or son (as to food) if guests come, but never a dāsa who does one's menial work (or a dāsa and hired servants). In the Anuśāsanaparva[426] it is stated 'one should not sell a human being who is a stranger; how much more one's own children'. In the Mahābhārata gifts of dāsas and dāsīs are very frequently mentioned. In Sabhāparva 52. 45, Vanaparva 233. 43 and Virāṭa 18. 21 gifts of 30 dāsīs to each of 88000 *snātaka* brāhmaṇas are spoken of. In Vanaparva 185. 34 Vainya is said to have given a thousand handsome dāsīs with ornaments on to Atri. Vide Droṇaparva 57. 5–9. Manu (VIII. 299–300) places a slave on the same level as one's son in the matter of corporal punishment 'the wife, the son, the slave, a menial servant, one's full brother—these when guilty of wrong may be beaten with a rope

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424. शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । जै. VI. 7. 6; 'शूद्रश्च न देय इत्यान्वादेशः । कुतः । धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । धर्मशासनोपनतत्वात्तस्य । एवमसौ तस्मै त्रैवर्णिकायोपनत इमं शुश्रूषमाणो धर्मेण संभजेत्तस्य इति । सोऽन्यस्मै दीयमानो नेच्छेदपि । न चानिच्छतस्तस्य स प्रभवति ।' शबर.

245. काममात्मानं भार्यां पुत्रं वोपरुन्ध्यान्न त्वेव दासकर्मकरम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 11.

426. अन्योऽप्यथ न विक्रेयो मनुष्यः किं पुनः प्रजाः । अधर्ममूलैर्हि धनैस्तेन धर्मोऽथ कश्चन ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 45. 23.

or a thin piece of split bamboo, but only on the back and never on the head and if a person beat them otherwise he would be punished as a thief.'

Slavery was probably not much[427] in evidence in India in the 4th century B. C. or the treatment of slaves in India was so good that a foreign observer like Megasthenes accustomed to the treatment of slaves in Greece thought that there was no slavery. Megasthenes (MacCrindle, p. 71) states that none of the Indians employs slaves (vide Strabo XV. 1. 54). That slavery existed then admits of no doubt. The Emperor Aśoka when proclaiming his Law of Piety enjoins in his 9th Rock Edict that the Law of Piety consists (among other things) in the kind (or proper) treatment of slaves (dāsas) and hired servants. In the Arthaśāstra (III. 13) Kauṭilya[428] gives very important provisions about slaves. He says that the mlecchas are not punishable if they sell or pledge their children, but an ārya cannot be reduced to slavery. He then prescribes that if a relative sells or pledges a śūdra (who is not born as a slave) or a vaiśya or kṣatriya or a brāhmaṇa (all being minors), he should be respectively fined 12, 24, 36 and 48 paṇas and that if a stranger sells or pledges the above then the vendor, the vendee and the abettors will be liable to the first, middle and highest ammercements and whipping respectively (i. e. first ammercement for sale of a śūdra by a stranger and whipping for the sale of a brāhmaṇa). But he allows the pledge of even an ārya in family distress. He refers to several kinds of slaves viz. *dhvajāhṛta* (captured in battle), *ātmavikrayin* (who sells himself), *udaradāsa* (or *garbhadāsa*, one who is born to a dāsī from a slave) or those so made for a debt (āhitika), or for a fine or court's decree (daṇḍapraṇīta). He then prescribes how they are set free from slavery. One who sells himself or is pledged or is born a slave becomes a free man by paying off respectively the amount for which he was purchased or pledged or what would be a proper price. One who is made a slave for a fine may pay off the fine by doing work. One captured in war may become free by paying according to the time he has been in bondage and the work he did or by paying half of it. The child of one who sells himself

427. Vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (1903) p. 263.

428. म्लेच्छानामदोषः प्रजां विक्रेतुमाधातुं वा। न त्वेवार्यस्य दासभावः। कौटिल्य III. 13.

remains an ārya (free man). He prescribes that if a master makes a pledged slave carry a corpse or sweep ordure, urine or leavings of food, or keeps him naked, beats him or abuses him or violates the chastity of a female slave, he forfeits the price paid by him. He prescribes the first ammercement for a master having intercourse with a pledged slave girl against her will and middle ammercement for a stranger doing so.

Manu (VIII. 415) speaks of seven kinds of dāsas, viz. one captured in battle, one who becomes so for food (i. e. in scarcity or in a famine), one born in the house (i. e. of a female slave), one bought, one given (by his parents or relatives), one inherited (as part of the patrimony), one who becomes so for paying off a fine or judicial decree. He states the general rule [429] that the wife, the son and the slave have no wealth and whatever they earn belongs to him whose wife, son or slave they are. Manu prescribes a fine of 600 paṇas for a brāhmaṇa making a member of the *dvijāti* castes after his upanayana a slave against his will.

Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā) and Kātyāyana among the smṛtikāras contain the most elaborate treatment on slavery. Nārada first says that a śuśrūṣaka (one who serves another) is of five kinds viz. a Vedic student, an antevāsin (an apprentice who is learning a craft), adhikarmakṛt (a supervisor over workmen), bhṛtaka (hired servant) and dāsa. The first four are called *karmakara.* They can be called upon to do only work that is pure, while a dāsa may have to do impure work [430] such as cleaning the entrances to the house, filthy pits (for leavings of food), the road, dunghill heaps, touching (or scratching) private parts, taking up and throwing away ordure and urine (verses 6–7), doing bodily service to the master if he so desires. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves viz. one born in the house, one bought, one acquired (by gift or other means),

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429. भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥ मनु VIII. 416. This is the same as उद्योगपर्व 33. 64 where the first half is त्रय एवाधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः; compare नारद (अभ्युपेत्याशुश्रूषा) verse 41.

430. गृहद्वाराशुचिस्थानरथ्यावस्करशोधनम् । गुह्याङ्गस्पर्शनोच्छिष्टविण्मूत्रग्रहणोज्झनम् ॥ इच्छतः स्वामिनश्चाङ्गैरुपस्थानमथान्ततः । अशुभं कर्म विज्ञेयं शुभमन्यदतः परम् ॥ नारद (अभ्यु. 6–7).

one inherited, one saved in a time of famine, one pledged by the master, one discharged from a large debt, one captured in a battle, one vanquished in a bet, one who accepts slavery by saying 'I am yours', an apostate from the order of asceticism, one who stipulates to be a slave (for a certain time), one who is a slave for food (as long as food is given to him), one who is tempted to become a slave out of love for a female slave, and one who sells himself. Nārada says that the first four of these are not freed from slavery except by the favour of the master (v. 29), while one who sells himself is the worst kind of slave and he also does not become free from slavery (v. 37). Nārada (v. 30) and Yāj. (II. 182) state a rule applicable to all slaves, viz. that when a slave saves a master from imminent danger to the latter's life the slave becomes a free man and (Nārada adds) that he gets a share in the inheritance as a son. One who is an apostate from the order of ascetics is a slave of the king till the former's death (Yāj. II. 183). One saved in a famine becomes free by giving a pair of cows, one pledged[431] if the master who pledged him repays the debt, the slave in lieu of discharge of debt by paying off the debt with interest, one who accepted slavery or who was captured in battle or became so under a bet is freed by giving a substitute who is equal to him in work, one for a stipulated period by the lapse of the period, one who is a *bhakta-dāsa* becomes free by the master ceasing to give food, one who is 'vaḍavāhṛta' (tempted by a female slave) by abandoning his intercourse with her (Nārada vv. 31-34, 36). Yāj. (II. 182) and Nārada (v. 38) say that one who was made a slave by force or was carried away by raiders and sold should be set free by the king. Yāj. (II. 183) and Nārada (v. 39) prescribe that a man can be a slave to a master only in the proper order of varṇas[432] i. e. the three varṇas next to a brāhmaṇa may be slaves to a brāhmaṇa, a vaiśya or a śūdra may be a slave to a kṣatriya but a kṣatriya cannot be the slave of a vaiśya or a śūdra, nor a vaiśya of a śūdra. There is one exception viz. an apostate from asceticism may be the slave of a vaiśya or a śūdra

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431. A slave who is pledged becomes the slave of two till the pledge is redeemed.

432. स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानाद् दासत्वं दारवद्भृगुः । त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेयं दास्यं विप्रस्य न क्वचित् ॥ वर्णानामानुलोम्येन दास्यं न प्रतिलोमतः । कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 788 ; compare नारद (अभ्यु. 39).

king. Kātyāyana emphasizes that a brāhmaṇa[433] cannot be made a slave even to a brāhmaṇa, but if he himself chooses, he may do pure work for a brāhmaṇa endowed with character and Vedic learning, but no impure work. Kātyāyana (v. 721) says that when a brāhmaṇa becomes an apostate from the order of asceticism he should be banished from the kingdom and the kṣatriya or vaiśya apostate may become a slave to the king. Dakṣa (VII. 33) quoted by Aparārka (p. 787) adds that the apostate's head should be branded with the mark of dog's foot.

Kauṭilya[434] and Kātyāyana (v. 723) both declare that if a master has sexual intercourse with a female slave and she is delivered of a child, both the slave and the child should be given freedom by the master.

Kauṭilya declared that the heirs to the wealth of a slave are his relatives and if none of them exist then the master, while Kātyāyana[435] says that the only wealth that the slave can call his own is the price he received for selling himself or what the master gave as a gift through favour.

Nārada (vv. 42–43) describes the ceremony of the manumission of a slave "when a master being pleased with a slave desires to make him a free man, he should take, from the slave's shoulder, a jar full of water and break it, he should sprinkle water mixed with whole grains of rice and flowers on the slave's head and thrice uttering the words 'you are no longer a slave' he should dismiss him with the (slave's) face to the east."

The Vyavahāramayūkha[436] quotes a verse from the Kālikāpurāṇa about an adopted son, which is very interesting 'persons adopted and the like on whom the saṁskāras of *cūḍā* (tonsure) and Upanayana are performed by the *gotra* of the adopter, become sons of (the adopter), otherwise the person (on whom such ceremonies are not performed) is held to be a slave

433. समवर्णोऽपि विप्रं तु दासत्वं नैव कारयेत् । ब्राह्मणस्य हि दासत्वान्नृपतेजो विहन्यते ॥ शीलाध्ययनसंपन्ने तदूनं कर्म कामतः । तत्रापि नाशुभं किंचित्प्रकुर्वीत द्विजोत्तमः ॥ कात्यायन (vv. 717 and 719) quoted by अपरार्क p. 789 and स्मृतिच०.

434. स्वामिनस्तस्यां दास्यां जातं समातृकमदासं विद्यात् । कौटिल्य III. 13.

435. दासस्य तु धनं यत्स्वामी तस्य प्रभुः स्मृतः । प्रसादविक्रयाद्यत्तु न स्वामी धनमर्हति ॥ कात्यायन 724 (quoted by वि. र. p. 150 and वि. चि. p. 46).

436. यत्तु कालिकापुराणे चूडोपनयनसंस्कारा निजगोत्रेण वै कृताः । दत्ताद्यास्तनया ते स्युरन्यथा दास उच्यते ॥ व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 (of my edition). This verse occurs in the दत्तकमीमांसा also where the reading is चूडाद्या यदि संस्कारा.

(of the adopter).' The Vyavahāramayūkha remarks that this passage is not reliable as it is not found in several mss. of the Kālikāpurāṇa. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves, but this is not one of them. All that the Kālikāpurāṇa probably means is that when a boy is adopted into another family after his cūḍā and upanayana are performed in the family of birth, he is not fully affiliated in the family of adoption, he does not become a son and so does not take the inheritance but is only entitled to maintenance in the family of adoption, just as a slave is to be fed. No digests have recognised such a person as a slave proper.

Nārada[437] (ṛṇādāna 12) and Kātyāyana declare that a debt contracted by a Vedic pupil, an apprentice, a slave, the wife, a menial servant and a workman for the benefit of the family even though it was incurred in his absence, was binding on the owner of the house. Ordinarily a slave was not a competent witness, but Manu VIII. 70 and Uśanas (quoted in Vyavahāramayūkha p. 37) say that when no other witness is available, a minor, an old man, a woman, a pupil, a relative, a slave or a hired servant may be a witness.

There are numerous works dealing with slavery in its various aspects. The latest book on the subject is ' Slavery through the ages' by Sir George Mac Munn (1938). Mr. D. R. Banaji has published a very painstaking and interesting study on ' Slavery in British India ' from 1772 to 1843 (2nd ed. 1937) The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published studies on several aspects such as ' Judicial Cases ' (by Mrs. Catterall in 1926) and ' Documents of the history of the Slave Trade to America, 1930 ' by Prof. Elizabeth Donnan. Dr. H. J. Nieboer's ' Slavery as an Industrial System ' (1910) is a well-documented study of slavery in various countries and at various times.

437. शिष्यान्तेवासिदासस्त्रीप्रेष्यकृत्यकरैश्च यत् । कुटुम्बहेतोरुत्क्षिप्तं दातव्यं तत्कुटुम्बिना ॥ नारद (ऋणादान v. 12); प्रोषितस्यामतेनापि कुटुम्बार्थमृणं कृतम् । दासस्त्रीमातृशिष्यैर्वा दद्यात् पुत्रेण वा प्रभुः ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 648, वि. र. p.56.

CHAPTER VI

SAṂSKĀRAS

Gautama (II. 1) says that before upanayana, a boy may act, speak and eat as and what he likes (i. e. may follow his *inclinations*). *Haradatta explains that this does not mean that* he can kill a brāhmaṇa or drink liquor, but that there is no restriction, although he be a brāhmaṇa's son, to his selling what is forbidden to a brāhmaṇa to sell, or he may eat onions and garlic or stale food or may eat four or five times a day. Āp. Dh. S.[438] (II. 1. 6. 15. 17–20) states several views on this point. 'Up to the time when they begin to take cooked food infants do not become impure (by the touch of a *rajasvalā* &c.); according to some (teachers) up till they are one year old ; or till they are not able to distinguish the cardinal points; another view is that till upanayana (they do not become impure)'. Aparārka (p. 28) also explains that a boy may (before upanayana) eat the leavings of the food of his parents, but he cannot eat or drink what would cause loss of caste as in that case he may become unfit to have the saṁskāra of upanayana performed on him. The Smṛtyarthasāra gives the view of some that in case an infant touches a cāṇḍāla before it reaches the age of taking cooked food, only water need be sprinkled on it, before caula ācamana need be done by it and after caula (and before upanayana) a bath would be necessary. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 6) quotes a verse of Hārīta to the effect 'up till investiture with the girdle of muñja grass (i. e. till upanayana) there is no action that is obligatory on him, as long as he is not born again for Vedic study he may be in his conduct like a śūdra'[439]. This verse occurs also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 6 and Manu II. 171 and 172. Dakṣa I. 3–4 says 'Till a boy is eight years old he is like one newly born and only indicates the caste in which he is born. As long as his upanayana is not performed the

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438. आन्नप्राशनाद्गर्भा नामयता भवन्ति । आ परिसंवत्सरादित्येके । यावता वा न दिशः प्रजानीयुः । ओपनयनादित्यपरम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 17–20.

439. हारीतोप्युदाहरति । न ह्यस्मिन् विद्यते कर्म किंचिदामौञ्जिबन्धनात् । वृत्त्या शूद्रसमो ह्येष यावद्वेदे न जायते । इति । वसिष्ठ II. 6; बौध. ध. सू. reads नास्य कर्म नियच्छन्ति; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 40 प्राङ्मौञ्जीबन्धनाद् द्विजः शूद्रसमो भवति ।

boy incurs no blame as to what is allowed or forbidden to be eaten, as to what should (or should not) be drunk, as to what he should or should not speak, as to telling a falsehood'.[440] But this does not hold good as to *mahāpātakas*. As to prāyaścitta when a child is guilty of the commission of a mahāpātaka, see under *prāyaścitta* later on and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253. The smṛtis look upon upanayana as the second birth of a boy (the first being his physical birth)[441]. Gaut. (X. 1 and 51) says that the three higher classes are called *dvijātis* (having two births), while the śūdra is only *ekajāti*.[442] Āp. Dh. S. says (I. 1. 1. 16–18) 'the teacher causes him (the boy who is initiated into Vedic study) to be born from vidyā (i.e. by imparting Vedic knowledge), that birth is superior, the parents produce only the body'[443]. Upanayana is like Baptism and St. John (3. 3) also says 'except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' Manu II. 147–148 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 45–46) convey the same idea. Manu (II. 169) speaks of three births in the case of a man, first birth from his mother, the second when the girdle is tied (i. e. on upanayana) and the third when he is initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Upanayana is the foremost of the saṁskāras. Atri (141–142) says 'a person is known as a brāhmaṇa by birth, he is said to be a dvija (twice-born) on account of saṁskāras, he reaches the position of a *vipra* by learning (study of the Veda); he is called śrotriya on account of all these three'.[444] Parāśara (VIII. 19) contains a fine image to illustrate this 'just as a work of painting gradually unfolds itself on account of the several colours (with which it is drawn), so *brāhmaṇya* (the status of a brāhmaṇa) is similarly

440. जातमात्रः शिशुस्तावद्यावदष्टौ समा वयः। स हि गर्भसमो ज्ञेयो जातिमात्रप्रदर्शकः॥ भक्ष्याभक्ष्ये तथापेये वाच्यावाच्ये तथानृते। अस्मिन्काले न दोषः स्यात्स यावन्नोपनीयते॥ दक्ष I. 3–4, quoted in अपरार्क (p. 28) and the second cited as from विष्णुपुराण in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 29.

441. तद् द्वितीयं जन्म। तद्यस्मात्स आचार्यः। वेदानुवचनाच्च। गौ. I. 9–11.

442. द्विजातीनामध्ययनमिज्या दानम्। शूद्रश्चतुर्थो वर्ण एकजातिः। गौ. x. 1 and 51. Vide आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 6.

443. स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति। तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म। शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 16–18.

444. जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारैर्द्विज उच्यते। विद्यया याति विप्रत्वं श्रोत्रियस्त्रिभिरेव च॥ अत्रि 141–142; ब्रह्मपुराण reads जन्मना... । विद्यया वापि विप्रत्वं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 404. चित्रकर्म यथानेकै रङ्गैरुन्मील्यते शनैः। ब्राह्मण्यमपि तद्वत्स्यात्संस्कारैर्विधिपूर्वकैः। पराशर VIII. 19; quoted as Devala's by Aparārka (p. 25) and as of Aṅgiras in Par. M. II. part I. p. 22, संस्काररत्न p. 857 and सं. प्र. p. 136.

brought out by saṁskāras performed according to prescribed rites.'

Therefore it is now time to speak of saṁskāras.

The word saṁskāra hardly ever occurs in the ancient Vedic literature, but the root 'kṛ' with 'sam' and the past passive participle 'saṁskṛta' occur often enough. In Ṛg. V. 76. 2 the word saṁskṛta is applied to 'gharma' (vessel) 'the two Aśvins do not harm the gharma that has been purified.' In Ṛg. VI. 28. 4 we have the word saṁskṛtatra' and Ṛg. VIII. 33. 9 has 'raṇāya saṁskṛtaḥ'. Śat.[445] Br. I. 1. 4. 10 speaks of preparing (or purifying) offering (*havis*) for the gods. So in Śat. Br. III. 2. 1. 22 'therefore a woman approaches a man who stands in a well-trimmed (saṁskṛta) house.' Vide Vāj. S. IV. 34 for a similar use of saṁskṛta. In Chān. Up. IV. 16. 2, we[446] read "of that sacrifice there are two ways, by mind, by speech; the Brahmā (priest) prepares (or polishes) one of them by his mind." The word saṁskāra is used several times in the sūtras of Jaimini (as in III. 1. 3, III. 2. 15 and 17, III. 8. 3, IX. 2. 9, 42, 44, IX. 3. 25, IX. 4. 33, IX. 4. 50 and 54, X. 1. 2 and 11 &c.). It generally means some purificatory act in a sacrifice e. g. in Jaimini III. 8. 3 the word is applied to the actions of shaving the head, washing the teeth and paring the nails on the part of the sacrificer in Jyotiṣṭoma; in IX. 3. 25 the word saṁskāra is applied to prokṣaṇa (sprinkling with water), in X. 2. 49 it is applied to the shaving of the head and face. In Jaimini[447] VI. 1. 35 the word saṁskāra stands for upanayana. Śabara explains[448] saṁskāra as that which being effected makes a certain thing or person fit for a certain purpose and the Tantravārtika says that saṁskāras are those actions and rites that

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445. स इदं देवेभ्यो हविः संस्कुरु साधु संस्कृतं संस्कुर्वित्येवैतदाह । शतपथ I. 1. 4. 10; तस्मादु स्त्री पुमांसं संस्कृते तिष्ठन्तमभ्येति । शतपथ III. 2. 1. 22.

446. तस्मादेष एव यज्ञस्तस्य मनश्च वाक् च वर्तनी । तयोरन्यतरां मनसा संस्करोति ब्रह्मा वाचा होता । छान्दोग्य IV. 16. 1-2. The Brahmā priest remains silent and watches the whole sacrifice to see if there be any mistake, which he corrects by prāyaścitta.

447. संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वाद्विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः । जै. VI. 1. 35.

448. संस्कारो नाम स भवति यस्मिञ्जाते पदार्थो भवति योग्यः कस्यचिदर्थस्य । शबर on जै. III. 1. 3 (p. 660); योग्यतां चादधानाः क्रियाः संस्कारा इत्युच्यन्ते । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 1078; संस्कारो हि नाम गुणाधानेन वा स्याद् दोषापनयनेन वा । शंकर on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 1. 4.

impart fitness and it further says[449] 'fitness is of two kinds; it arises by the removal of taints (sins) or by the generation of fresh qualities. Saṁskāras generate fresh qualities, while *tapas* brings about the removal of taints. He who performs such sacrifices as Jyotiṣṭoma and others has certain blemishes in him due to not doing in this life or a previous life duties laid down for him or doing what is forbidden. If they (blemishes) are not removed they obstruct the (acquisition of the) reward of the sacrifice even if it be entirely free from any defects whatever, as they (blemishes) produce (for the sacrificer) the experience of their own fruits that are opposed to the (fruit of the) sacrifice.' The Vīramitrodaya[450] (on saṁskāra) defines 'saṁskāra' as 'a peculiar excellence due to the performance of rites ordained (by the śāstra) which resides either in the soul or the body' and says that it is of two kinds, one kind making a person eligible for performing other actions (e. g. upanayana renders a person eligible for Vedic study), while another kind removes the evil taint that may have been generated (e. g. Jātakarma removes the taint due to seed and uterus). The word *saṁskāra* does not occur in most of the gṛhyasūtras (it occurs in Vaik.), but it occurs in the Dharmasūtras (vide Gaut. VIII. 8, Āp. Dh. I. 1. 1. 9, Vas. IV. 1).

The principal matters that fall to be discussed under saṁskāras are: the purpose of saṁskāras, the classification of saṁskāras, the number of saṁskāras, the procedure of each of the saṁskāras and the persons authorized to perform them and the persons for whom they are to be performed.

First as to the purpose of saṁskāras. Manu (II. 27-28) says 'In the case of dvijātis, the taints (or sins) due to seed and the uterus (i. e. derived from parents) are wiped off by the *homas* (burnt oblations) performed during pregnancy and by jātakarma (ceremonies on birth), caula (tonsure) and the tying of the girdle of muñja grass. This (human) body is rendered fit for the attainment of *brahma* by the study of the Veda, by (observance of) vratas, homas (oblations in fire), by the vrata called traividya, by worship (of gods, sages and manes), by generation of sons, by the performance of the five daily

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449. योग्यता च सर्वत्र द्विप्रकारा दोषापनयनेन गुणान्तरोपजननेन च भवति। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 1115 on जै. III. 8. 9.

450. रुद्रस्कन्द on खादिरगृह्य II. 3. 33 'एते गर्भाधानादयः संस्काराः शरीरं संस्कुर्वन्तः सर्वेषु अदृष्टार्थेषु कर्मसु योग्यतातिशयं कुर्वन्ति। फलातिशयो योग्यतातिशये च।'.

sacrifices and by (solemn Vedic) sacrifices.' The view of Yāj. (I. 13) is that 'thus (i. e. by the performance of saṁskāras) the taint arising from the seed and uterus (i. e. from the physical defects of parents) is removed.' These words of Manu and Yāj. are variously interpreted by the commentators. Medhātithi says 'seed and uterus are not the causes of sin and therefore all that is meant by *enas* (in Manu II. 27) is impurity.' Kullūka explains that blemishes of seed are those arising from intercourse in a prohibited manner and the 'gārbhika' blemish is what arises from having to stay in the womb of an impure mother. The Mit.[451] on Yāj. I. 13 makes it clear that saṁskāras are deemed to remove bodily defects transmitted from parents (such as defective limbs, diseases &c.) and are not intended to remove the taint of being born of sinful parents. Manu II. 66 also states that all the saṁskāras are performed on a woman also for the purification of the body. Hārīta[452] as quoted in the Saṁskāratattva says 'when a person has intercourse according to the procedure of *garbhādhāna* he establishes in the wife a foetus that becomes fit for the reception of the Veda, by the rite of *puṁsavana* he makes the garbha become a male, by the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana he removes from the foetus the taint derived from the parents and the accumulated taints (which are five) due to seed, blood and womb are removed by jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa and samāvartana. By these eight saṁskāras (from garbhādhāna) purity arises.' The exact significance of saṁskāras in the development of higher human personality was left rather vague in our authorities and their treatment of the purpose of saṁskāras is not very elaborate or exhaustive. The saṁskāras had been treated from very ancient times as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them. If we look at the list of saṁskāras we shall find that the purposes

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451. बीजगर्भसमुद्भवं शुक्रशोणितसंपर्क्ं गात्रव्याधिसंक्रान्तिनिमित्तं वा न तु पतितोत्पन्नत्वादि । मिता. on या. I. 13; एनोऽत्रामायत्यं मातुः पीताशनादेरुत्पन्नमित्यर्थः । अपरार्क.

452. तत्र हारीतः । गर्भाधानवदुपेतो ब्रह्मगर्भं संदधाति । पुंसवनात्पुंसीकरोति फलस्थापनान्मातापितृजं पाप्मानमपोहति रेतोरक्तगर्भोपघातः पञ्चगुणो जातकर्मणा प्रथममपोहति नामकरणेन द्वितीयं प्राशनेन तृतीयं चूडाकरणेन चतुर्थं स्नापनेन पञ्चममेतैरष्टाभिः संस्कारैर्गर्भोपघातात् पूतो भवतीति । संस्कारतत्त्व (p. 857).

of saṁskāras were manifold. Some like Upanayana served spiritual and cultural purposes, they brought the unredeemed person into the company of the elect, they opened the door to Vedic study and thus conferred special privileges and exacted duties. They have also psychological values impressing on the mind of the person that he has assumed a new role and must strive to observe its rules. Other saṁskāras like nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, and niṣkramaṇa were more or less of a popular nature. They afforded opportunities for the expression of love and affection and for festivities. Other saṁskāras like garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana had also mystical and symbolical elements. Vivāha (marriage) was a sacrament which brought about a union of two personalities into one for the purpose of the continuance of society and for the uplift of the two by self-restraint, by self-sacrifice and mutual co-operation.

The saṁskāras were divided by Hārīta into two kinds, brāhma and daiva.[453] The saṁskāras of garbhādhāna and others which are described only in the smṛtis are called brāhma and the man who is purified by performing them attains equality with sages, stays in the same world with them and is joined with them; pākayajñas (offerings of cooked food), yajñas with burnt offerings and sacrifices in which *soma* is offered are called *daiva* (saṁskāras). The last two varieties, viz. those in which there is burnt offering and those in which soma is offered, are dealt with in the śrauta sūtras, which have been left outside the purview of this work (except in the note at the end of this volume).

There is a great divergence of views among the writers on smṛtis as to the number of saṁskāras. Gaut. (VIII. 14-24) speaks of forty saṁskāras and eight virtues of the soul. The forty saṁskāras are: garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana; jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, caula, upanayana (8 in all), the four vratas of the Veda, snāna (or samāvartana), vivāha, five daily mahāyajñas (for deva, pitṛ, manuṣya,

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453. तथा च हारीतः। द्विविधः संस्कारो भवति ब्राह्मो दैवश्च। गर्भाधानादिस्मार्तो ब्राह्मः। पाकयज्ञहविर्यज्ञसौम्याश्चेति दैवः। ब्रह्मसंस्कारसंस्कृत ऋषीणां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति। दैवेनोत्तरेण संस्कृतो देवानां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति। इति। स्मृतिच. I. p. 13, परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 18, संस्कारप्रकाश p. 135. The editor of the परा. मा. says it is हारीतधर्मसूत्र XI. 1-5 (from the MS he had discovered).

bhūta and brahma); seven pākayajñas[454] (viz. aṣṭakā, pārvaṇasthālīpāka, śrāddha, śrāvaṇī, āgrahāyaṇī, caitrī, āśvayujī); seven haviryajñas (in which there is burnt offering but no soma) viz. Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Āgrayaṇa, Cāturmāsyas, Nirūḍhapaśubandha and Sautrāmaṇī); seven soma sacrifices (Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra, Āptoryāma). Gautama uses the word saṁskāra in the most extended sense. Śaṅkha as quoted by the Sm. C. (I. p. 13) and the Subodhinī on Mit. II. 4 follow Gautama. Vaik. speaks of eighteen śārīra saṁskāras (in which he includes utthāna, pravāsāgamana, piṇḍavardhana, which are seen nowhere else as saṁskāras) and twenty-two yajñas (i. e. five daily yajñas as one and seven pākayajñas, seven havir-yajñas, and seven soma yajñas). Most gṛhyasūtras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis do not enumerate so many. Aṅgiras (quoted in the Saṁskāra-mayūkha, Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 135 and other digests) mentions twenty-five saṁskāras. They include all saṁskāras of Gautama from garbhādhāna to the five daily yajñas (which latter are reckoned as one saṁskāra by Aṅgiras) and after nāmakaraṇa niṣkramaṇa is added. Besides, Viṣṇubali, Āgrayaṇa, Aṣṭakā, Śrāvaṇī, Āśvayujī, Mārgaśīrṣī (same as Āgrahāyaṇī), Pārvaṇa, Utsarga and Upākarma are enumerated as the remaining saṁskāras by Aṅgiras. Veda-Vyāsa I. 14-15 enumerates sixteen saṁskāras. Manu, Yāj., Viṣṇu Dh. S. do not give the number of saṁskāras but simply say that they are those from niṣeka (garbhādhāna) to smaśāna (i. e. antyeṣṭi). This last one is not treated of in Gautama and several gṛhyasūtras. In most of the digests the principal saṁskāras are said to be sixteen; but there is some difference of opinion even as to these sixteen.[455] For example, Jātūkarṇya as quoted in Saṁ. Pr. (p. 135) enumerates the 16 as garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annasrāśana, caula, mauñjī

454. According to some the seven pākayajñas are: aupāsanahoma, vaiśvadeva, pārvaṇa (sthālīpāka), aṣṭakā, śrāddha (monthly), sarpabali and īśānabali. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 13. The Baud. gr. I. 1. gives the seven pākayajñas as huta, prahuta, ahuta, śūlagava, balibaraṇa, pratyavarohaṇa and aṣṭakā homa. Vide S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 358 for several differing enumerations of pākayajñas.

455. तत्र संस्काराः । गर्भाधान...विवाहाश्चेत्यावश्यकाः षोडश प्रधानाः संस्काराः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 3. The 16 usually enumerated in the digests are गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, विष्णुबलि, जातकर्म, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, अन्नप्राशन, चौल, उपनयन, वेदव्रतचतुष्टय, समावर्तन, विवाह.

(upanayana), vratas (four), godāna, samāvartana, vivāha and antyeṣṭi. These slightly differ from the sixteen of Veda-Vyāsa.

The gṛhyasūtras deal with saṁskāras in two different sequences. Many of them begin with vivāha (marriage) and then proceed up to samāvartana. Some like the Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya, Bhāradvājagṛhya and Mānavagṛhya begin with upanayana.[456] Some saṁskāras like Karṇavedha and Vidyārambha are conspicuous by their absence in the gṛhyasūtras, but are added by later smṛtis and purāṇas. The following is the list of all the saṁskāras usually so called in most of the smṛti works together with a few remarks against each as to the work or works in which each is mentioned or described. The saṁskāras are arranged in the sequence of the times at which in a man's life they are performed beginning from garbhādhāna:

Ṛtu-saṁgamana—mentioned in Vaik.[457] I. 1 as distinct from garbhādhāna; it calls it niṣeka also (VI. 2) and describes it in III. 9 and garbhādhāna in III. 10. The Vaik. commences the saṁskāras with niṣeka.

Garbhādhāna : *Niṣeka* : *Caturthīkarma or-homa*:—Manu (II. 16 and 26), Yāj. I. 10–11, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (2. 3 and 27. 1) employ the word niṣeka as equivalent to garbhādhāna. In the Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya (I. 18–19), Pār. gṛ. I. 11, and Āp. gṛ. (8. 10–11) the rite called caturthīkarma or caturthīhoma takes the place of the rite called garbhādhāna elsewhere and there is no separate description of garbhādhāna in these and some similar

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456. For detailed treatment of some of the saṁskāras, vide Dr. (Mrs.) Kamalabai Deshpande's work 'the Child in ancient India' (with copious references to the gṛhya sūtras); Mrs. Stevenson's 'the Rites of the twice-born' (1920), which exhaustively reviews in the minutest details the rites of brāhmaṇas (particularly in Kathiawar and Gujarat) as observed at present. This work however gives hardly any references to original Sanskrit authorities, is permeated by the spirit of a Christian missionary and commits the mistake, usual with most Western writers, of comparing hoary Indian customs, usages and the position of women with those of the West only in the latter half of the 19th century, altogether ignoring what existed in Europe over a few hundred years ago, though it is generally written with sympathy and understanding. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. pp. 123–226 (London, 1837), Monier Williams' 'Religious thought and life in India' part I (1883), Vidyārṇava's 'on daily practices' in the 20th volume of 'the Sacred Books of the Hindus' may also be consulted.

457. ऋतौ संगमनं निषेकमित्याहुः । वैखानस VI. 2; अथ निषेकादिसंस्कारान् व्याख्यास्यामः । वैखानस I. 1.

gṛhyasūtras. The Baud. gṛ. (IV. 6. 1), the Kāṭhakagṛhya (30. 8), Gaut. (VIII. 14), Yāj. I. 11 employ the word garbhādhāna. According to Vaik. (III. 10) the garbhādhāna rite follows niṣeka or ṛtu-saṁgamana (union of married pair after menstruation) and consists in ensuring conception.

Puṁsavana :—occurs in almost all the gṛhyasūtras, in Gaut., in Yāj. (I. 11).

Garbharakṣaṇa :—mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. (I. 21). It seems to be the same as the Anavalobhana which according to the Āśvalāyana gṛ. (I. 13. 1) occurs in the Upaniṣad and which is described in Āśv. gṛ. (I. 13. 5–7).

Sīmantonnayana :—This occurs almost everywhere. Yāj. I. 11 uses the word sīmanta.

Viṣṇubali :—mentioned in Baud. gṛ. (I. 10. 13–17 and I. 11. 2), Vaik. (III. 13), Aṅgiras. It is not mentioned by Gautama and several other ancient sūtrakāras.

Soṣyantī-karma or-*homa* :—described in Khādira and Gobhila. It is called Soṣyantī-savana in Kāṭhaka-gṛhya and Kṣiprasuvana in Āp. gṛ., Bhāradvāja gṛ. and Kṣipraprasavana in Hir. gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 210). It occurs in Budhasmṛti (as quoted in Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 139).

Jātakarma :—This is described in all sūtras and smṛtis.

Utthāna :—mentioned only in the Vaik. (III. 18) and in Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 25 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 51–52).

Nāmakaraṇa :—mentioned in all smṛtis.

Niṣkramaṇa or *Upaniṣkramaṇa* or *Ādityadarśana* or *Nirṇayana* :—Yāj. I. 11 speaks of it as Niṣkramaṇa, Pār. gṛ. (I. 17) as Niṣkramaṇikā, Manu II. 34 speaks of it as Niṣkramaṇa. The Kauśikasūtra 58. 18 calls it Nirṇayana; while Baud. gṛ. (II. 2) employs the word upaniṣkramaṇa; Mānava gṛ. (I. 19. 1), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 10), Śaṅkha (in verse, II. 5) employ appropriately the name Ādityadarśana. Gaut., Āp. gṛ. and several other sūtras omit it.

Karṇavedha :—omitted in almost all ancient smṛtis; mentioned in Veda–Vyāsa smṛti (I. 19), Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12. 1), Kātyāyana-sūtra (a supplement to Pār. gṛ.)

Annaprāśana :—mentioned by almost every smṛti.

Varṣavardhana or *Abdapūrti* :—mentioned in Gobhila, Śāṅ. Pār., Baud.

Caula or *Cūḍākarma* or *Cūḍākaraṇa* :—mentioned by all smṛtis.

Vidyārambha :—not mentioned in any smṛti but only in Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 30) and Sm. C. (I. p. 26).

Upanayana :—mentioned by all. It is called vratādeśa in Veda-Vyāsa I. 14.

Vratas (four) :—mentioned by most of the gṛhyasūtras.

Keśānta or *Godāna* :—Mentioned by almost all.

Samāvartana or *Snāna* :—there is great divergence about these two. Manu (III. 4) seems to keep snāna (ceremonial bath after the period of studentship is over) as distinct from samāvartana. Gaut., Āp. gṛ. V. 12–13, Hir. gṛ. I. 9. 1, Yāj. I. 51, Pār. gṛ. (II. 6–7) employ the word snāna for both the ceremonial bath and the rites of return from the teacher's house on finishing one's studies, while Āśv. gṛ. (III. 8. 1), Baud. gṛ. (II. 6. 1), Śāṅ. gṛ. III. 1, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 15 and 31) employ the word Samāvartana.

Vivāha :—Mentioned by all as a saṁskāra.

Mahāyajñas :—five daily yajñas; mentioned by Gaut., Aṅgiras and others.

Utsarga :—(seasonal giving up of Veda studies) is mentioned as a saṁskāra in Vaik (I. 1) and by Aṅgiras.

Upākarma :—(yearly commencement of Veda study) mentioned as a saṁskāra by Vaik. (I. 1) and by Aṅgiras.

Antyeṣṭi :—mentioned by Manu II. 16 and Yāj I. 10.

It is laid down that the saṁskāras from jātakarma to cūḍākarma were to be performed in the case of the twice-born classes with Vedic mantras when the child was a male and that in the case of girls the ceremonies were to be performed but without Vedic mantras; vide Āśv. gṛ. (I. 15. 12, I. 16. 6, I. 17. 18), Manu II. 66, Yāj I. 13. But marriage in the case of the girls of the three higher classes was to be performed with Vedic mantras (Manu II, 67. Yāj. I. 13).

The saṁskāras[458] from garbhādhāna to upanayana alone were absolutely necessary in the case of all twice-born persons;

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458. अत्र गर्भाधानाद्युपनयनपर्यन्ता एव संस्काराः सर्वेषां नियताः न पुनः स्नानादयः। तथात्वे यमिच्छेत्कर्तुं तमावसेद्यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादेव प्रव्रजेदिति विरोधः स्यात्। स्मृतिच॰ I. pp. 13–14; स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 73). The words 'यदि वेतरथा ...... व्रजेत्' are जाबालोपनिषद् 4.

the saṁskāras of snāna and vivāha were not obligatory, as a man was allowed to become a saṁnyāsin (ascetic) immediately after finishing the period of studenthood (according to the Jābālopaniṣad). The Saṁskāraprakāśa enters upon an elaborate discussion as to whether jātakarma could be performed for a child that is neither a male nor a female (pp. 195–197) and arrives at the conclusion that jātakarma and other saṁskāras cannot be performed for a *klība* (impotent) child.

Another question was as to what saṁskāras could be performed for the śūdra. The view of Vedavyāsa that he could have ten saṁskāras performed (but without Vedic mantras) has been stated above (p. 159). The Baijavāpa[459] gṛhya says that seven saṁskāras are allowed to the śūdra viz. from *garbhādhāna* (or *niṣeka*) to *caula*. The view of Aparārka[460] appears to be that the eight saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to caula (in Yāj. I.11–12) were meant for all varṇas (including the śūdra). According to the Madanaratna, Rūpanārāyaṇa and the bhāṣya of Harihara as quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu, the śūdras were entitled to perform six saṁskāras viz. jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍā and vivāha and the five daily mahāyajñas. The Śūdrakṛtya-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 634) quotes a verse from the Varāhapurāṇa[461] 'this very procedure (about śrāddha) has been declared in the case of śūdras but without mantras; for the śūdra who is not entitled to repeat a mantra, a brāhmaṇa repeats the mantra' and then remarks that for a śūdra a mantra from the purāṇas is to be repeated by the brāhmaṇa priest employed, that the śūdra is not to repeat even the purāṇa mantras but has only to say 'namaḥ'. The Nirṇayasindhu[462] mentions with approval the same view of Śūlapāṇi that in all religious ceremonies for śūdras the mantras are to be taken from the purāṇas and that they are to be repeated by the brāhmaṇa priest. The Brahmapurāṇa[463] quoted

459. बैजवापगृह्येऽपि । शूद्रस्यापि निषेक-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोन्नयनजातकर्मनामकरणान्नप्राशनचौलान्यमन्त्रकाणि यथाकालमुपदिष्टानीति । वीरमित्रोदय (सं. प्र.) p. 133.

460. एतच्च चातुर्वर्ण्याभिप्रायं न द्विजातिमात्रविषयम् । तथा सत्युपनयनं विधाय वाच्यं स्यात् । अपरार्क p. 25.

461. तत्र द्रव्यदेवताप्रकाशार्थं ब्राह्मणेन मन्त्राः पाठ्याः । 'अयमेव विधिः प्रोक्तः शूद्राणां मन्त्रवर्जितः । अमन्त्रस्य तु शूद्रस्य मन्त्रो विप्रेण गृह्यते' इति वराहपुराणात् । शूद्रकृत्यतत्त्व p. 634.

462. अमन्त्रस्य तु शूद्रस्य मन्त्रो विप्रेण गृह्यते इति मरीच्युक्तेश्च । इयं परिभाषा सर्वार्था तेन शूद्रधर्मेषु सर्वत्र विप्रेण मन्त्रः पठनीयः सोऽपि पौराण एवेति शूलपाणिः । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध

463. ब्राह्मे तु 'विवाहमात्रसंस्कारं शूद्रोऽपि लभतां सदा' इत्युक्तम् । अत्र सच्छूद्रगोचरत्वेन देशभेदाद्व्यवस्था । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध.

in the Sm. C. (I. p. 24) and other digests states that no other saṁskāra than vivāha is allowed to the śūdra. On this the Nirṇayasindhu remarks that these conflicting views are to be reconciled by holding that the liberal ones apply to good (sat) śūdras and the stricter ones to low (asat) śūdras or that the rules are different in different countries.

It is to be noted that in modern times most of the saṁskāras (except garbhādhāna, upanayana and vivāha) have fallen into oblivion and are hardly ever performed even by brāhmaṇas in the manner and at the times prescribed by the smṛtis. Owing to the rapid rise in the marriageable age of brāhmaṇa girls, even the saṁskāra of garbhādhāna is falling into abeyance. Nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana are performed in a popular way but without Vedic mantras or without calling a priest to officiate. In most cases caula is performed on the day of the upanayana and samāvartana is also performed a few days after upanayana. Jātakarma and annaprāśana are performed on the same day in some parts (e. g. in Bengal). It appears that this state of things has continued for centuries. The Smṛtyarthasāra[464] (p. 3) says 'if the saṁskāras (except upanayana) are not performed at the prescribed times, the Vyāhṛtihoma should be offered and then the saṁskāras should be performed (though late). For each saṁskāra that is not performed the penance called pādakṛcchra should be performed (if the non-performance is due to some difficulty or distress), and for non-performance of caula the penance is ardha-kṛcchra. If the saṁskāras were knowingly omitted or if there was no distress then the penance is double[465] of this.' The Nirṇayasindhu quotes verses of Śaunaka[466] to this effect and then remarks that there was a conflict of views, some holding that after the penance the saṁskāras passed over should be performed all at one time,

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464. The Vyāhṛtihoma consists in offering clarified butter with the mystic syllables, bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ (or suvaḥ) uttered separately and then together. Vide Hir. gṛ. I. 3. 4 (S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 144).

465. एते कालातिक्रमे व्याहृतिहोमं कृत्वा कार्याः । एतेष्वेकैकलोपे पादकृच्छ्रः कार्यः । चौले त्वर्धकृच्छ्रः । मत्या लोपेऽनापदि च द्विगुणः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 3; for पादकृच्छ्र vide Yāj. III. 318 and मिता० thereon where अर्धकृच्छ्र also is explained.

466. अथ संस्कारलोपे शौनकः । आरभ्याधानमाचौलात्कालेऽतीते तु कर्मणाम् । व्याहृत्याग्निं तु संस्कृत्य हुत्वा कर्म यथाक्रमम् ॥ एतेष्वेकैकलोपे तु पादकृच्छ्रं समाचरेत् । चूडायामर्धकृच्छ्रं स्यादापदि त्वेवमीरितम् । अनापदि तु सर्वत्र द्विगुणं द्विगुणं चरेत् । इति । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध; स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 99) quotes a similar verse from कात्यायन 'गर्भाधानादिचौलान्ते स्वकाले विधिनाऽकृते । प्रत्येकं पादकृच्छ्रं स्याद्द्विगुणं स्यादनापदि ॥'

while others held that they should not be performed at all after undergoing penance and a third view was that if caula was left unperformed it may be performed on the same day as upanayana. The Dharmasindhu (3rd pariccheda, purvārdha) states various substitutes (which are comparatively easy) for these penances. For example, one prājāpatya penance is equal to three Pādakṛcchras. In place of prājāpatya the person guilty of the lapse may make the gift of a cow or (in the absence of a cow) may give one niṣka (320 guñjās) of gold or one half or one-fourth of it; one who is very poor may give one-eighth of a silver niṣka or corn of that value. There being these easy substitutes (*pratyāmnāya* as they were called) people gradually left off performing the several saṁskāras and concentrated themselves only on *upanayana* and *vivāha*. The whole life of a person was so very minutely worked out and overlaid with so much ritual in the gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis that the tendency to neglect and change became insistent and inevitable. This tendency was helped by the accommodating spirit of the brāhmaṇa authors of later smṛtis and digests that were ready to prescribe easier and easier substitutes for non-observance of the elaborate sacraments, pre-natal and post-natal. Haradatta in commenting on Gaut. I. 6 (upanayanam brāhmaṇasya aṣṭame) remarks 'the teacher (Gautama) expounding upanayana first and passing over the saṁskāras like garbhādhāna that precede upanayana in time conveys that upanayana is the principal saṁskāra. Therefore even if the saṁskāras like garbhādhāna did not take place owing to adverseness of fate, upanayana can be performed, but it follows that if upanayana be not performed there is no *adhikāra* (eligibility) for marriage which follows only after upanayana.' [467] In modern times in undergoing prāyaścitta for non-performance of the saṁskāras up to caula rupees two have to be paid to the priest (annas four for each of the saṁskāras not performed up to caula and annas eight for caula).[468]

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467. प्रथमभाविनो गर्भाधानादीन्संस्कारानुल्लङ्घ्योपनयनं व्याचक्षाणस्तस्य प्राधान्यं दर्शयति । तेन दैवानुपपत्त्या गर्भाधानादेरकरणेपि उपनयनं भवति । तस्याकरणे तु विवाहादिष्वनाधिकार इति सिद्धम् । हरदत्त on गौ. I. 6.

468. Vide मदनपारिजात p. 752 for कृच्छ्रप्रत्याम्नाय and संस्कारकौस्तुभ pp. 141–142 for various प्रत्याम्नायs. The modern saṁkalpa at the time of upanayana for late performance or non-performance of saṁskāras is: अमुकशर्मणः मम पुत्रस्य गर्भाधानपुंसवनसीमन्तोन्नयन-जातकर्मनामकरणान्नप्राशनचौलान्तानां संस्काराणां कालातिपत्तिजनित-(or लोपजनित)प्रत्यवायपरिहारार्थं प्रतिसंस्कारं पादकृच्छ्रात्मकप्रायश्चित्तं चूडाया अर्धकृच्छ्रात्मकं प्रतिकृच्छ्रं गोमूल्यरजतनिष्कपादपादप्रत्याम्नायद्वाराहमाचरिष्ये ।

The saṁskāras will now be described in detail. The material contained in the sūtras, smṛtis and nibandhas is so vast that only very concise statements can be made here. The method followed will be as follows. Each saṁskāra will be described from a few representative gṛhya and dharma sūtras such as the Āśv. gṛ., Āp. gṛ., and references will be given to other important works. Only important parts of procedure can be noted, minute divergences among the several works being passed over. Greater details will be given in the case of the two chief saṁskāras viz. upanayana and marriage which are in vogue even now.[469]

Garbhādhāna:—The beginnings of this ceremony are found very early. Atharvaveda V. 25 appears to be a hymn intended for the garbhādhāna rite. Atharva V. 25. 3 and 5 are verses which occur in the Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 21; the passage of the Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 13, 19–22 may be rendered thus: 'At the end of three days (after menstruation first appears) when she (wife) has bathed, the husband should make her pound rice (which is then boiled and eaten with various other things according as he desires a fair, brown or dark son or a learned son or a learned daughter)... and then towards morning, after having according to the rule of the Sthālīpāka performed the preparation of the clarified butter, he sacrifices from the Sthālīpāka little by little,

469. Besides the gṛhya sūtras, the dharmasūtras, Manu, Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis, the principal digests on saṁskāra relied upon here are the Saṁskāratattva of Raghunandana, the Saṁskāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Saṁskāra-prakāśa of Mitramiśra, the Saṁskārakaustubha of Anantadeva and the Saṁskāraratnamālā of Gopīnātha. Further, one should never lose sight of the fact that in a vast continent like India the various items in daily rites and ceremonies have always varied from age to age, from province to province and from caste to caste. Innumerable modifications were introduced and usages cropped up among the people, particularly owing to the influence of women, of which smṛtis and digests take no notice. This was the state of things even several centuries before Christ. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 11. 29. 15) closes with the aphorism 'some teachers hold that the rest of the dharmas (not described here) may be understood from (the usages of) women and of all varṇas'. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 1) states 'various indeed are the usages of the different countries and of the different villages; one should observe them in marriage ceremonies.' This work does not profess to give the bewildering differences of the several śākhās and the several provinces of Modern India, but will restrict itself principally to Western India and the Āśv. sūtra, though important variations have been pointed out in many places.

saying 'This is for Agni, svāhā ; this is for Anumati, svāhā ; this is for divine Savitṛ the true creator, svāhā ! Having sacrificed he takes out the rest of the rice, eats it and after having eaten he gives some of it to his wife. Then he washes his hands, fills a water jar and sprinkles her thrice with water saying ' Rise, oh Viśvāvasu, seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband.' Then he embraces her and says ' I am Ama, thou art Sā. Thou art Sā, I am Ama. I am the Sāman, thou art the Ṛk. I am the sky, thou art the earth. Come, let us strive together that a male child may be begotten' (VI. 4. 21-22 cannot be literally translated for reasons of decency). Briefly the husband has intercourse with her and repeats certain mantras ' may Viṣṇu make ready your private parts, may Tvaṣṭā frame your beauty, may Prājāpati sprinkle and may Dhātā implant an embryo into you; Oh Sinīvālī ! Oh Pṛthuṣṭukā ! implant embryo (in her), may the two Aśvins who wear a garland of lotuses plant in thee an embryo .... As the earth has fire inside it, as heaven has Indra inside it, as the wind is inside (as the embryo of) the quarters, so I plant a *garbha* in thee, oh, so and so (the name of the woman being taken)'.[470] In the Āśv. gr. (I. 13. 1) it is expressly stated that in the Upaniṣad the ceremonies of Garbhalambhana (conceiving a child), Puṁsavana (securing a male child) and Anavalobhana (guarding against dangers to the embryo) are mentioned. Evidently this is a reference to the Bṛ. Up. quoted above (where four mantras used in the garbhādhāna saṁskāra by Hir. and other gṛhya sūtras occur).

The rite called *caturthīkarma* is described in the Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. (I. 18-19, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 44-46) as follows "Three

470. Vide Appendix for text and S. B. E. vol 15, pp. 220-221 for the translation of the passage. Max Muller notes that the passage 'amohasmi' occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 71, that a similar passage (where instead of 'sā tvam' there is 'sa tvam') occurs in Ait. Br. VIII. 27 and that in the Chāndogya Up. I. 6. 1 sā is explained as earth and 'ama' as fire. The mantra 'may Viṣṇu...embryo into you' is Ṛg. X. 184. 1= Atharvaveda V. 25. 5, and the mantra 'oh Sinīvālī...an embryo' is Ṛg. X. 184. 2= Atharva V. 25. 3 (where 'Sarasvati' is read for 'pṛthuṣṭuke'. The Nirukta (XI. 32. on Ṛg. II. 32. 6 where we have an invocation to Sinīvālī in the words 'give us progeny', प्रजां देवि दिदिड्ढि नः) explains 'pṛthuṣṭuke' as 'pṛthujaghane' (having large buttocks or large mass of hair). The words 'garbham dadhātu' probably suggested the name 'garbhādhāna given to this rite. The Hir. gṛ. I. 7. 25. 1. has the above two mantras and also the mantra 'as the earth &c' (and another mantra also) which four occur in Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 21-22 ; vide S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199.

nights after marriage having elapsed, on the fourth the husband makes into fire eight offerings of cooked food to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya (the mantra being the same for all three except the name of the deity), Aryaman, Varuṇa, Pūṣan (mantras being the same for these three), Prājāpati (the mantra is Ṛg. X. 121. 10), to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. Then he pounds the root of Adhyaṇḍā plant and sprinkles it into the wife's nostril with two verses (Ṛg. X. 85. 21–22) with svāhā at the end of each. He should then touch her, when about to cohabit, with the words 'the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu art thou'. Then he should murmur 'into the breath I put the sperm, Oh ! so and so (the name of the wife) or he repeats the verse 'as the earth has fire inside &c. (quoted above from Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 22) or several other verses in this strain 'may a male embryo enter thy womb as an arrow into the quiver; may a man be born here, a son, after ten months ".[471] The Pār. gṛ. (I. 11, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 288–290) also has a similar procedure. Āp. gṛ. (8. 10–11, S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 267–268), Gobhila II. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 51–52) give briefly a similar procedure, but refer to mantras given in the Mantrapāṭha (e. g. Āp. M. P. I. 10. 1. to I. 11. 11). To modern minds it appears strange that intercourse should have been surrounded by so much of mysticism and religion in the ancient sūtras. But in ancient times every act was sought to be invested with a religious halo ; so much so that according to Hir. gṛ. I. 7. 25.3. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 200) Ātreya held that mantras were to be repeated at each cohabitation throughout life, while Bādarāyaṇa prescribed that this was necessary only at the first cohabitation and after each monthly course.[472] The Hir. gṛ. (I. 7, 23. 11 to 7, 25, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 197–200) gives a very elaborate rite, but on the same lines as the above gṛhyasūtras. One of the mantras is interesting on account of its reference to the cakravāka birds (I. 7. 24. 6), 'The concord that belongs to the cakravāka birds, that is brought out of the rivers of which the divine Gandharva is possessed, thereby we are concordant' (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 198). The Vaik. (III. 9) calls this ceremony ṛtusaṁgamana and is similar to Āp. gṛ. and Hir. gṛ. It will be seen that the

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471. The mantra 'आ ते योनिं गर्भ एतु पुमान् बाण इवेषुधिम्। आ वीरोऽत्र जायतां पुत्रस्ते दशमास्यः॥' is अथर्ववेद III. 23. 2. This occurs also in हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 7. 25. 1.

472. भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 20 ascribes these views respectively to Āśmarathya and Ālekhana 'सर्वाण्युपायनानि मन्त्रवन्ति भवन्तीत्याश्मरथ्यो यथादौ पर्वर्तावित्यालेखनः'॥

caturthīkarma is treated by the gṛhya writers as part of the marriage rites and the rite was performed irrespective of the question whether it was the first appearance of menses or whether the wife had just before the marriage come out of her monthly illness. This indicates that it was taken for granted that the wife had generally attained the age of puberty at the time of marriage. As the marriageable age of girls came down it appears that the rite of caturthīkarma was discontinued and the rite was performed long after the ritual of marriage and appropriately named *garbhādhāna.*

The smṛtis and nibandhas add many details some of which will have to be noticed. Manu (III. 46) and Yāj. I. 79 say that the natural period (for conception) is sixteen nights from the appearance of menses. Āp. gṛ. 9. 1 says[473] that each of the even nights from the 4th to 16th (after the beginning of the monthly illness) are more and more suited for excellence of (male) offspring. Hārīta also says the same. These two appear to allow garbhādhāna on the fourth night, but Manu (III. 47), Yāj. (I. 79) lay down that the first four nights must be omitted. Kātyāyana, Parāśara (VII. 17) and others say that a woman in her menses is purified by bathing on the 4th day. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (III. 1) says that the garbhādhāna ceremony should be performed on the first appearance of menses after the 4th day has elapsed. The Sm. C. suggests that the 4th may be allowed if there is entire cessation of the flow.[474] Manu (IV. 128) and Yāj. I. 79 added further restrictions viz. that new moon and full moon days and the 8th and 14th tithis of the month were also to be omitted. Astrological details were added by Yāj. I. 80 (that the Mūla and Maghā constellations must be avoided and the moon must be auspiciously placed) and other later smṛtis, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon. In the later smṛtis like Laghu-Āśvalāyana III. 14-19 and in *nibandhas* like the Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu elaborate discussions are held about the months, tithis, week-

473. चतुर्थिप्रभृत्याषोडशीमुत्तरामुत्तरां युग्मां प्रजानिःश्रेयसमृतुगमन इत्युपदिशन्ति। आप. गृ. सू. 9. 1, S. B. E. vol 30 p. 268.

474. यत्तु गर्भाधानमधिकृत्य हारीतेनोक्तं चतुर्थेऽह्नि स्नातायां युग्मासु चेति तच्चतुर्थेऽह्नि रजोनिवृत्तौ द्रष्टव्यम्। स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 15; एतदेवाभिप्रेत्य कात्यायनः। रजस्वला चतुर्थेऽह्नि स्नानाच्छुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्। इति, quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. p. 15; स्नाता रजस्वला या तु चतुर्थेऽहनि शुध्यति। कुर्याद्रजोनिवृत्तौ तु दैवपित्र्यादिकर्म च॥ पराशर VII. 17; गर्भाधानं द्विजः कुर्यादृतौ प्रथम एव हि। चतुर्थे दिवसादूर्ध्वं पुत्रार्थी दिवसे समे॥ लघ्वाश्व. III. 1.

days, nakṣatras, colour of clothes, that were deemed to be inauspicious for the first appearance of menses and about the *śāntis* (propitiatory rites) for averting their evil effects. Āp. gṛ., Manu (III. 48), Yāj. (I. 79), Vaik. III. 9 hold that a man desirous of male issue should cohabit on the even days from the 4th day after the appearance of menses and if he cohabits on uneven days a female child is born. Hir. gṛ.[475] I. 7. 24. 8 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199) and Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 20) prescribe that a woman in her menses who takes a bath on the 4th day should attire herself in white (or pure) clothes, should ornament herself and talk with (worthy) brāhmaṇas (only). The Vaik. (III. 9) further adds that she should anoint herself with unguents, should not converse with a woman, or a śūdra, should see no one else except her husband, since the child born becomes like the male whom a woman taking a bath after the period looks at. Śaṅkha-Likhita convey a similar eugenic suggestion,[476] viz. 'Women give birth to a child similar in qualities to him on whomsoever their heart is set in their periods.'

A debatable question is whether garbhādhāna is a saṁskāra of the garbha (the child in the womb) or of the woman. Gaut. VIII. 24, Manu. I. 16, and Yāj. I. 10 indicate that it is a saṁskāra of the *garbha* and not of the woman. Viśvarūpa[477] on Yāj. I. 11 expressly asserts that all saṁskāras except *Sīmantonnayana* have to be performed again and again (as they are the saṁskāras of the garbha), while Sīmantonnayana being a saṁskāra of the woman has to be performed only once and this opinion was in consonance with the usage in his days. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. 17) also holds the same view. Medhātithi[478] on Manu II. 16 says that the garbhādhāna rite with mantras was performed after marriage only once at the time of the first cohabitation according to some, while according to

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475. चतुर्थ्यां स्नातां प्रयतवस्त्रां ब्राह्मणसंभाषां ...... भारद्वाजगृह्य I 20; स्नात्वा श्वेतवस्त्रानुलेपना स्त्रीशूद्राभ्यामनभिभाष्यापरमदृष्ट्वा भर्तारं पश्येद्यस्मात्तत्स्नाता यादृशं पुरुषं पश्येत्तादृशी प्रजा भवति। वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III. 9.

476. यस्मिन् भावोऽर्पितः स्त्रीणामार्तवे तच्छीले जनयन्ति यथा नीलवृषेण नीलवृषवत्सम्भवः श्वेतेन श्वेत एव जायते। शङ्खलिखित quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्यव. p. 241) and वि. र. p. 441.

477. प्रतिगर्भं चापसीमन्तोन्नयनाः प्रवर्तन्ते। तस्य स्त्रीसंस्कारत्वात्। ...गर्भाधानं स्वर्थाद्वैवावर्तते। लिङ्गाच्च पुंसवनम्। ...एवं च समाचारानुग्रहः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 11.

478. गर्भाधानं च विवाहादनन्तरं प्रथमोपगमे विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयत्विति विहितम्। परेषामागर्भग्रहणात्प्रत्यृतु। मेधा. on मनु II. 16.

others it was to be performed after every menstruation till conception. Later works like the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 11), the Sm. C., the Saṁskāratattva (p. 909) hold that garbhādhāna, puṁsavana[479] and sīmantonnayana are saṁskāras of the woman and are to be performed only once and quote Hārīta in support. Aparārka holds that sīmantonnayana is performed only once at the first conception, while puṁsavana is repeated at each conception. He relies on Pār. gṛ. I. 15; and the Saṁskāra-mayūkha and the Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 170–171) hold the same opinion. Sm. C. (I. p. 17) quotes a verse of Viṣṇu that according to some even sīmantonnayana is repeated at each conception. About the rules for women who are *rajasvalā* (in their monthly course) vide later on.

According to Kullūka (on Manu II. 27), the Sm. C. (I. p. 14) and other works garbhādhāna is not of the nature of *homa*. The Dharmasindhu says that when garbhādhāna takes place on the first appearance of menses, homa for garbhādhāna is to be performed in the gṛhya fire, but there is no homa when the cohabitation takes place on the second or later appearance of menses; that those in whose sūtra no homa is prescribed should perform the garbhādhāna rite on the proper day after the first appearance of menses by reciting the mantras but without homa. The Saṁskārakaustubha (p. 59) relying on Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa prescribes homa in which cooked food is to be offered to Prajāpati and seven offerings of ājya are to be offered in fire, three with the verses 'Viṣṇur–yonim' (Ṛg. X. 184. 1–3), three with 'nejameṣa' (Āp. M. P. I. 12. 7–9) and one with Ṛg. X. 121. 10 (prajāpate na).

All saṁskāras other than garbhādhāna can be performed by any agnate in the absence of the husband (vide Saṁskāra-prakāśa[480] p. 165).

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479. देवलः। सकृच्च संस्कृता नारी सर्वगर्भेषु संस्कृता। तेन गर्भाधानपुंसवनसीमन्तोन्नयनानि सकृदेव कर्तव्यानि। संस्कारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (p. 909), हारीतः। सकृत्संस्कृतसंस्काराः सीमन्तेन द्विजस्त्रियः। यं यं गर्भं प्रसूयन्ते स सर्वः संस्कृतो भवेत्॥ अपरार्क p. 25 and स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 17; vide मिता. on या. I. 11 where a full verse of देवल is quoted, which combines the latter half of हारीत with the half verse of देवल quoted above.

480. 'ब्रह्मपुराणम्। गर्भाधानादिसंस्कर्ता पिता श्रेष्ठतमः स्मृतः। अभावे स्वकुलीनः स्याद् बान्धवो वान्यगोत्रजः॥ ... ... आर्यावर्तसमुद्भूतः स्वशाखी (स्वशाखी?) श्रेष्ठ उच्यते।' संस्कारप्रकाश p. 165; तत्र वृद्धगर्गः। पिता पितामहो भ्राता ज्ञातयो गोत्रजाग्रजाः। उपायनेऽधिकारी स्यात्पूर्वाभावे परः परः॥ पितैवोपनयेत्पुत्रं तदभावे पितुः पिता। तदभावे पितुर्भ्राता तदभावे तु सोदरः। इति पितामहस्मरणात्। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 407. In the निर्णयसिन्धु (III पूर्वार्ध) the verse पिता पितामहो is ascribed to वृद्धगर्ग.

As homa is necessary in numerous ceremonies and rites, the gṛhyasūtras give a description of a model homa. Therefore here also it would be well to set out the description from the Āśvalāyana [481] Gṛhyasūtra (I. 3, S. B. E. vol 29 pp. 162–163), a few important points of difference being added from other gṛhyasūtras and other works.

" Now wherever (a person) intends [482] to offer a sacrifice he should besmear (with cowdung) a *sthaṇḍila* (a slightly raised square surface of sand or loose earth) of the dimension at least of an arrow on all (four) sides; let him then draw six lines (in all) on it, one to the west (of that part of the sthaṇḍila on which the fire is to be placed) but turned northwards, two lines turned towards the east but separately at the two ends (of the line first drawn); (then he should draw) three lines in the middle (of the two); let him then sprinkle (the sacred sthaṇḍila) with water, establish the (sacred) fire (on the sthaṇḍila), put (two or three samidhs) on the fire; then he should perform *parisamūhana* (i. e. wiping or sweeping the ground round the fire), then paristaraṇa (i. e. strewing darbha grass round) to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north (in order); in this way (all acts like parisamūhana, paristaraṇa &c.) should end in the north. Then silently he should sprinkle (water) round (the fire). (2) With two (kuśa blades used as) strainers (pavitra) the purifying of the ājya is done. (3) Having[483] taken two kuśa blades with unbroken ends, which do not bear a young shoot in them, of the measure of a span, at their ends with his thumb and fourth finger, with hands turned the inside being upwards, he purifies the ājya (from the west) towards the east with (the words) 'by the urging of Savitṛ I purify thee with this uninjured *pavitra*, with the rays of the Vasu (i. e. rich or good) sun', once with this *mantra*, twice silently. (4) The strewing of kuśa grass (paristaraṇa) round the fire may or may not be done in the ājya homas (i. e. sacrifices in which clarified butter alone is to be offered into the fire). (5) So also the two ājya portions (may optionally be offered) in the Pākayajñas. (6) And (the

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481. Vide Appendix for the text of आश्व. गृ. I. 3.

482. यत्र क्वचनाग्निमुपसमाधास्यन् स्यात् तत्र प्राचीरुदीचीश्च तिस्रस्तिस्रो रेखा लिखित्वाद्भिरवोक्ष्याग्निमुपसमिन्ध्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 1. 13.

483. तूष्णीमाघारावाघार्याज्यभागौ जुहुयादग्नये स्वाहा सोमाय स्वाहेति । उत्तरमाग्नेयं दक्षिणं सौम्यम् । विज्ञायते चक्षुषी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ । आश्व. गृ. I. 10. 13–15. The ājya to Agni is offered to the north of the fire and that to Soma to the south of it.

employment in all Pākayajñas) of the brahmā priest is optional except in the Dhanvantari sacrifice and Śūlagava sacrifice. (7) He should offer the sacrifice with the words 'to such and such a deity, svāhā'. (8) If there is no specific direction (as to the deities to whom the offerings are to be made), the deities are Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viśve Devas (all gods), Brahmā.[484] At the end there is an offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (vide Appendix under note 481 for the mantra).

In the Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. I. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 22–31) the procedure described is more elaborate and contains some important differences. The performer (I. 7. 6–7) draws one line in the middle of the sacrificial surface from south to north and from this line only three lines are drawn upwards, one to the south of it, one in the middle, and one to the north (i. e. there are only four lines and not six as in Āśvalāyana). Further it (I. 8. 6–7) says that the seat of the brahmā priest is to the south of the sthaṇḍila and he is honoured with flowers. Śāṅkhāyana adds (I. 8. 8.) the detail that the praṇītā waters are carried forward on the north side and (I. 8. 9–11) that paristaraṇa follows after the carrying forward of the praṇītā waters. It also adds (I. 8. 24–25) that waters in the sruva spoon are purified just as ājya is purified and then a portion of the water in the sruva is poured on to the praṇītā water and the rest of the water in the sruva is called the prokṣaṇī water with which the *havis*, the idhma (fuel) and *barhis* (kuśas) are sprinkled. Śāṅkhāyana I. 9. 1 lays down that sruva spoon is the vessel in all gṛhya rites (and not juhū as in śrauta rites) except where a special rule to the contrary is stated. The Pār. gṛ. I. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 269–270) and the Khādira gṛ. I. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 376–378) describe the model homa in a very concise manner. The Gobhila gṛ. (I. 1. 9–11, and I. 5. 13–20, I. 7. 9, I. 8. 21), Hir. gṛ. (1. 1. 9–I. 3. 7 S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 138–145) describe it at great length. The sthaṇḍila should be prepared on a level spot or on a spot that slopes towards the east or north or north-east (vide Hir. gṛ. I. 1. 9, S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 138). The sthaṇḍila should be raised to the height

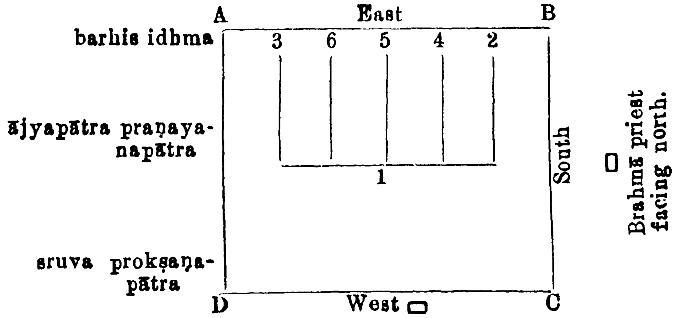
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484. In the gṛhya rites ordinarily no brahmā priest is present, but he is represented by a bundle of kuśa grass (50 blades). For धन्वन्तरियज्ञ and शूलगव *vide* respectively आश्व. गृ. I. 12. 7 and IV. 9. The deities when none are specified or indicated are different according to other sūtras e. g. भरद्वाजगृह्य states them to be अग्नि, सोम, प्रजापति, विश्वे देवाः and अग्नि स्विष्टकृत् (I. 4.)

of two or four finger breadths or as much as the sand or loose earth that one has brought will allow; and the sthaṇḍila is to be a square, each side of which is given variously as being an arrow (18 aṅgulas) in length, or 32 finger breadths (according to Vaik.), or one *aratni* (=21 aṅgulas according to Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā I. 5. 3).[485]

The Āp. gṛ. describes at length the procedure common to all homas.

The following figures would illustrate the position of the sthaṇḍila, the lines drawn thereon, the position of the sacrificer and of the various articles required at the time of homa &c.

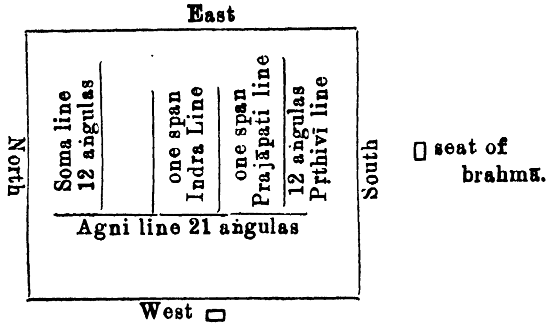


Sacrificer facing the east.

ABCD is the sthaṇḍila of sand or loose earth; 1–6 are the lines drawn with a samidh on which the fire is to be placed. The above figure represents the position of all materials in an ājya homa (i. e. offering of clarified butter) only; but when there is *darvihoma* (offering of boiled food in a darvi or ladle) the materials on the north side are *carusthālī* and prokṣaṇapātra, darvi and sruva, camasa and ājyapātra, idhma and barhis

485. प्राचीनप्रवणे उदीचीनप्रवणे प्रागुदक्प्रवणे समे वा देशे उद्धत्यावोक्ष्य ...। हिरण्य. गृ. I. 1. 9. अपरार्क quotes (p. 905) a smṛti that a *vitasti* is equal to 12 aṅgulas and aratni is equal to two vitastis, while हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड part 1 p. 51) quotes from the Ādityapurāṇa a passage where an aratni is said to be equal to 21 aṅgulas. In कात्यायनश्रौत 16. 8. 21 the height of a man is given as five aratnis.

(according to Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa 14) and Kumārila-kārikā I. 2. 20.)



Sacrificer facing the east.

The above is the figure of the sthaṇḍila and the lines thereon in all gṛhya rites according to Baudhāyana-gṛhya-saṁgraha-pariśiṣṭa (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 540) I. 52–58. The distance between the lines running towards the east is six aṅgulas and it will be noted that all the lines are only five (and not six).

The brahmā is the only priest (out of the four principal ṛtviks) in sacrifices that are offered in one fire (i. e. in the gṛhya fire) and are called *pākayajñas* and the yajamāna (sacrificer) is himself the hotṛ priest.[486] The order of the several parts in the homa is as follows:[487] upalepana (smearing with cowdung), arranging of sthaṇḍila with sand or earth; drawing lines on the sthaṇḍila with a *samidh* (fuel stick), keeping the *samidh* on the lines with its end towards the east, sprinkling sthaṇḍila with water on its north or east, keeping the samidh (with which lines were drawn) outside the sthaṇḍila towards the north-east, then ācamana (by the sacrificer), then placing fire (either produced by attrition or brought from the house of a śrotriya or the ordinary one) on the sthaṇḍila facing the performer, placing two or three samidhs on the fire, keeping ready of idhma (15 samidhs) and a bunch of darbha grass. Then parisamūhana (wiping the ground round the fire from north-east with the hand that has water in it), then paristaraṇa (strewing darbha grass round the altar first to the east, then to the south, then to the west and lastly to the north), then silent paryukṣaṇa (sprinkling of water thrice round the fire, each

486. ब्रह्मैवैक ऋत्विक् । पाकयज्ञेषु स्वयं होता भवति । गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 8–9 पाकयज्ञ इत्याख्या यः कश्चैकाग्नौ । खादिरगृह्य I. 1. 20.

487. This is based on Nārāyaṇa's com. on Āśv. gṛ. I. 3. 1–3.

time taking water in the hand separately), then apaḥ-praṇayana (carrying forward the water to the north of the fire) in a vessel of bell-metal or earthenware, then ājyotpavana (purification of the clarified butter with two kuśa blades as strainers[488] thrice, once with mantra and twice silently), the two āghāras and the two oblations of ājya. Then the principal oblations as directed in the various sūtras, then finally an oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. The method of offering an oblation is to repeat the mantra preceded by om and to add svāhā at the end, to put the āhuti (oblation) on fire and to say 'this is for such and such a god and not mine '.[489]

The Āśv. gṛhya-sūtra (I. 4) further adds that in caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage there are (as part of these ceremonies) first four oblations of clarified butter to be made with the three mantras (Ṛg. IX. 66. 10-12) ' Oh Angi, thou purifiest life &c ' and with the one verse ' Prajāpati ! no other than thou &c ' (Ṛg. X. 121. 10) or with the vyāhṛtis, [489] or

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488. In some works pātrāsādana is taught after paristaraṇa and paryukṣaṇa (vide Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 3. 3.). It consists in placing the several vessels to the north of the fire on darbha grass in pairs with both hands, the faces of the vessels being turned down. Then he takes two blades (as described in Āśv. gṛ. I. 3. 4) as *pavitras* and places them in the prokṣaṇapātra the face of which is turned up and pours water in the prokṣaṇapātra and thrice purifies the water with them, then the other vessels are turned upwards, the bundle of idhma is loosened and all vessels are sprinkled with water, then the praṇītāpātra is placed to the west of the fire, the two pavitras (kuśa blades used as strainers are placed inside it and water is poured into the praṇītāpātra and sandalwood paste is mixed with it, the vessel is raised level with one's nose and placed to the north of the fire on darbhas, and covered with darbhas. This is pātrāsādana. Nārāyaṇa mentions also other acts not specified by Āśvalāyana which may be done even by a person following that sūtra viz. carrying a firebrand (burning blade of darbha) round the clarified butter and cleansing of *sruc* and *sruva*, and throwing of the rope that tied together idhma into the fire at the end of the oblation to Sviṣṭakṛt.

489. In offering an oblation to Dhātṛ one would say ' ओं धाता ददातु नो रयिमीशानो जगतस्पतिः । स नः पूर्वेण वावनत् । स्वाहा । धात्र इदं न मम '. The four oblations with the vyāhṛtis would be भूः स्वाहा, भुवः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, भूर्भुवः स्वः स्वाहा. Aghāra consists in pouring in a continuous stream clarified butter for Prajāpati on the fire from the north-west to the south-east once and then from the south-west to the north-east for Indra. Vide Āp. śr. sūtra II. 12. 7 and II. 14. 1 and Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 10. 13. For ājyabhāga see note 483.

according to some teachers with a combination (of the ṛk verses and vyāhṛtis),[490] while according to others there are no such special oblations.[491]

In modern times, after the sthaṇḍila is sprinkled with water, fire is established on it under various names depending on the rite to be performed e. g. in upanayana and marriage respectively the fire is called[492] 'Samudbhava' and 'Yojaka'. Then fuel sticks already sprinkled with holy water are placed on the fire and it is fanned into a flame and prayer is offered to it in the words 'agne Vaiśvānara Śāṇḍilya meṣadhvaja mama sammukho varado bhava'. Then follow parisamūhana and other acts stated above.

Just as homa is required in most gṛhya rites there are certain matters common to almost all rites. One is that in all saṁskāras one has to feed brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas.[493] All rites begin with *ācamana* by the performer, prāṇāyāma by him, reference to the deśa (place) and kāla (time) and a *saṁkalpa* (a declaration of what rite he is performing and for what purpose). After these, according to medieval works, follow in all auspicious rites the worship of Gaṇapati, puṇyāhavācana, the worship of Mātṛs (mother goddessess) and Nāndīśrāddha. According to some there is only one saṁkalpa for all these; according to others there is a separate saṁkalpa for each of puṇyāhavācana, mātṛkāpūjana and Nāndīśrāddha. In all auspicious rites the performer takes a bath first, ties his topknot, has a piece of ground cowdunged and lines with coloured materials are drawn on a portion of the ground, two auspicious *kalaśas* (jars) filled with water are placed on such ornamented ground with their mouths covered with a pot, all articles necessary for worship are placed to the north of the spot, two

490. i. e. there will be eight oblations (4 with ṛks and 4 with vyāhṛtis).

491. i. e. there are no oblations with the 4 verses nor with the four vyāhṛtis, but oblations will have to be offered to those deities that are prescribed as the deities where no special rule exists (vide Āśv. gṛ. 1. 3. 8 set out above at p. 208).

492. Vide सं. र. मा. pp. 58–59 where these names of the fires in the several saṁskāras and rites are set out. The Dānakriyākaumudī (pp. 205–206) quotes from Kapila Pañcarātra over 30 names of the fires kindled in the several rites and ceremonies.

493. शुचीन्मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत्। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9; यदाह कात्यायनः। गर्भाधानादिसर्वेषु ब्राह्मणान् भोजयेद्दश। अपरार्क p. 32.

wooden low stools or planks are arranged to the west of the spot so decorated, the performer sits on one plank facing the east, his wife sits to his right and if the ceremony is meant for his son, the latter sits to the right of the wife; the brāhmaṇas are seated a little away to the right of the wife, facing the north and the performer sips water (takes ācamana). Except[494] where a religious rite is to be performed on a fixed day (e. g. anniversary śrāddha &c.) all saṁskāras and other auspicious rites are to be performed at certain auspicious times only.

Gaṇapatipūjana :—This consists in inviting the presence of the elephant-faced god Gaṇeśa on a betelnut placed in a handful of husked rice. The word Gaṇapati is used in the Ṛgveda as an attribute of Brahmaṇaspati (the lord of prayer or holy lore). The well-known mantra ('gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatim havāmahe' Ṛg. II. 23. 1) which is used to invoke Gaṇeśa is addressed to Brahmaṇaspati. Indra is addressed as Gaṇapati in Ṛg. X. 112. 9. In the Tai. S. IV. 1. 2. 2 and Vāj. S. paśus (and the horse specially) are said to be the Gāṇapatya of Rudra. The Ait. Br. IV. 4[495] expressly says that the mantra 'gaṇānām tvā' is addressed to Brahmaṇaspati. In the Vāj. S. 16. 25 we have the plural (Gaṇapatibhyaśca vo namo') and in 22. 30 we have the singular 'Gaṇapataye svāhā'. The peculiar features of Gaṇeśa as described in the medieval works, viz. the head of an elephant, pot belly, mouse as vāhana (conveyance) are entirely wanting in the Vedic literature. In Vāj. S. III. 57 the mouse[496] is said to be the paśu (animal to be offered to) of Rudra. In the Tai. Ār. (X. 15) there is a verse[497] 'We contemplate Vakratuṇḍa, therefore may the tusked (god) impel us'. In the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras there is no reference to the worship of Gaṇeśa at the beginning of all auspicious rites. That is comparatively a later cult. In the Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5. 83–90, S. B. E. vol. 14. p. 254) the Devatarpaṇa includes the propitiation of Vighna, Vināyaka, Vīra, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,

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494. उदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः। आश्व. गृ. सू. I. 4. 1; भारद्वाज I. 1. 'आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विशेषेण पुंनामधेये'

495. गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे इति ब्राह्मणस्पत्यं ब्रह्म वै बृहस्पतिर्ब्रह्मणैवैनं तद् भिषज्यति। ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 4.

496. एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्राम्बिकया तं जुषस्व स्वाहैष ते रुद्र भाग आखुस्ते पशुः। वाज. सं. III. 57; vide also तै. सं. I. 8. 6. 1.

497. तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे वक्रतुण्डाय धीमहि। तन्नो दन्तिः (दन्ती?) प्रचोदयात्॥ तै. आ. X. 1.

Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta and Lambodara. But this part of the Baud. Dh. S. is of doubtful authenticity. All the above are the appellations of Vināyaka (vide Baud. gṛhya-śeṣasūtra III. 10. 6). In the Mānava gṛhya II. 14 it is said that the Vināyakas are four viz. Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana. They are evil spirits and people when seized by them have bad dreams and see in them inauspicious sights such as shaved persons, persons with matted hair or wearing yellowish garments, camels, hogs, asses, cāṇḍālas. When seized by them, princes, though capable, do not get their kingdoms; maidens, though endowed with all accomplishments, cannot secure husbands; married women have no children or even virtuous wives lose their children in infancy; husbandmen lose their crops &c. The Mānavagṛhya then prescribes propitiatory rites to remove the effects of Vināyaka seizure. The Baijavāpagṛhya (quoted by Aparārka p. 563 on Yāj. I. 275) says[498] that there are four Vināyakas, Mita, Sammita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra and describes seizure by them and its effects in the same way as the Mānavagṛhya. These two show the first stage in the development of the cult of Vināyaka. Vināyakas are at this stage malevolent spirits who cause dangers and obstacles of various kinds. In this cult various elements from the terrific aspects of Rudra were probably first drawn upon and amalgamated with other elements drawn from aboriginal cults. The next stage is indicated by the Yāj. smṛti (I. 271–294). Here Vināyaka (I. 271) is said to be one appointed by Brahmā and Rudra to the over-lordship of the Gaṇas, he is represented not only as causing obstacles, but also as bringing success in the actions and rites undertaken by men. Yāj. enumerates the results of the seizure by Vināyaka in the same way as the Mānavagṛhya. Yāj. I. 285 says that Mita, Sammita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra are the four names[499] of the one Vināyaka and that Ambikā is the mother of Vināyaka. It is noteworthy that Yāj. does not

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498. चत्वारः खलु विनायका भवन्ति। मितश्च संमितश्च शालकटङ्कटश्च कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्चेति। बैजवापगृह्य q. in अपरार्क p. 563.

499. Though Viśvarūpa and Aparārka take these to be four, it is curious that the Mit. makes them to be six (viz. Śāla and Kaṭaṅkaṭa as distinct and so also Kūṣmāṇḍa and Rājaputra). It is remarkable that Kṣīra on Amarakośa expressly says that Heramba is a Deśya word. This adds some weight to the theory that Gaṇeśa was taken over into the Vedic pantheon from some exotic tribe and affiliated to Rudra (Śiva).

employ any one of the well-known epithets of Vināyaka, viz. Ekadanta, Heramba, Gajānana, Lambodara &c. The Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra III. 10 prescribes a somewhat different procedure for propitiating Vināyaka and styles him 'the lord of bhūtas', and also 'hastimukha' and 'vighneśvara' and prescribes the offerings of *apūpa* and *modaka* to him. Thus Baudhāyana is nearer to the medieval conception of Gaṇeśa than even Yājñavalkya. The Ādiparva makes Gaṇeśa write the Mahābhārata to the dictation of Vyāsa; but this part is apocryphal as many mss. altogether omit this episode (*vide* J. R. A. S. for 1898 pp. 380–384, Winternitz). The other references in Vanaparva 65. 23 and Anuśāsana 150. 25 bear affinity to the description of Vināyaka in the Mānavagṛhya.[500]

The Gobhilasmṛti (in verse) I. 13 prescribes that at the beginning of all rites, the Mātṛs together with Gaṇādhipa (the lord of Gaṇas) should be worshipped. The well-known characteristics of Gaṇeśa and his worship had become fixed before the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era. Kālidāsa does not refer to Gaṇeśa. The Gāthāsaptaśatī has references to Gaṇeśa. In that work (IV. 72) an image of Gaṇeśa is referred to as made use of as a pillow and the tip of his trunk is mentioned in V. 3. In Codrington's 'Ancient India' plate XXXIX there is an image of Gaṇeśa referable to about 500 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar in 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 147. Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita (IV Ucchvāsa verse 2) speaks of the large tusk of Gaṇādhipa and in describing Bhairavācārya (Harṣacarita III) associates Vināyaka with obstacles and learning and also indicates that he had the head of an elephant. In the Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 54) there is a fantastic legend about the birth of Vināyaka.

The Mahāvīracarita (II. 38) speaks of the tusk of Heramba. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 260. 52–55) describes how the images of Vināyaka are to be made. Aparārka (p. 343) quotes a passage from the Matsyapurāṇa (289.7) on the mahādāna called Mahābhūtaghaṭa, in which it is said that Vināyaka should be shown as riding a mouse. The Kṛtyaratnākara p. 271 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa for the worship of Gaṇeśa on the 4th day of Bhādrapada. Vide Agnipurāṇa chap. 71 and 313.

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500. न पूजा विघ्नकर्तृणामथवा प्रथमं कृता । वनपर्व 65. 23; ईश्वराः सर्वलोकानां गणेश्वरविनायकाः । अनुशासन 150. 25.

In modern times a verse[501] is repeated in which the shrines of the eight Vināyakas in the Deccan are enumerated.

Among the earliest epigraphic references to Gaṇapati is the one in the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskarvarman (middle of 7th century). Vide E. I. Vol. XII. p. 73.[502]

The Gaṇapatipūjāna consists in the performer repeating the mantra Ṛg. II. 23. 1 ('gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapatim') as a prayer and then bowing to Gaṇeśa with the words 'Om Mahāgaṇapataye namo namaḥ nirvighnam kuru' (salutations to the great Gaṇapati, make (this rite) free from obstacles'.

Puṇyāhavācana :—Although many elaborate descriptions of this are given in later digests like the Saṁskāraratnamālā, this was originally in ancient times a very simple and brief rite. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 8) says that in ordinary life in all auspicious rites (such as marriage) all sentences begin with 'Om' as in saying 'puṇyāham', 'svasti', and 'ṛddhim'. The performer of a religious rite honours the assembled brāhmaṇas with *gandha* (sandalwood paste), flowers and *tāmbūla* (betel leaves) and requests with folded hands 'may you declare the day to be auspicious for such and such a ceremony which I, by name so and so, am[503] about to perform' and then the brāhmaṇas

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501. स्वस्ति श्रीगणनायको गजमुखो **मोरेश्वरे सिद्धिदे** बल्लाळो **मुरुडे** विनायक इति ख्यातो **महे ओझरे**। विघ्नेशः खलु **रांजणे** गणपतिश्चिन्तामणिस्**थेउरे लेण्याद्रौ** गिरिजात्मजः शुभदिने कुर्यात्सदा मङ्गलम् ॥. The eight places are indicated by thick type. मोरेश्वर is मोरगांव near Jejuri, सिद्धिदे refers to सिद्धटेक (about 30 miles from Dhond), महे refers to मढेग्राम (about 4 miles from Khopoli). मुरुड is the capital of the Siddis on the west coast south of Bombay. थेऊर is 12 miles from Poona and Leṇyādri is three miles from Junnar. Rāñjaṇagaon is 30 miles from Poona. Besides these there are famous Gaṇapati shrines at Chinchwad and at Puḷeṁ near Ratnagiri on the sea coast. Ojhar (where there is the shrine of Vighneśvara) is 28 miles from Poona and 8 miles from Junnar. In 15 Bom. 612 a scheme was framed by the Bombay High Court for the famous shrine of Maṅgalamūrti at Chinchwad near Poona which has under its jurisdiction the shrines at Morgaon, Theur and Siddhaṭeka (p. 619).

502. गन्धर्ववती तस्माद्गणपतिमिव दानवर्षणमजस्रम् । गणपतिमगणितगुणगणमसूत कलिहानये तनयम् ॥ E. I. XII. p. 73. दान means gift as well ichor.

503. In स्वस्तिवाचन the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः मम करिष्यमाणविवाहाख्याय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' and the brāhmaṇas reply 'ओं स्वस्ति', the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः मम करिष्यमाणविवाहाख्यस्य कर्मणः पुण्याहं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु', the ब्राह्मणs reply 'ओं पुण्याहम्', the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः ... कर्मणः ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' and the ब्राह्मणs respond ओं ऋध्यताम् or 'ओं कर्म ऋध्यताम् (or ऋध्यतात्)'. पुण्याहवाचनं सर्वं ब्राह्मणस्य विधीयते । तदेव च निरोङ्कारं कुर्यात्क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः ॥ यम quoted in संस्काररत्नमाला p. 29.

respond by saying 'Om, may it be auspicious'. Each of these three sentences (with svasti, puṇyāham and ṛddhim) is to be repeated thrice according to Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra I. 10. A verse of Yama says that the brāhmaṇas should respond without the syllable 'om' when the performer of the rite is a kṣatriya or a vaiśya.

Mātṛkāpūjana :—The Mātṛs (the Mother Goddesses) do not figure in the sūtras. But that their worship was prevalent certainly in the first centuries of the Christian era throughout India can be proved from several sources. In the drama Mṛcchakaṭika (I) Cārudatta asks his friend Maitreya to offer *bali* to the Mātṛs. The Gobhila-smṛti[504] (in verse I. 11-12) names 14 mātṛs viz. Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Sāvitrī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi and one's own deity (abhīṣṭa-devatā). In the Mārkaṇḍeya (chap. 88. 11-20 and 38) seven mātṛs have been named as Mātṛgaṇa. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 179. 9-32) names over a hundred mother goddesses (like Māheśvarī, Brāhmī, Kaumārī, Cāmuṇḍā), while in chap. 261 (24-36), there is a description of the images of some of the mātṛs like Brahmāṇī &c. The Bṛhat-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 58. 56) refers to the images of the mother goddesses. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī frequently refers to the mātṛs, to their worship and to dilapidated temples of these goddesses.[505] The Kṛtyaratnākara quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa at p. 261 about the images of the seven mātṛs and pp. 305 and 307 quote the Devīpurāṇa about the worship of mātṛs and the flowers dear to them. The worship of mātṛs is mentioned in the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions pp. 47, 49). The Cālukyas are often described as 'cherished by the seven mātṛs' (I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 in 535 *śake* and E. I. vol. IX. p. 100 in 660 A. D.). The Kadambas are described as meditating on Kārtikeya-śvāmī and on the group of mātṛs (I. A. vol. VI. p. 25)[506]. Similarly a

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504. These verses are quoted in the स्मृतिच० (श्राद्ध p. 503) and अपरार्क p. 517. The seven in the मार्कण्डेय are ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वाराही, नारसिंही, वैष्णवी, ऐन्द्री.

505. 'अभिनवलिखितमातृपटपूजाग्र्यग्रधात्रीजनं' (सूतिकागृहं) in para 64, पूर्वभाग of कादम्बरी; 'अभ्यर्णतया च कैलासस्य स्नानागतमातृमण्डलपवृपङ्क्तिक्षुद्राङ्कितम्' para 130 कादम्बरी (पूर्वभाग); 'असकृत्कुत्सकवेषमातृगृहद्वारस्थक्षनखजर्जरितकपोलेन (जरद्द्रविडधार्मिकेण) para 216 कादम्बरी (पूर्वभाग).

506. 'स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुध्यातानां ...... कदम्बानाम्' I. A. vol. VI. p. 25. Fleet's translation 'who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers of Svāmī Kārtikeya' is not accurate.

temple to the Mātṛs is said to have been erected by Mayūrākṣa, the minister of Viśvavarman in 480 of the Mālava Era i. e. 423–24 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 74).

Whence the cult of mātṛs, which was not described in the Gṛhyasūtras, was derived it is difficult to say. Sir John Marshall in his famous work on Mohenjo-Daro (vol. I. p. VII and pp. 49–52 and plates XII, XCIV and XCV) shows how figurines of mother goddesses are common at Mohenjo-Daro. That shows that the cult prevailed in the remotest antiquity and was probably taken up by the followers of the Vedic religion and affiliated to the worship of Durgā, the spouse of Śiva. In Ṛg. IX. 102. 4 [507] the seven mothers are said to regulate soma when it is being prepared (the seven mothers are probably the seven metres or the seven rivers).

Nāndīśrāddha :—This will be dealt with under śrāddhas later on.

Puṁsavana :—This rite is so called because in virtue of it a male is born.[508] The word '*puṁsuvana*' occurs in the Atharvaveda VI. 11. 1 where [509] it appears to be used literally (in the sense of 'giving birth to a male child') 'The Aśvattha tree is on top of the Śamī tree, there the birth of a male has been effected'. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 13. 2–7 describes the rite as follows: 'he should in the third month of pregnancy, under the constellation Tiṣya (i. e. Puṣya) give (thrice) to eat to the wife, after she has fasted, (on the preceding Punarvasu constellation) in the curds of a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with the cow) two beans and one grain of barley for each handful of curds. On his asking (the woman) 'what dost thou drink? what dost thou drink?', she should thrice reply 'puṁsavana', (generation of a male), 'puṁsavana'. In this way (he) should make her take three handfuls (of curds with two beans and barley).' [510]

There is some difference of view as to details. The Āp. gṛ., Hir. gṛ. and Bhāradvāja gṛ. place puṁsavana after sīmanton-

507. जज्ञानं सप्त मातरो वेधामशासत श्रिये । ऋ. IX. 102. 4.

508. पुंसवनमिति कर्मनामधेयं येन कर्मणा निमित्तेन गर्भिणी पुमांसमेव सूते तत्पुंसवनम् । सुदर्शन on आप. गृ. 14. 9 ; तत्र पुमान् सूयतेनेन कर्मणेति व्युत्पत्त्या गर्भस्य पुंरूपतापादकः कर्मविशेषः । ...... शौनकोपि । पुमान् प्रसूयते येन तत्पुंसवनमीरितम् ॥ इति । संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 166–167.

509. शमीमश्वत्थ आरूढस्तत्र पुंसुवनं कृतम् । अथर्व VI. 11. 1.

510. Vide Appendix for text.

nayana and Āp. says it may be performed when pregnancy becomes apparent. Instead of two beans and a barley[511] grain in curds, he requires the bringing of a shoot of the branch of a *nyagrodha* tree which (tree) points eastward or northward and which has two (fruits that look like) testicles and the pounding of the shoot and fruits by a girl who has not attained puberty between two upper stones of (two mills) with water. He then prescribes that the wife should lie down on her back to the west of the fire herself facing the east and that the husband should insert in her right nostril the pounded substance with his thumb with the formula (puṁsavanam-asi) found in Āp. M. P. (II. 11. 14). Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 46) says that the rite may be performed on Tiṣya or Śrāvaṇa, while the Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 22) says that it may be performed on Tiṣya or Hasta or Anurādhā or Uttarā or Proṣṭhapadā ; Pāraskara and Baijavāpa say it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with a male nakṣatra.[512] Pār. gṛ. I. 14 and Jātūkarṇya (Saṁ. Pr. p. 167) and Baijavāpa (*ibid.*) say that the rite should be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month of pregnancy, Āśv., Hir., Śāṅ., Gobhila, Khādira prescribe the third month. Yāj. I. 11, Pār. gṛ. (I. 14), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 2 and Bṛhaspati (quoted in the Sm. C.) say that puṁsavana should be performed before the foetus begins to move or throb in the womb. In the Kāṭhaka gṛ. 32. 2 the proper time is said to be when the greater number of months of pregnancy are past (i. e. after the 5th) and the Mānava gṛ. says that it should be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy. Devapāla (com. of Kāṭhaka gṛ.) says the usage

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511. Nārāyaṇa says that in this rite one has to perform at first the sthālīpāka intended for Prajāpati up to the offering of the two ājyabhāgas and then one should perform what is specially prescribed here. He further notes that the curds may be of a cow the calf of which is of a different colour, if one of the same colour could not be had. The curds are to be poured from the vessel of curds on to the woman's hand thrice, she is to lick the curds every time with two beans and a grain of barley ; the beans and barley grain are suggestive. This is made clear by Āp. gṛ. 14. 10 न्यग्रोधस्य या प्राच्युदीची वा शाखा ततः सवृषणां शुङ्गामाहृत्य, वैखानस III. 11 also has 'अग्नेरपरस्यामासीनाया वृषोसीति सर्षपमिश्रितान्यवानाण्डौ स्थ इति वृषावलाभे माषधान्यौ प्रतिनिधी स्याताम्.'

512. According to a verse quoted in Sm. C. the male nakṣatras are Hasta, Mūla, Śravaṇa, Punarvasu, Mṛgaśiras and Puṣya ; the Saṁskāra-mayūkha adds that the Nāradīya mentions Rohiṇī, Pūrvābhādrapadā and Uttarābhādrapadā also as male nakṣatras and that Vasiṣṭha regards Svāti, Anurādhā and Aśvinī also as male nakṣatras. मातृदत्त on हिरण्य. गृ. I. 1. 5 says 'अश्वयुक् पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः शतभिषक् प्रोष्ठपदा इति पुंनामधेयानि नक्षत्राणि.'

of śiṣṭas is to perform it in the 8th month and Brahmabala (another com.) says that the usage is to perform it in the 7th or 8th month of pregnancy. Most of the gṛhyasūtras refer to the pounding of the shoot[513] of the Nyagrodha tree (or some other plant) and inserting the pounded substance in the wife's right nostril. The mantras repeated when inserting the substance in her nostril are different according to most sūtras. Śāṅkhāyana (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 46) prescribes the four verses Ṛg. I. 1. 3, III. 4. 9., V. 37. 2 and IX 3. 9. with svāhā at the end of each verse. Pāraskara (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 292) prescribes Vāj. S. XIII. 4 (Ṛg. X. 121. 1) and XXXI. 17; Khādira gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 394) mentions Mantra-Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 8, the Kāṭhaka gṛ. quotes Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā. The several sūtras of the Black Yajurveda show the greatest divergence among themselves.

It would be clear that the puṁsavana rite has several elements, religious (homa and son's importance from ancient times), symbolical or suggestive (the drinking of curds with beans and grain of barley) and medical (inserting some substance in the woman's nostrils). For what purpose the placing of the bile of a tortoise on the woman's lap was prescribed by Pāraskara alone (I. 14) it is difficult to say.

Later works like the Saṁskāraratnamālā prescribe a homa for puṁsavana also and remark that when in the absence of the husband, the husband's brother or other relative performs the rite, it should be performed in ordinary kitchen fire (p. 815). This latter rule applies to Sīmantonnayana also.

Anavalobhana or *Garbharakṣaṇa* :—This rite was apparently part of Puṁsavana. Āśv. gṛ., as already said, separately mentions puṁsavana and anavalobhana as referred to in the Upaniṣad. The Baijavāpa gṛ. (quoted in the Saṁskāraprakāśa p.171) says 'He performs the puṁsavana and anavalobhana in the fortnight of the waxing moon on an auspicious day when the moon is in conjunction with a nakṣatra (deemed to be) a male '. This shows that both were performed on the same day. Another sūtra of Baijavāpa quoted in the Saṁskāramayūkha[514] says that the two are to be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month

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513. According to the Kāṭhaka gṛ. the pounding is to be done by a virgin or a brahmacārin or by a chaste brāhmaṇa woman.

514. बैजवापगृह्ये । अथ पुंसवनानवलोभने करोति मासि द्वितीये वा तृतीये वा । इदं च पुंसवनदिन एव तदुत्तरं कार्यम् । ... ... इदमपि न अवलुप्यते गर्भोऽनेनेति व्युत्पत्त्या गर्भाविनाशफलकं यद् नस्यरूपं कर्म तस्य नामधेयम् । भकारश्छान्दसः । संस्कारमयूख

of pregnancy. This rite is so called because by virtue of its performance the foetus does not fall out or is not destroyed (i. e. it is really *anavalopana* from the root *lup* with *ava*). Āśv. gṛ. (I. 13. 5–7) describes it as follows : He then inserts in her right nostril in the shade of a round apartment the (sap) of an herb which is not faded ;[515] according to some (teachers), with the Prajāvat and Jīvaputra mantras. Having offered a sacrifice of cooked food to Prajāpati he should touch the region of her heart with the verse 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, what is hidden in thy heart, in Prajāpati, that I understand, (mayst thou understand) me who know that; may not injury to the son be my lot '.

It will be seen that the inserting of *dūrvārasa* in the woman's nostril, touching her heart and prayers to the gods for the safety of the foetus are the principal features of this rite in Āśv.

According to Śaunaka-kārikā (Ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 13a) that rite is called anavalobhana whereby the foetus remains undisturbed or does not fall out.[516] According to the Smṛtyarthasāra it is to be performed in the fourth month. According to Laghu-Āśvalāyana IV. 1–2 anavalobhana and sīmantonnayana were to be performed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy and verses 6–7 give the same details as in Āśv. gṛ.

The Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 21. 1–3, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 47) speaks of a ceremony called Garbharakṣaṇa (protection of the foetus): " In the fourth month the garbharakṣaṇa; offering six oblations into fire from a mess of cooked food with the six verses of the hymn ' brahmaṇāgniḥ '[517] (Ṛg. X. 162) with svāhā uttered at the end of each verse, with the verses ' from thy eyes, thy nose ' (Ṛg. X. 163. 1–6), besmearing her limbs with clarified butter at each verse. "

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515. Nārāyaṇa explains that the herb is dūrvā according to usage. The sap is put in the nostril silently or to the accompaniment of two mantras, which are respectively of the sage Prajāvat and Jīvaputra. They are : आ ते गर्भो योनिमैतु पुमान् बाण इवेषुधिम् । आ वीरो जायतां पुत्रस्ते दशमास्यः ॥ अग्निरैतु प्रथमो देवतानां सोऽस्यै प्रजां मुञ्चतु मृत्युपाशात् । तदयं राजा वरुणोऽनुमन्यतां यथेयं स्त्री पौत्रमघं न रोदात् ॥ इति. The first is practically the same as अथर्ववेद III. 23. 2 ; the 2nd is आप. म. पा. I. 4. 7.

516. न क्षुभ्येत्स्रवेद्येन तत्कर्मानवलोभनम् । शौनककारिका.

517. The Anukramaṇī says that the hymn Ṛg. X. 162 is to be repeated when there is abortion and on X. 163 that it is meant for removal of disease (यक्ष्मनाशन).

This seems to be another version of anavalobhana.

According to Āśv. gṛ. kārikās of Kumārila (I. 6. 5) this rite is to be repeated on every conception. Most other writers would hold that like puṁsavana it is to be performed only once.

Sīmantonnayana:—This is treated in the following gṛ. sūtras: Āśv. I. 14. 1–9; Śāṅ. I. 22, Āp. 14. 1–8, Hir. II. 1, Baud. I. 10, Bhāradvāja I. 21, Gobhila II. 7. 1–12, Khādira II. 2. 24–28, Pār. I. 15, Kāṭhaka 31. 1–5, Vaikhānasa III. 12.

This word literally means 'parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards.' Yāj. (1. 11), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18) call this saṁskāra simply 'sīmanta', while Gobhila (II. 7. 1), Mānava gṛ. (I. 12. 2), Kāṭhaka gṛ (31. 1) call it sīmantakaraṇa. Āp. gṛ. and Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 21) describe it before puṁsavana. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 14. 1–9) describes it as follows: "In the fourth month of pregnancy the Sīmantonnayana (should be performed). In the fortnight of the waxing moon, when the moon may be in conjunction with a nakṣatra that is (regarded as) male (or the name of which is of the masculine gender, according to Nārāyaṇa); then he establishes fire (i. e. performs the details of homa up to offering of *ājyabhāgas*) and having spread to the west of the fire a bull's hide with its neck to the east and the hair outside, he makes eight oblations (of ājya, clarified butter), while his wife sits on it (hide) and takes hold (of his hand), with the two (verses) 'may Dhātṛ give to his worshipper' (Atharvaveda VII. 17. 2–3), with the two verses, 'I invoke Rākā' (Ṛg. II. 32. 4–5), with the three (verses) called 'nejameṣa' (a khilasūkta after Ṛg. X. 184 and Āp. M. P. I. 12. 7–9) and with the verse 'Oh Prajāpati, no one other than you' (Ṛg. X. 121. 10). He then three times parts her hair upwards (beginning from the front and proceeding backwards) with a bunch of an even number of unripe fruits with a porcupine quill that has three white spots [518] (or rings) and with three bunches of kuśa grass, with the words 'bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar, om' or he does so four times. He gives orders to two lute players 'sing (praise of) king soma.' (They sing this gāthā) 'may soma, our king, bless the human race.

518. The porcupine quill with three white spots is mentioned even in the Tai. Br. as an auspicious thing. 'He should shave his head with a porcupine quill with three white spots since in the case of the gods three are auspicious things, viz. the three metres, the three savanas, these three worlds (I. 5. 6.) 'त्रेण्या शलल्या निवर्तयेत । त्रीणि वै देवानां शुक्लानि त्रीणि छन्दांसि त्रीणि सवनानि त्रय इमे लोकाः'. Vide Appendix for the text of Āśv. gṛ. I. 14. 1–9.

Fixed is the wheel (dominion) of this (river); (here they take the name in the vocative) of the river near which they dwell. And let them do whatever aged brāhmaṇa women whose husbands and children are alive direct. A bull is the fee (for the sacrifice)". In the Āp. mantrapāṭha thirteen verses are devoted to this saṁskāra in all, some of which occur in the Ṛg., the Atharvaveda and Tai. S.

We have here first the religious part of homa and oblations with mantras. But this rite is mainly of a social and festival nature intended to keep the pregnant woman in good cheer. The Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 172–173) quotes some verses from an Āśvalāyana stating that this rite serves the purpose of driving certain female goblins that thirst for the destruction of the foetus; the parting of the hair by the husband with the quill, bunch of unripe fruits and *darbhas* and tying a garland round her neck, giving her boiled rice mixed with mudga and ghee and asking lute players to sing indicate its festive character. There is a great divergence among the gṛhya sūtras about the several details of this saṁskāra and the order in which they take place. The Sm. C. after pointing out a few divergences remarks that one should follow the rules of one's own gṛhya sūtra. A few important divergences are pointed out below. This saṁskāra was to be performed in the 3rd month according to Kāṭhaka gṛ., in 3rd, 6th or 8th according to the Mānava; in the 4th month according to Āśv., Āp., Hir. (II. 1), in 4th or 6th according to Gobhila (II. 7. 2) and in the 4th, 6th or 8th according to Khādira, in 6th or 8th according to Pāraskara, Yāj. (I. 11), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 3), Śaṅkha; in the 7th according to Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 22. 1), in the 8th according to Vaik. and Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18). Śaṅkha as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 17) says that it should be performed on the foetus beginning to move and up to the time of delivery. Āśv., Śāṅ. and Hir. require that the moon must be in conjunction with a male nakṣatra. Hir. gṛ. alone prescribes that the saṁskāra should take place in a round apartment. It is remarkable that Āśv. alone requires that the woman should be seated on a bull's hide, which shows that till his day such a hide was not treated (as is done in modern times) as a very unholy thing. Pāraskara makes her sit on a soft chair or seat, while Gobhila prescribes a seat of northward pointed *darbhas*. There is great divergence as to the number of oblations and the verses to be repeated even in sūtras of the same Veda, e. g. Āśvalāyana prescribes eight oblations and eight mantras, but

Śāṅkhāyana prescribes only six (by omitting the verses Ṛg. II. 32. 4–5). Gobhila, Khādira, Bhāradvāja, Pāraskara and Śāṅkhāyana prescribe the preparation of boiled rice with ghee thereon or sesame and the first three of these say that the woman should be asked to look at the ghee on the mass of rice and be questioned 'what do you see' and she should be made to reply 'I see progeny' (Bhāradvāja has the reply 'sons and cattle'). Almost all gṛhya sūtras agree that in parting the hair the husband is to use a bunch of unripe fruit (Gobhila, Pār. and Śāṅ. specifying that it was to be Udumbara fruit), a porcupine quill with three white spots and three bunches of kuśa grass. Pāraskara and Gobhila add the use of a Vīratara stick and a full spindle. Some like Āśv. prescribe that the parting must be done thrice, Gobhila seems to prescribe it six times, while Khādira (II. 2. 25) expressly says that it is to be done only once. Śāṅ. says that the unripe fruits are to be tied to a string of three twisted threads and the string is to be suspended from her neck as a garland. Par. also seems to suggest the same. Āp. also says that the husband should (by way of ornament) tie a string of barley grains with young shoots on the woman's head (14. 7) and Vaikhānasa says that the woman is to wear a garland and have fragrant unguents applied to her body. Many of the gṛhya sūtras direct that lute players should sing a verse or verses. Gobhila, Khādira, Vaik. are silent on this point, but Gobhila prescribes that brāhmaṇa women should address auspicious words to her 'Be you the mother of a valiant son.' There is divergence as to whose praise is to be sung. Śāṅ and Pār. say that the ballad sung must be in praise of the (ruling) king or any one else who is very valiant. Āśv., Hir., Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. prescribe a gāthā in honour of king Soma (the plant). Āpastamba refers to two verses, one of which praises king Yaugandhari and the other king Soma and prescribes that the first is to be sung for all varṇas residing in the Sālva countries, while the second is to be recited by brāhmaṇas. Some of the sūtras like Āśv., Pār., Bhāradvāja allow that in the ballad to be sung by the lute players the river on which the woman and her husband dwell is to be invoked.[519]

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519. गायतमिति वीणागाथिनौ संशास्ति। उत्तरयोः पूर्वा साल्वानां ब्राह्मणानामितरा। आप. गृ. सू. 14. 4–5; the verses from the मन्त्रपाठ (II. 11. 12–13) are यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषुः। विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव॥ सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः। विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेणासौ तव॥. भारद्वाजगृह्य (I. 2) has

(*Continued on next page*)

Āśv. and Śāṅ. expressly state that a bull is the fee in this saṁskāra for the officiating priest. Āp., Pār. and Bhāradvāja say that brāhmaṇas are to be fed in this rite. Śāṅ. says that the woman is to sing merrily and wear gold ornaments if she likes. The Āp. and Bhāradvāja gṛ. say that the husband is to observe silence that day till the stars begin to appear and then after going out of the house from the east or north, he should first touch a calf and then mutter the vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) and give up his silence.[520]

The Mānavagṛhya (I. 12. 2) speaks of parting of hair in the marriage rite also. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. verses 8–16) gives a faithful summary of the Āśv. gr.

(*Continued from last page*)

only the 2nd verse but reads the last pāda as स्तीरेण यमुने तव; while Hir. reads गङ्गे for यमुने in the verse as read by Bhārdvāja. Pār. reads 'सोम एव नो राजेमा मानुषीः प्रजाः । अविमुक्तचक्र आसीरंस्तीरे तुभ्यमसाविति'. Here अविमुक्तचक्रे qualifies तीरे (loc.) or it may be the vocative addressed to the river whose name is taken. It may be inferred with some force that Āp. mantrapāṭha and Hir. gṛ were composed in the Sālva country on the banks of the Jumna and the Bhāradvāja gṛ on the Ganges. Haradatta explaining Āp gṛ. says that the country of Sālva is on the Jumna and that Vaiśyas are in abundance there. The country of Sālva was included in the Kacchādigaṇa (Pāṇini V. 2. 133, and Mahābhāṣya, vol. II. p. 300). Pāṇini mentions Sālva in IV. 1. 173, IV. 2. 135 and teaches the formation of Yaugandhara in IV. 2. 130 and of Yaugandhari in IV. 1. 173. In the Vanaparva 14. 1–5 it is said that the king of Sālva whose capital was at Saubha attacked Dvārakā. Śalyaparva (20. 1) calls the Sālva king lord of mleccha tribes and speaks of him as fighting for Duryodhana and as killed by Sātyaki. A Kārikā quoted by the Kāśikā makes Yaugandhara a division of Sālva 'उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः । भुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥'.

520. The words of the आप. गृ. 14. 7–8 are यवान् विरूढानाबध्य वाचं यच्छत्यानक्षत्रेभ्यः । उदितेषु नक्षत्रेषु प्राचीमुदीचीं वा दिशमुपनिष्क्रम्य वत्समन्वारभ्य व्याहृतीश्च जपित्वा वाचं विसृजेत् ।. The S. B. E. vol. XXX p. 280 translates 'he ties barley grains with young shoots to the head of the wife ; then she keeps silence until the stars appear'. But this is wrong. Throughout this section the performer (kartā) is the husband ; even in the 7th sūtra grammar requires that if the kartā of tying the garland ('ābadhya') is the husband then the kartā of 'visṛjet' also must be the husband. Sudarśana notes (in his com.) that some read the sūtras as 'वाचं यच्छत आ नक्षत्रेभ्यः... विसृजतः' (in the dual); then both husband and wife have to observe silence. He also notes that according to some the actions from tying the yava onwards spoken of by Āp. are done by the wife herself and not by the husband.

Āpastamba, Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. expressly say that this saṁskāra is to be performed only once at the first conception. For the difference of view among nibandhakāras vide above (pp. 205–206) on garbhādhāna.

Viṣṇu was of opinion that sīmantonnayana is a saṁskāra of the woman, but that according to some it is a saṁskāra of the foetus and so was to be repeated at each conception.[521] On account of the great divergence of details one may conjecture that this saṁskāra was not very ancient in the times of the Gṛhyasūtras.

It appears however that gradually this picturesque rite receded in the back ground, so much so that Manu does not even mention it by name, though Yāj. names it. In modern times in Western India some people perform a rite in the 8th month of pregnancy (called in Marathi *Aṭhaṅgulem̐*) which retains some vestiges of the ancient rite (such as the garland of udumbara fruit).

Viṣṇubali :—According to Vasiṣṭha quoted in the Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 178) this ceremony was to be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy, on the 2nd, 7th or 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight and when the moon was in the Śravaṇa, Rohiṇī or Puṣya constellation. The same work quotes verses of Āśvalāyana describing the ceremony and stating its purpose viz. to remove harm to the foetus and for easy delivery of the woman and that it was to be performed during every conception. On the preceding day Nāndīśrāddha was to be performed and then homa to fire was to be performed up to the offering of ājyabhāgas. To the south of the fire another sthaṇḍila of the shape of a lotus or svastika was to be drawn on which 64 oblations of boiled rice with ghee thereon were to be offered to Viṣṇu (some offer them on the fire itself) with the verses of Ṛg. I. 22. 16–21, Ṛg. I. 154. 1–6, Ṛg. VI. 69. 1–8, Ṛg. VII. 104. 11, Ṛg. X. 90. 1–16, Ṛg. X. 184. 1–3. Then to the north-east of the fire, a square plot should be smeared with cowdung and be divided into 64 squares with white dust and 64 offerings of boiled rice should be offered with the same mantras and in their midst one ball of rice should be offered to Viṣṇu with the mantra loudly uttered ' namo

521. तथा च विष्णुः । सीमन्तोन्नयनं कर्म तत् स्त्रीसंस्कार इष्यते । केचिद्गर्भस्य संस्कारो गर्भे गर्भे प्रयुञ्जते । स्मृतिच॰ (I. p. 17). This verse is read by लघुविष्णु (Anan. ed. I. 10) as सीम ...... कर्म न स्त्री ...... इष्यते । गर्भस्यैव तु संस्कारो गर्भे गर्भे प्रयोजयेत्.

Nārāyaṇāya ' and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice. Then the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt should be made, dakṣiṇā should be distributed and brāhmaṇas should be fed. The Vaik. (III. 13) describes Viṣṇubali differently. The gods with Agni as the first are invoked unto the northern praṇidhi vessel and then at the end Puruṣa is invoked four times with 'om bhūḥ', 'om bhuvaḥ,' 'om suvaḥ,' 'om bhūr-bhuvaḥ-suvaḥ', then to the east of the fire he invokes Viṣṇu on seats of darbha grass with the names, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara; then he bathes Viṣṇu, with mantras 'Āpaḥ' (Tai. S. IV. 1. 5. 11 = Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3), 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1) and the chapter beginning 'pavamānaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8); he does worship (with sandal paste, flowers &c.) by each of Viṣṇu's twelve names, then he offers 12 oblations of clarified butter with the mantras 'ato devā' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16–21), 'Viṣṇor-nu kam' (Ṛg. I. 154. 1–7 = Tai. S. I. 2. 13), 'tad-asya priyam' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 6 = Ṛg. I 154. 5), 'pra tadviṣṇuḥ' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 3 = Ṛg. I. 154. 2), 'paro mātrayā' (Tai. Br. II. 8. 3), 'vicakrame trir-devaḥ' (Tai. Br. II. 8. 3). Then he announcces as offering a mess of rice cooked in milk on which ājya has been poured to the god and sacrifices it to him with the twelve names repeating the twelve mantras (Ṛg. I. 22. 16–21, and Ṛg. I. 154. 1–6). Having praised the god with mantras from the four vedas he should prostrate himself before the god after taking twelve names with the word 'namaḥ' at the end of each (i. e. by saying 'Keśavāya namaḥ' &c.). What remains of the rice cooked in milk is eaten by the wife.

Soṣyantīkarma :—Vide Āp. gṛ. 14. 13–15 ; Hir. gṛ. II. 2. 8–II. 3. 1, Bhāradvāja gṛ. I. 22, Gobhila gṛ. II. 7. 13–14, Khādira gṛ. II 2. 29–30, Pār. gṛ. I. 16, Kāṭhaka gṛ. 33. 1–3. This seems to be a very ancient rite. It means 'a rite for a woman who is about to be delivered of a child'. Ṛg. V. 78. 7–9 give the earliest indications of this rite. 'Just as the wind moves a lake on all sides, so may the foetus move and come out, being (now) in the tenth month. Just as the wind, the forest and the sea are in movement, so mayst thou (foetus) that art (now) in the tenth month, come out together with the after-birth, may the male child having been sleeping ten months inside his mother, come out a living being, unharmed, from his mother, herself being alive.' Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 23 also refers to this rite " He sprinkles with water the woman who is about to be delivered (with the mantras) 'just as the wind .... may it come out with the

after-birth' (same as Ṛg. V. 78. 7 except the last pāda). This is a pen[522] of Indra with a bolt and with a chamber for rest : oh Indra, leave it and come out with the foetus and after-birth." Āp. gṛ. describes the ceremony as follows : 'Now is described the rite to secure a rapid delivery. With a cup that has not been dipped in water before he draws water in the direction of the current (of a river or spring); he places Tūryantī plant at his wife's feet; he should then touch on the head (with both hands) the woman who is in child-birth with the verse (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 15),[523] should sprinkle her with the waters (brought as above) with the next three verses (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 16–18). If the after-birth does not come out, he should sprinkle her with the water (brought) as directed above with the next two verses' (i. e. Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11 19–20).[524] Hir. is very brief and is similar to Āp., but omits all verses except one (which is part of Āp. M. P. II. 11. 16). Bhāradvāja is similar to Āp., but gives verses that are slightly different from those of the Āp. M. P. Gobhila and Khādira are very brief and say that a homa with two oblations of clarified butter is to be performed with the verses of the Mantra-brāhmaṇa I 5. 6–7. Pāraskara also speaks of the sprinkling of the woman with two verses of Vāj. S. VIII. 28–29 (the first being almost like Ṛg. V. 78. 7) and prescribes the recital of Atharvaveda I. 11. 4 for the falling of the after-birth. Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gṛ. (33. 1) remarks that this rite is not really a saṁskāra and Devapāla says that this is a rite which has a seen result (while saṁskāras are deemed to have an unseen result).

Jātakarma :—This appears to have been a rite of hoary antiquity. In the Tai. S.[525] II. 2. 5. 3–4 we read 'one should offer a cake cooked on twelve potsherds to Vaiśvānara, when a

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522. This refers to the womb of the woman.

523. This is आभिष्टा दशभिरभिमृशामि दशमास्याय सूतवे । आप. म. पा. II. 11. 15.

524. Āp. M. P. II. 11. 20 is the same as Atharva. I. 11. 4.

525. वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेत्पुत्रे जाते । ...... यस्मिञ्जात एतामिष्टिं निर्वपति पूत एव तेजस्व्यन्नाद इन्द्रियावी पशुमान् भवति । तै. सं. II. 2. 5. 3–4. जातकर्म is treated of in the following : आप. गृ. 15. 1. 7 (S. B. E 30 pp. 281–82), आश्व. गृ. (I. 15. 1–4, S. B. E. 29 p. 182), काठकगृह्य 34–35, खादिर II. 2. 32–34 (S. B. E 29 p. 395), गोभिल II. 7. 17–23 (S. B. E vol. 30 pp 55–56), पारस्कर I. 16 (S. B. E. 29 pp 293–297), भारद्वाज I. 23–26, वैखानस III. 14–15, शांखायन I. 24. 1–5 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp 49–50), हिरण्यकेशि (II. 3. 2–II. 4–5, S. B. E vol. 30 pp 210–214.)

son is born (to a man) ...... That son, for whom when born they perform this 'iṣṭi', does become pure, glorious, substantial in (abundant) food, full of vigour and possessed of cattle'. This shows that Vaiśvānareṣṭi was performed on the birth of a son. Jaimini (IV. 3. 38) holds a discussion on this passage and establishes the conclusion that this iṣṭi is for the benefit of the son and not of the father and the bhāṣya of Śabara gives the further propositions that this iṣṭi is to be performed after the *jātakarma* rites are finished (and not immediately at birth) and that it is to be performed on a full moon day or a new moon day following ten days after birth. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 129) prescribes a certain rite before the navel string is cut "regarding a new born son let him say to five brāhmaṇas before the navel string has been cut 'breathe over him in this way.' But if he should be unable to obtain them, he may even himself breathe over him while walking round him". The Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 2 contains the following interesting passage[526] "when a boy is born they first make him lick clarified butter, and they make him take the breast (of the mother) after that." At the end of the Bṛ. Up. (VI. 4. 24–28) there is an elaborate description of the jātakarma. "When (a son) is born, having kindled the fire, having placed the son on one's lap, having poured curds mixed with ghee in a bell-metal vessel he offers oblations of the curds mixed with ghee with the mantras 'may I maintain a thousand, prospering in my house; may there be no break with regard to progeny and cattle; svāhā! I offer to these in my mind my prāṇas, svāhā! Whatever I have done in excess in my work or whatever I may have left deficient in this (rite), may the wise (Agni) (called) Sviṣṭakṛt make that well sacrificed and well offered for us, svāhā!'. Then after bringing down his mouth up to the right ear of the son he should recite thrice the word 'speech'[527], then having poured together curds, honey and clarified butter, he makes the (son) eat it by means of (a spoon of) gold not covered with anything else with the *mantras* 'I place in thee bhūḥ, I place in thee bhuvaḥ, I place in thee svaḥ, I place in

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526. यस्मात्कुमारं जातं घृतं वै वाग्रे प्रतिलेहयन्ति स्तनं वा अनुधापयन्ति । बृह. उ. प. I. 5. 2.

527. The idea of muttering 'vāk' thrice is that the father wishes that speech as manifested in the three Vedas may come to the boy in due course. Bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ and svaḥ represent the three Vedas or earth, air and heaven.

thee bhūr-bhuvaḥ svaḥ, I place in thee all'. Then he gives him (the boy that is born) a name with the words 'thou art the Veda'. That becomes his secret name. Then he hands the boy over to his mother and gives him the breast of the mother with the mantra (Ṛg. I. 164. 49) 'Oh, Sarasvatī! make that breast ready for being sucked, which lies on thy body, which engenders happiness, by which thou nourishest all blessings, which bestows gems, that wins wealth and is a generous donor'. Then he solemnly addresses the mother of the child with the following *mantras* 'Oh maitrāvaruṇī[528]! Oh strong one! thou art Iḷā, she (the mother) has given birth to a valiant (boy); mayst thou be endowed with valiant sons, since thou hast made us possessed of a valiant son. They say to him (the newly born son)' thou indeed excellest thy father, excellest thy grandfather; he may attain the highest station by his prosperity, glory and spiritual eminence, who is born as a son of such a brāhmaṇa that knows this".

It will be clear from the above passages of the Bṛ. Up. that the jātakarma rite contained the following parts: (1) homa of curds with ghṛta to the accompaniment of *mantras*; (2) repeating in the child's right ear the word 'speech' thrice; (3) making the child lick curds, honey and ghṛta by means of a golden ladle (or ring); (4) addressing the child with a name which was to be his secret name (nāmakaraṇa); (5) putting the child to the breast; (6) addressing the mother with *mantras*. The Śatapatha adds another detail viz. asking five brāhmaṇas if available to breathe on the child (from four quarters, east, south, west, north and one immediately above him) or the father himself may do so.

There is great divergence in the gṛhyasūtras on the different details that go to make up the jātakarma. Some give almost all the above seven details, while others omit some of them. The order of these components differs in the gṛhyasūtras and according to the Veda to which each sūtra is attached the mantras differ. It would be impossible to give in a brief compass the details from all gṛhyasūtras. Some description, however, of the details from important gṛhyasūtras is given below:

528. Maitrāvaruṇa is Vasiṣṭha and so Maitrāvaruṇī may be Arundhatī. इळा means 'earth' or 'food'. One rather expects अजीजनः for अजीजनत्.

The ceremony has to be performed by the very necessities of the case immediately after birth. But different sūtras express it in different ways, e. g. Āśv. I. 15. 2 says the rite should be done before any other person (than the mother and nurse) touches the child. Pār. gr. (I. 16) says it is performed before the navel string is cut off. Gobbila (II. 7. 17) and Khādira II. 2. 32 say that it is to be performed before the navel string is cut off and the breast is given to the child.

In the Āśv. gr. (I. 15. 1–4) the ceremony is described as follows: "When a son has been born, he (the father) should before other persons touch him, give to the child to eat honey and clarified butter in which gold has been rubbed by means of a golden (spoon) with the verse 'I give unto thee the Veda (wisdom or knowledge) of honey and ghṛta, (Veda) which is produced by the god Savitṛ (who urges on) the bountiful; may you have long life and may you live in this world for a hundred autumns being protected by the gods'. Bringing near the child's two ears (his mouth) the father mutters *medhājanana* [529] 'may god Savitṛ bestow on thee intelligence; may the goddess Sarasvatī bestow on thee intelligence and may the two gods Aśvins wearing wreaths of lotus give to thee intelligence'. [530] He touches the (son's) two shoulders (with the mantra) 'be a stone, be an axe, be indestructible gold; thou art indeed Veda, called son; so live a hundred autumns' and (with the mantra) 'Oh Indra, bestow the best wealth' (Ṛg. II. 21. 6) and 'Oh Maghavan (bountiful Indra)! [531] Oh (Indra) partaker of ṛjīṣa! bestow on us' (Ṛg. III. 36. 10). And let them give him a name". The following sūtras (I. 15. 5–10) lay down rules about the name, which will be considered under Nāmakaraṇa.

529. The verse is so called because it was deemed to produce intelligence.

530. Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gr. I. 15. 2) notes that some say that the mantra is muttered only once, when the mouth is brought near each ear one after another, others say that the mantra is recited twice.

531. ऋजीष is Soma from which the essence is taken away (i. e. dregs of Soma). The com. Nārāyaṇa says that as to these mantras (1) some hold that the three mantras should be repeated continuously, while the shoulders are touched one after the other; (2) others hold that the mantra अश्मा भव should be uttered when touching the right shoulder, while the two 'इन्द्र श्रेष्ठानि' and 'अस्मे प्रयन्धि' should be uttered while touching the left; (3) the three mantras should be repeated together and the shoulders touched simultaneously. Nārāyaṇa prefers this last because the bhāṣyakāra who went before did so.

It will be noticed that out of the several components of the rite described in the Bṛ. Up. and the Śat. Br., Āśv. omits express mention of homa, of putting the child to the breast (stanadāna), the address to the mother (mātrabhimantraṇa), and the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 24. 1–12) also omits homa, the *stanadāna* and *mātrabhimantraṇa*, but refers to the father breathing over the new born child thrice. Instead of ghṛta and honey served with a golden spoon, Śāṅ. prescribes mixing of curds, honey, ghṛta and water or grinding together of rice and barley. It adds the tying of gold to a hempen string and fixing it on the right hand of the child till the mother gets up from child-bed.

It will have been noticed that Āśv. and Śāṅ. both prescribe giving a secret name to the child on the day of birth and do not prescribe a separate Nāmakaraṇa ceremony. Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 24. 6) adds that a vyāvahārika name may be given on the 10th day from birth. The Gobhila gṛ. (II. 7. 13–15) and Khādira gṛ. II. 2. 28–31 say that a secret name for the child that is to be born is to be uttered in the Soṣyantī-karma. So Āśv. probably carries on that tradition.

We shall now take the several components of the rite and show how they are dealt with by the several gṛhyasūtras.

Homa:—This is prescribed by the Bṛ. Up., the Mānava, the Kāṭhaka gṛ. at the time of birth. The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa (I. 26) says that homa should be performed to Agni and other gods as stated above; then the child should be made to eat honey and ghṛta and then the offering be made to Agni. It is prescribed before birth (in the Soṣyantīkarma) by Gobhila and Khādira. It is prescribed after the whole rite by Baud. gṛ. II. 1. 13. It is omitted by Āśv. and Śāṅ. The Pār. gṛ. (I. 16), Hir. gṛ., Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 26) say that the Aupāsana (i. e. gṛhya) fire is taken away and a sūtikāgni set up (which is also called Uttapanīya)[532] near the door of the lying-in chamber. The Vaik. (III. 15) calls it jātakāgni (and also Uttapanīya). These say that in this fire white mustard seed with small grains of rice are offered at the time of birth and at the morning and evening twilights for ten days after birth with certain mantras. Āp. prescribes that

532. The Sūtikāgni is prepared by placing the broken piece of a jar on the kitchen fireplace and heating it with the dried dung of a bull. 'चुल्ल्यां कपालमारोप्य वृषभशकृत्पिण्डैर्जातकाग्निं साधयेत्तमेनमुत्तपनीयमित्युदाहरन्ति' वैखानस III. 15.

mustard seeds and rice chaff are to be offered in the fire whenever any body enters the lying-in chamber for ten days.

(2) *Medhājanana* :—Two meanings are given to this. This word does not occur in the Bṛ. Up. But it speaks of muttering in the right ear of the boy the word 'vāk' thrice and making the boy lick from a golden spoon or ring curds, honey and ghṛta. The first of these viz. muttering in the right ear of the boy some words or a mantra is called medhājanana in Āśv. and Śāṅ. (I. 24. 9 which prescribes 'vāk'); while most of the other sūtras viz. Vaik., Hir., Gobhila say that medhājanana is the action of making the child eat honey, ghee, curds or pounded barley and rice, to the accompaniment of mantras (like 'bhūstvayi dadhāmi' in Pār. or 'Bhūr ṛcaḥ' as in Vaikhānasa, or 'medhām te devaḥ' as in Āp.). The Baud. gṛ. (II. 1. 7) prescribes the giving of curds, honey and ghṛta ten times with each of the ten mantras (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1) of the anuvāka beginning with 'prāṇo rakṣati viśvam-ejat.' The Vaik. expressly says that the Vacā [533] plant, Pathyā plant, gold, honey and clarified butter become medhājanana. Manu II. 29 seizes upon the making the child eat gold (dust), honey and clarified butter to the accompaniment of mantras as the central part of the rite. Later works like the Saṁskāramayūkha regard this eating of honey and ghṛta as the principal part of jātakarma.[534]

(3) *Āyuṣya* :—Some of the sūtras speak of a rite called āyuṣya in the jātakarma. This consists in muttering over the navel (as in Pār.) or in the right ear of the boy some *mantra* or mantras invoking the bestowal of long life on the boy. Āśv. (vide p. 231) has such an invocation in conjunction with the eating of honey and ghṛta. Bhāradvāja also does the same. Mānava gṛ. prescribes the anuvāka 'Agne āyur-asi' (Kāṭhaka Saṁ. XI. 7) for 21 oblations (this anuvāka is full of the word 'āyuṣmat').

(4) *Aṁsābhimarśana* (touching the child on the shoulder or shoulders). Vide Āśv. above. Āp. begins his treatment with the direction that the father touches the boy with the Vātsapra anuvāka. Pār., Bhāradvāja speak of touching the boy twice, once with Vātsapra anuvāka (Vāj. S. XII. 18–29 or Tai. S. IV.

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533. वचा पथ्या हिरण्यं मधु सर्पिरिति मेधाजननानि भवन्ति। वैखानसस्मार्त III. 15. Amara gives उग्रगन्धा and हरितकी as synonyms of वचा and पथ्या respectively.

534. जातकर्मणि प्रधानमाहाश्वलायनः। कुमारं जातं पुरान्यैरालम्भात्सर्पिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकाषं हिरण्येन प्राशयेत्। संस्कारमयूख

2. 2), and again with 'be a stone, be an axe' (in Pār. and with the mantra 'may he grow' in Bhār.). Some sūtras like Śāṅ. omit this.

(5) *Mātrabhimantraṇa* :—(addressing the mother). The mother is addressed by the father with the verse 'Thou art Iḷā &c' (vide Bṛ. Up. above), which occurs in Pār. Many sūtras omit this. Hir. has a different verse.

(6) *Pañca-brāhmaṇasthāpana* :—We saw above that the Śatapatha prescribes the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father himself. Pār. prescribes the same and gives an option (the five brāhmaṇas are to repeat in order from the east prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, udāna and samāna). Śāṅ. asks the father himself to breathe thrice over the boy with a verse referring to the three Vedas. Several sūtras omit this.

(7) *Stana-pratidhāna* or *stanapradāna* :—making the child take the breast. The Bṛ. Up. and many of the sūtras prescribe this, together with the recitation of a *mantra* or *mantras* e. g. Pār. prescribes Vāj. S. 17. 87 and 38. 5 for the two breasts, Āp. and Bhār. prescribe Āp. mantrapāṭha II. 13. 2 only for the right breast; Hir. and Vaik. prescribe the same verse for both.

(8) *Deśābhimantraṇa*[535] (or-marśana):—touching the ground where the son is born and addressing the earth (with one or two mantras). Pār., Bhār., Āp., Hir. do this.

(9) *Nāmakaraṇa* :—(giving a name to the child). The Bṛ. Up., Āśv., Śāṅ., Gobhila, Khādira and several others speak of giving a name to the boy on the day of birth. Āśv. (I. 15. 4 and 10) prescribes the giving of two names on that date, one for common use (for which he gives elaborate rules) and the other a secret one which his parents only know till the boy's upanayana. Śāṅ. reverses this and says the name for which similar elaborate rules are laid down by him is the secret name and a name for common use is to be given on the 10th day. Āp. gṛ. (15. 2–3 and 8) says on the day of birth a name derived from the nakṣatra (lunar mansion) on which the boy is born is given, which is the secret name and then on the 10th another name is to be given. According to Gobhila and Khādira a name is to be given in the Soṣyantī-karma which is to be kept secret.

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535. भारद्वाज (I. 25) has यत्र शेते तदभिमृशति । वेद ते भूमि हृदयं दिवि चन्द्रमसि श्रितम् । वेदामृतस्य गोप्तारं माहं पौत्रमघं रुदम् ॥ इति ।. पारस्कर reads स यस्मिन्देशे जातो भवति तमभिमन्त्रयते । वेद......श्रितम् । वेदाहं तन्मां तद्विद्यात्पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतं शृणुयाम शरदः शतमिति । ।

(10) *Keeping off evil spirits* :—Though Āśv. and Śāṅ. are entirely silent on this point several sūtras devote large space to this topic and are full of *mantras* which are more are less magic. Āp. prescribes the offering of mustard seed and rice chaff in fire three times with each of eight mantras (Āp. mantrapāṭha II. 13. 7–14). Bhār. gṛ. (I. 23) also prescribes similar offerings with several verses. Hir. gṛ. requires the throwing of mustard seeds eleven times in the *sūtikāgni* with eleven mantras some of which are almost the same as in Bhāradvāja. Pār. gṛ. recites two of such mantras.[536]

It would not be out of place to mention a few other subsidiary matters. Baud., Āp., Hir. and Vaik. expressly say that the boy is to have a bath. The Hir. and Vaik.[537] say that the axe is to be placed on a stone and gold is to be placed on the axe, then these are to be turned upside down (so that gold lies at the bottom and the stone is on top) and then the boy is to be held head eastwards above the stone by a female in her two hands, while the father repeats the two *mantras* ' be a stone &c.' and the mantra ' thou art produced from (my) limb by limb &c.' This shows how what was once only symbolical (viz. uttering the mantras ' be a stone ' &c. indicating the desire that the boy should be strong, sharp and worthy like a stone, axe and gold) became transformed into a rite requiring physical presence of these things. Pār.. Āp., Hir., Bhār. and Vaik. prescribe that a pot full of water should be placed towards the head (of the woman and her child) with a mantra 'Oh waters !

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536. द्वारदेशे सूतिकाग्निमुपसमाधायोत्थानात्संधिवेलयोः फलीकरणमिश्रान् सर्षपानग्नावावपति । शण्डामर्का उपवीरः शौण्डिकेय उलूखलः । मलिम्लुचो द्रोणासश्च्यवनो नश्यतादितः स्वाहा ॥ आलिखन्ननिमिषः किंवदन्त उपश्रुतिर्हर्यक्षः कुम्भीशत्रुः पात्रपाणिर्नृमणिर्हन्त्रीमुखः सर्षपारुणश्च्यवनो नश्यतादितः स्वाहेति । पारस्कर I. 16. These two occur in Hir. and the first in भारद्वाज also.

537. कुमारे जाते द्वारवामेऽश्मानि परशुं तस्मिन्हिरण्यं स्थापयित्वा 'अश्मा भव' इत्यधरमुत्तरं करोति तस्योपरि 'अङ्गादङ्गात्' इति कुमारमेकया स्त्रिया धारयेत् । वैखानस III. 14. The verse is अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवसि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ Āp. M. P. II. 11. 33. Āp. gṛ. (15. 12) prescribes that when a father returns from a journey he should take in his hands his son's head, should smell (or kiss) the top of it thrice and then mutter this verse. Nir. III. 4. quotes this verse as a ṛk in support of the view that sons and daughters equally partake of the inheritance. The formula अश्मा भव occurs in Āśv. gṛ. and in others also. Vaik. says that the jar is to be to the south of the woman's head ; Āp. employs the word ' śirastaḥ ' which Sudarśana explains as ' near the head of the child '. The मन्त्र in पारस्कर is ' आपः सुप्तेषु जाग्रथ यथा देवेषु जाग्रथ । एवमस्यां सूतिकायां सपुत्रिकायां जाग्रथ ॥.' आप. म. पा. II. 13. 6 and हिरण्य. गृ. have a similar verse.

watch while (people are asleep).' None of the sūtras (except Vaikhānasa) refers to any astrological details. Vaik. (III. 14) says that when the child's nose appears, the position of the planets should be observed and his future welfare or otherwise should be examined, since the boy is to be so brought up as to enhance his good qualities. Both Āp. and Baud. say that the remnants of honey, curds and ghṛta should be mixed with water and poured out in a cowstable (and not thrown about in an impure place). This ceremony is comparatively brief in Āp., Śāṅ. and a few others, but in Hir., Pār. and Bhāradvāja it is most elaborate and would require an unduly long time considering the state of the newly born child and the woman in child-bed. There is no wonder, therefore, that this ceremony gradually went out of vogue.. In modern times a few well-to-do families in Western India sometimes perform what is called ' putrāvaṇa ' (in Marathi) and make the boy lick honey and ghṛta by means of a golden piece or ring. The dangers to the child of an elaborate ritual must have been apparent to all people even in ancient times.[538]

The Sm. C. (I. p. 19)[539] cites Hārīta, Śaṅkha, Jaimini to the effect that till the navel cord is cut there is no impurity, that the saṁskāra may be performed till then and that gifts of jaggery, sesame, gold, clothes, cows and corn may be made and accepted. The same work quotes Saṁvarta and other smṛtis to the effect that the father must bathe before he can perform the jātakarma rite. This would involve some further loss of time and it is remarkable that the gṛhya sūtras observe silence about this, though Manu V. 77 prescribes a bath on hearing of the birth of a son. The Sm. C. quotes Pracetas, Vyāsa and others to the effect that a nāndīśrāddha (which will be explained under śrāddha) should be performed in jātakarma (brāhmaṇas are not to eat cooked food in this śrāddha, but to receive corn or only money payment). Later works like the Dharmasindhu say that in jātakarma as in other rights, svastivācana, puṇyāhavācana and mātṛkāpūjana are necessary.

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538. The author knows of an instance where an old man jubilant over the birth of a son from his third wife entered upon the performance of the jātakarma according to his gṛhyasūtra and by the time the ceremony was over, the helpless child that had already little vitality was dead owing to exposure and cold.

539. हारीतोपि । ' प्राङ्नाभिच्छेदात् संस्कारं पुण्यार्थान्कुर्वन्ति छिन्नायामाशौचम् । ' ...... शङ्खः 'कुमारप्रसवे नाभ्यामच्छिन्नायां गुडतिलहिरण्यवस्त्रगोधान्यप्रतिग्रहेष्वपि न दोषस्त-द्वहरित्येके तदर्थं क्रियते । ' स्मृतिच० I. pp. 19 and 20.

Medieval writers of digests give extensive descriptions of *śānti* rites[540] performed to counteract the inauspicious effects of birth on the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of a month or on the amāvāsya or on Mūla, Āśleṣā and Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatras and certain astrological conjunctions like Vyatīpāta, Vaidhṛti, Saṁkrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac into another). These matters are passed over here for want of space, as of little importance in modern times and as new departures introduced in the ancient sūtra rites by later works. A few general remarks will be made on these matters in the section on *Śānti* and *Muhūrta*.

In modern times on the 5th and 6th days after birth certain ceremonies are performed for which there is no warrant in the sūtras. These probably arose in the times of the Purāṇas, since the only verses quoted on this point in the Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works are the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Vyāsa and Nārada. On these days the father or other male relative bathes in the first part of the night, then invokes Gaṇeśa, and certain minor deities called Janmadā on handfuls of rice and also Ṣaṣṭhīdevī and Bhagavatī (i. e. Durgā) and worships them with sixteen upacāras. Then *tāmbūla* and *dakṣiṇā* are offered to one or more brāhmaṇas and the members of the family keep awake that night with songs (in order to ward off evil spirits). One text from the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa says 'men fully armed should keep watch the whole night'. It must be noted here that fear springing from astrological considerations got better of even natural love and affection to such an extent that some writers advised that the child when born on certain inauspicious conjunctions should be abandoned and its face should not be seen till at least its eighth year. Vide Nityācārapaddhati pp. 244–255.

Utthāna :—(getting up from child-bed). According to Vaik. III. 18 on the 10th or 12th day after birth, the father shaves, bathes, purifies the house, performs in the jātakāgni (or in the ordinary fire, according to some) a sacrifice to the earth through some person belonging to another *gotra*. Then he brings back the aupāsana (gṛhya fire), offers oblations to Dhātṛ and others (as in I. 16), five oblations to Varuṇa (I. 17), the mūlahoma (I. 18) and feeds the brāhmaṇas. Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 25) is more elaborate. It prescribes that a mess of cooked food is prepared in the sūtikāgni

540. Vide संस्काररत्नमाला pp 846–47, संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 201–203. 'सर्वेषां गण्डजातानां परित्यागो विधीयते । जातस्यादर्शनं तावद्यावत्पूर्णं समाष्टकम् ॥ इति । अन्ये तु होमपूर्वकदानेन तद्दर्शनं शुभमित्याहुः ।' नित्याचारपद्धति.

and oblations are made to the *tithi* of the child's birth, and to three nakṣatras and to their presiding deities, two to Agni and then one (i. e. 10th) to Soma with Ṛg. I. 91. 7. Hir. gṛ. II. 4. 6–9 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 214) and Bhāradvāja (I. 26) also refer to *utthāna.* Both say that the sūtikāgni is taken away and the Aupāsana fire is brought in and oblations of ghṛta (12 or 8) are offered in that fire with the *mantras* beginning with 'dhātā dadātu no rayim'.

Nāmakaraṇa[541]:—The ceremony of naming a child. Vide Āp. gṛ. 15. 8–11 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 282–283), Āśv. gṛ. I. 15. 4–10), S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 183), Baud. gṛ. II. 1. 23–31, Bhār. gṛ. I. 26, Gobhila gṛ. II. 8. 8–18 (S.B.E. vol. 30 pp. 57–58), Hir. gṛ. II. 4. 6–15 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 214–215), Kāṭhaka gṛ. 34. 1–2 and 36. 3–4, Kauśika sūtra 58. 13–17, Mānava gṛ. I. 18, 1, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 24. 4–6 (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 50), Vaik. III. 19, Vārāha gṛ. 2.

There is great divergence of view as to the time when the child was named. Several times are suggested in the ancient literature and in the sūtras and smṛtis.

(*a*) We have already seen (p. 232) that a child was addressed by a name, according to Gobhila and Khādira, even in the Soṣyantīkarma.

(*b*) According to the Bṛ. Up., Āśv. and Śāṅ., Kāṭhaka gṛ. (34.1) a name was given to the child on the day of birth. This practice is supported by a passage of the Śat. Bṛ.[541a] 'therefore when a son is born (the father) should bestow on him a name; thereby he drives away the evil that might attach to the boy; (the father gives him) even a second, even a third (name)'. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali appears to refer to this view. "In the world the parents give a name to the son when born in a closed space (or room) such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta; from their employment (of that name for the boy) others also come to know 'this is his appellation' ".[542]

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541. For a comprehensive treatment of the way in which names were given from Vedic times onwards, my paper 'Naming a child or a person' in the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' for 1938, vol. 14, pp. 24–44 may be consulted. A summary of the points made in that paper is given below together with some fresh matter.

541a. तस्मात्पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात्पाप्मानमेवास्य तदपहन्त्यपि द्वितीयमपि तृतीयम् । शतपथ VI. 1. 3. 9.

542. लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 38.

(*c*) Āp., Baud., Bhār., and Pār. prescribe the 10th day after birth for nāmakaraṇa. The Mahābhāṣya quotes a passage[543] from the Yājñikas that a name was given on a day after the tenth from birth.

(*d*) Yāj. I. 12 prescribes it on the 11th day after birth.

(*e*) Baud. gṛ. (II. 1. 23) says that Nāmakaraṇa may be performed on the 10th or 12th, while Hir. gṛ. says that it should be on the 12th. As Vaik. prescribes that the mother should get up from child-bed on the 10th or 12th and then speaks of nāmakaraṇa, it follows that the ceremony was performed according to it on the 10th or 12th. Manu II. 30 says it may be performed on the 10th or 12th day after birth or on an auspicious *tithi*, muhūrta and nakṣatra thereafter.

(*f*) Gobhila (II. 8. 8, S. B. E. vol. 30. p. 57) and Khādira[544] say that it should be on any day after ten nights, one hundred nights or a year from birth. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (VI. 1) allows it on 11th, 12th or 16th day. Aparārka (p. 26) quotes gṛhyapariśiṣṭa to the effect that it may be performed after the 10th night is passed or after 100 nights or a year and the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa to the effect that it may be performed after 10 or 12 nights or on the 18th day or after a month. It is worthy of note that Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (pūrvabhāga para 68) says that Tārāpīḍa named his son Candrāpīḍa when the tenth day after birth fell on an auspicious muhūrta and that the minister Śukanāsa named his son Vaiśampāyana next day.[545]

The commentators were bewildered by these differences. Viśvarūpa explains Manu II. 30 as 'when the 10th night is past' and Kullūka does the same (i. e. according to him it is performed on the eleventh day). Medhātithi does not[546] like the addition of 'past' (atītāyām) after 'daśamyām' in Manu II. 30 and says just as jātakarma can be performed even when there is impurity due to birth, so nāmakaraṇa may be performed on the 10th and that the only essential thing is that it is not to

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543. महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 4.

544. जननादूर्ध्वं दशरात्राच्छतरात्रात्संवत्सराद्वा नाम कुर्यात् । खादिर II. 3. 6; गृह्यपरिशिष्टम् । जननाद्दशरात्रे व्युष्टे शतरात्रे संवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् । अपरार्क p. 26.

545. प्राप्ते दशमेऽहनि पुण्ये मुहूर्ते ...... चन्द्रापीड इति नाम चकार । अपरेद्युः शुकनासोपि ... ... वैशम्पायन इति नाम चकार । कादम्बरी para. 68; 'अवाप्ते च दशमेऽहनि ... ... महाश्वेतेति यथार्थमेव नाम कृतवान् ।' कादम्बरी para 140.

546. जातकर्मवदाशौचेपि करिष्यते । ... ... यदि दशमीद्वादश्यौ वक्ष्यमाणगुणयुक्ते भवतः तदा तयोः कर्तव्यम् । यदा न तदान्यस्मिन्नप्यहनि कर्तव्यम् । ... ... अयं च परमार्थः । दशमीद्वादशीभ्यामर्वाक् न कर्तव्यम् । उत्तरकालं च यदहर्नक्षत्रं लग्नं परिशुद्धं तदहरेव कर्तव्यम् । मेधातिथि on मनु II. 30.

be performed before the 10th or 12th. Aparārka says that there is an option and one may follow one's own gṛhyasūtra. It appears that the nāmakaraṇa [547] of Hariścandra, son of Jayatcandra, king of Kanoj, took place three weeks after jātakarma (on 31. 8. 1175 A. D.). In modern times nāmakaraṇa generally takes place on the 12th day after birth and no Vedic ceremony as prescribed in the sūtras is gone through, but women assemble and after consulting the male members of the family beforehand announce the name and place the child in the cradle.

In Ṛg. VIII. 80. 9 we read 'when you give us a fourth name connected with (the performance of) a sacrifice, we long for it; immediately afterwards, you, our master, take us' (forward to glory) [548]. This shows that a man could have a fourth name even in the times of Ṛg. and the fourth was a name due to the performance of a yajña. Sāyaṇa explains that the four names are: nakṣatranāma (derived from the nakṣatra on which a person was born), a secret name, a publicly known name and a fourth name like Somayājī (due to having performed a *Somayāga*). In Ṛg. X. 54. 4 there appears to be a reference to four names (though Sāyaṇa takes *nāma* here to mean [illegible]ra, even or deed). In Ṛg. IX. 75. 2 there is reference to a t[illegible] 'the son has a third name unknown to the parents and [illegible] is in the bright part of heaven'. The two names are the n[illegible]tra name and the ordinary name, while the third would be the name due to the performance of a sacrifice (which the parents could not foresee at his birth). In the Ṛg. frequent reference is made to the secret name of a person. Vide Ṛg. IX 87. 3, X. 55. 1–2. We saw above (note 541a) that the Śat. Br. speaks of a second or even a third name for a person given to him by his parents. The same Brāhmaṇa [549] recommends 'Therefore a brāhmaṇa

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547. Vide I. A vol. 18 p. 129, read with E. I. vol. IV. p. 120 and E. I. vol. X. p. 95.

548. तुरीयं नाम यज्ञियं यदा करस्तदुश्मसि । आदित्पतिर्न ओहसे । ऋ. VIII. 80.9; चत्वारि ते असुर्याणि नामादाभ्यानि महिषस्य सन्ति । ऋ. X. 54. 4; दधाति पुत्रः पित्रोरपीच्यं नाम तृतीयमधि रोचने दिवः । ऋ. IX. 75. 2. The हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य speaks of three names नक्षत्रनाम, व्यावहारिकनाम and a third one like सोमयाजी. The महाभाष्य also says that a man bears the name अग्निष्टोमयाजी when he performs अग्निष्टोम 'अग्निष्टोमयाजीत्येतत्तस्मिन् भविता । कस्मिन् योऽस्य पुत्रो जनिता । कदा यदाग्निष्टोमेनेष्टं भवति । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 168 on पा. III. 4. 1.

549. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽर्ध्यमाने द्वितीयं नाम कुर्वीत राध्नोति हैव य एवं विद्वान् द्वितीयं नाम कुरुते । शतपथ III. 6. 2. 24. Vide द्राह्यायणश्रौत I. 3. 9 for the recital of the three names of a sacrificer (धन्विभाष्य says they were अभिवादनीय, व्यावहारिक and नक्षत्रनाम).

when he does not prosper should give himself a second name'. But how these names were formed is not stated anywhere in the Vedic literature. In the Tai. S. VI. 3. 1. 3 it is said 'therefore a brāhmaṇa who has two names prospers'.[550] The Śat. Br. (II. 1. 2. 11) says 'Arjuna is the secret name of Indra and the constellation of Phālguūīs being presided over by Indra they are really Arjunyaḥ, but are called Phālgunyaḥ in an indirect way'.[551] We saw above (p. 230) that the Bṛ. Up. speaks of a secret name given by the father on the day of birth. Hardly any secret names are expressly mentioned in the Vedic literature except the name of Arjuna given to Indra (and being secret they cannot be expected to be mentioned). How the secret name was given is not clear from the Vedic literature. In Vāj. S. 17. 89 there is a reference to the secret name of ghṛta[552]. The Tai. S. gives expression to the request that the (āhavanīya) fire should bear the name of one who keeps sacred fires, while the person praying was away on a journey[553].

A few examples of the three names of a person from the Vedic literature may be given here. These are generally the ordinary name, a name derived from his father and a third from his gotra (or from the name of some remote ancestor). In Ṛg. V. 33. 8 we find Trasadasyu (his own name), Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa), Gairikṣita (descendant of Girikṣita). In the Ait. Br. (33. 5) Śunaḥśepa is spoken of as Ājīgarti (son of Ajīgarta) and also as Āṅgirasa (a gotra name), while king Hariścandra is mentioned (Ait. Br. 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aikṣvāka (descendant of Ikṣvāku). In the Śat. Br. (XIII. 5. 4. 1) Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Śaunaka (a gotra name) is said to have been the priest of Janamejaya. In the Chān. Up. (V. 3. 1 and 7) Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (son of Āruṇi) is styled Gautama (a gotra name). In the Kaṭhopaniṣad

550. तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुकः । तै. सं. VI. 3. 1. 3. This is quoted in Hir. gṛ., Bhār. gṛ. I. 26 and other gṛhya sūtras.

551. अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रो यदस्य गुह्यं नामार्जुन्यो वै नामैतास्ता एतत्परोक्षमाचक्षते फाल्गुन्य इति । शतपथ II. 1. 2. 11.

552. घृतस्य नाम गुह्यं यदस्ति जिह्वा देवानाममृतस्य नाभिः । वाज. सं. 17. 89.

553. मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेदः पिता माता च दधतुर्यदग्रे । तत्त्वं बिभृहि पुनरा मदेतोस्तवाहं नाम बिभराण्यग्ने ॥ तै. सं. I. 5. 10. 1. This is differently read in other संहिताs e. g. काठक VII. 3 reads ' दधतुर्न्यग्रे । तत्त्वं गोपाया पुनर्दैवे ते वयं बिभराम तव नाम. This verse is quoted in nāmakaraṇa by several sūtras, e. g. Bhār. I. 26.

(I. 1. 1 and 11) Naciketas is the son of Vājaśravasa and is addressed as Gautama (a gotra name).

Usually however a person is referred to in the Vedic literature by two names. In some cases it is his own name and a gotra name e. g. Medhyātithi Kāṇva (Ṛg. VIII. 2. 40), Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa (Ṛg. X. 149. 5), Vatsaprī Bhālandana (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6), Bālāki Gārgya (Bṛ. Up. II. 1. 1), Cyavana Bhārgava (Ait. Br. 39. 7). In other cases a man is referred to by his own name and another name derived from a country or locality e. g. Kaśu Caidya (Ṛg. VIII. 5. 37), Bhīma Vaidarbha (Ait. Br. 35. 8), Durmukha Pāñcāla (Ait. Br. 39. 23), Janaka Vaideha (Bṛ. Up. III. 1. 1), Ajātaśatru Kāśya (Bṛ. Up. II. 1. 1). In some cases a matronymic is added to a person's name e. g. Dīrghatamā Māmateya (Ṛg. I. 158. 6), Kutsa Ārjuneya (son of Arjunī, Ṛg. IV. 26. 1, VII. 19. 2, VIII. 1. 11), Kakṣīvat Auśija (son of a woman called Uśik, Ṛg. I. 18. 1, Vāj. S. III. 28),[554] Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, Tai. Br. I. 5. 10), Mahidāsa Aitareya (son of Itarā, Chān. Up. III. 16.7). In the vaṁśa added at the end of the Bṛ. Up. there are about forty sages with matronymic names. The practice of mentioning a man by reference to his mother's name or to his mother's father's gotra was continued till later times, as will be shown later on. The most usual method, however, of referring to a person in the Ṛg. and also in other Vedic works was to state his name along with another derived from his father's name. For example, Ambarīṣa, Ṛjrāśva, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārṣāgira (son of Vṛṣāgir, Ṛg. I. 100. 17); king Sudās is called Paijavana (son of Pijavana, Ṛg. VII. 18. 22), Devāpi is Ārṣṭiṣeṇa (son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa, Ṛg. X. 98. 5-6), Śaṁyu Bārhaspatya (Tai. S. II. 6. 10), Bhṛgu Vāruṇi (Ait. Br. 13. 10 and Tai. Up. III. 1), Bharata Dauṣṣanti (Śatapatha XIII. 5. 4. 11, Ait. Br. 39. 9), Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava (Ait. Br. 22. 9).

The principal rules about names may now be set out from the gṛhyasūtras. Āśv. (I. 15. 4-10, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 182-183) says 'Let (them) give the boy a name beginning with a sonant, having a semivowel in it, with a *visarga* at the end, consisting of two syllables or of four syllables, of two syllables if (the father) is desirous of firm (worldly) position (for his son), of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual eminence (for his son);

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554. वार्तिक 7 on पाणिनि VI. 1.37 explains the words कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः (ऋ. I. 18. 1). Vide महाभाष्य vol III. p. 33.

but (in all cases) with an even number of syllables in the case of males and with an uneven number of syllables in the case of women. And let him find out (for the boy) a name to be employed at respectful salutations (at Upanayana &c.); that name (the boy's) mother and father alone should know till his upanayana'[555]. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 50) omits the rule about the name ending in a *visarga* and allows an option of six syllables and adds that the name should be formed by a kṛt affix (from a root) and not by a *taddhita*; that this name should be known only to his parents and that on the tenth day after birth the father should give the child a name for ordinary use which should be pleasing to brāhmaṇas. It should be noticed that Āśv. and Śāṅ. differ on one very important point. According to Āśv. the name for which elaborate rules are laid down is to be the ordinary name and he lays down no rule about the formation of the secret name; while Śāṅ. lays down for the secret name the same rules as Āśv. does for the public one and Śāṅ. says about the public name that it should be pleasing.

Instead of quoting gṛhya sūtras at length the principal rules about names deducible from them may be stated in the form of propositions with a few illustrations for each.

(1) The first rule in almost all sūtras is that the name for males should contain two or four syllables or an even number. This rule is deduced from Vedic literature where most of the names contain either two syllables (e. g. Baka, Trita, Kutsa, Bhṛgu) or four syllables (Trasadasyu, Purukutsa, Medhyātithi, Brahmadatta &c.), though names of three syllables (like Kavaṣa, Cyavana, Bharata) and of five syllables

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555. नाम चास्मै दद्युः घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमभिनिष्ठानान्तं द्व्यक्षरम्। चतुरक्षरं वा। द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः। युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम्। अयुजानि स्त्रीणाम्। अभिवादनीयं च समीक्षेत तन्मातापितरौ विद्यातामोपनयनात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 15. 4–10. The घोषs are the last three letters of the five वर्गs (कवर्गादि), य् र् ल् व and ह. Separate the 5th sūtra as घोषवदादि अन्तरन्तस्थं (अन्तः मध्ये अन्तस्थाः यरलवाः यस्य); अभिनिष्ठानान्त means अभिनिष्ठानः अन्ते यस्य, अभिनिष्ठान means विसर्ग. पाणिनि VIII. 3. 86 derives that word. That such rules are very ancient follows from a quotation in the महाभाष्य 'याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति। दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य नाम विदध्याद् घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितमिति। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 4. त्रिपुरुषानूकम् that would follow the name of (one of) the three ancestors of the boy's father. अनूक means 'descent or family.' अवृद्धं means that the first syllable is not आ, ऐ or औ (vide पाणिनि I. 1. 73) and अनरिप्रतिष्ठित means 'not borne by his foe.'

(like Nābhānediṣṭha, Hiraṇyastūpa) are not wanting. Baijavāpa[556] gṛhya allowed the name to be of one, two, three, four or any number of syllables. Śāṅ. allowed a name even of six syllables and Baud. gṛ. (II. 1. 25) of six or even eight. Examples of names with two syllables and four syllables are given below.

(2) Almost all gṛhya sūtras contain the rule that the name should begin with a sonant and contain in the middle a semivowel. This is stated also in the ancient quotation from Yājñikas in the Mahābhāṣya.

(3) Some sūtras prescribe that the name should end in a *visarga* preceded[557] by a long vowel (e. g. Āp., Bhār., Hir., Pār.). Āśv. only mentions that it should end in a visarga, while Vaik. and Gobhila say that it may end in a long vowel or in a *visarga.* These rules were probably based on such Vedic names as Sudās, Dīrghatamas, Pṛthuśravas (that occur in the Ṛgveda) and such names as Vatsaprī (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6).

(4) Āp. prescribes that the name should have two parts, the first being a noun and the second a verbal formation (generally a past passive participle). This rule is probably based on such ancient names as Brahmadatta (which occurs in Bṛ. Up. I. 3. 24 and figures very much in Pali works), Devadatta, Yajñadatta &c.

(5) Many gṛhya sūtras (like Pār., Gobhila, Śāṅ., Baijavāpa, Vārāha) say that the name should be formed from a root by a kṛt affix and should not be a taddhita (i. e. formed from a noun by an affix).

(6) Āp. and Hir. say that the name should have the *upasarga* ' su ' in it as a Brāhmaṇa passage says that such a name has stability in it. Examples are Sujāta, Sudarśana, Sukeśas (Praśna Up. I. 1).

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556. बैजवापः । पिता नाम करोति एकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् । अपरार्क p. 27. भवः, भद्रः, देवः, वार्दाः (वारि ददाति इति), गीर्दाः (गिरं ददाति) are examples of names of two syllables and देवदत्तः, विष्णुमित्रः, रुद्रदत्तः, भवनाथः, नागदेवः, सुदर्शनः, द्रविणोदाः of those of four syllables. In the Mahābhāṣya देवदत्त and यज्ञदत्त are the most frequent stock names whenever it predicates something about a person in general and it also says that such names are shortened as e. g. ' देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामेति ' महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 111 on पाणिनि I. 1. 45.

557. पुत्रस्य नाम दधाति पिता मातेति । द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तं घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थम् । आप. गृ. 15. 8–9.

(7) Baud. gṛ. prescribes that the name may be derived from a sage or a deity or an ancestor.[558] The Mānava gṛhya, however, forbids the giving of a name of a deity itself, but allows the giving of a name derived from the name of a deity or a nakṣatra. Examples of names derived from sages would be Vāsiṣṭha, Nārada &c. and of names taken from deities would be Viṣṇu, Śiva &c. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 12 quotes a passage of Śaṅkha that the name should be connected with one's family deity. It should be noticed that in modern times most names in many parts of India are the names of deities or of heroes supposed to be *avatāras* of deities. In Vedic literature hardly any human being bears the name of any of the Vedic gods (Indra, Mitra, Pūṣan &c). There are only a few exceptions such as that of Bhṛgu (in Tai. Up. III. 1) who is said to have learnt from his father called Varuṇa and in the Praśna Up. (I. 1) there is Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya whose name is derived from Sūrya. But in the Vedic Literature persons have names derived from the names of gods, such as Indrota (Indra + ūta, protected), Indradyumna. The names that occur in the Mahābhāṣya such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta, Vāyudatta (vol. II. p. 296), Viṣṇumitra (vol. I. pp. 41 and 359), Bṛhaspatidattaka (or Bṛhaspatika), Prajāpatidattaka (or–patika), Bhānudattaka (or Bhānuka) and others set out in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 425) exemplify the rule of the Mānavagṛhya. It is difficult to say when the very names of deities began generally to be borne by human beings. Probably the practice began in the first centuries of the Christian era. From the fifth century onwards we have historic examples of such names, e. g. in the Eran stone inscriptions of Budhagupta dated in the Gupta saṁvat 165 i. e. 484–5 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions No. 19) there is a brāhmaṇa Indra–Viṣṇu, son of Varuṇa-Viṣṇu, son of Hari-Viṣṇu.

(8) Baud., Pār., Gobhila (and the Yājñikas quoted by the Mahābhāṣya) prescribe that the name of the boy may be the same as that of any of the ancestors of the father. The Mānava gṛ. (I. 18) expressly says that the father's own name should not be given. This practice was observed in ancient times and continues even today, when the child is often given his grandfather's name.[559] Vide I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 where we see that Pulakeśi II was grandson of Pulakeśi I.

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558. ऋष्यनूकं देवतानूकं वा। यथैवेषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः। बौ. गृ. सू. II.1.28–29; पशस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम्। मानवगृह्य I. 18.

559. In the E. I. vol. 14 p. 342 (of śake 1470) strangely enough the engraver's name is the same as his father's.

(9) The gṛhyasūtras (except Pār. and Mānava) are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents, in the Soṣyantīkarma according to Gobhila and Khādira, at birth according to some (like Āśv. and Kāṭhaka) and according to others (like Āp., Baud., Bhār.) at the time of Nāmakaraṇa on 10th or 12th day. We saw above that Śāṅ. and Kāṭhaka give elaborate rules about the secret name, which rules are those of the Vyāvahārika[560] name according to Āśv. and many other sūtrakāras. Gobhila and Khādira give no rules about the secret name. Āp., Hir. and Vaik. only say that the secret name should be derived from the nakṣatra of birth, but give no further rules. Bhāradvāja[561] speaks of the giving of two names in Nāmakaraṇa, one being derived by applying the intricate rules described above and the other being a nakṣatra name; but it is not quite clear which was to be the secret name; it is probable, however, that the nakṣatra name was to be the secret one. According to Āśvalāyana the secret name was called Abhivādanīya (which was to be known to the parents only till the boy's upanayana and which was to be used by the boy for announcing himself in respectful salutations); but he does not say how it was to be derived. Gobhila, Khādira, Vārāha (5) and Mānava speak of an abhivādanīya name. Gobhila prescribes that this name was to be given to the boy at the time of upanayana by the ācārya and was to be derived from the nakṣatra of birth or from the presiding deity of that nakṣatra. Gobhila[562] further adds that according to some teachers the abhivādanīya name was derived from

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560. According to the Kāṭhaka gṛhya (34. 1–3 and 36) only one is given (on the day of birth) and the same is used in Nāmakaraṇa (36. 3), but it mentions that it was the view of some that another name was to be given in Nāmakaraṇa.

561. नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्यादन्यतरद्गुह्यं स्यादन्यतरेणैनमामन्त्रयेरन्। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 26.

562. गोभिल and खादिर appear to suggest three names, one that was secret given in सोष्यन्तीकर्म (गोभिल II. 7. 15–16), the 2nd in nāmakaraṇa (गोभिल II. 8. 8 and 14–16 derived by means of the intricate rules specified above) and a third in Upanayana called अभिवादनीय (गोभिल II. 10. 21–25). According to them a name like सोमयाजी would be the fourth name. In वैखानस I. 7 it is said that in the पुण्याहवाचन the following names of the यजमान should be taken one after another viz. नक्षत्रनाम, गोत्रनाम, पितृनाम, मातृगोत्रनाम and स्वनाम (ending in शर्मन् if he is a ब्राह्मण). को नामासीति नामधेयं पृच्छति तस्याचार्यः। अभिवादनीयं नाम कल्पयित्वा देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वा। गोत्राश्रयमप्येके। गोभिलीयगृह्य II. 10. 22–25; को नामासीत्युक्तो देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वाभिवादनीयं नाम ब्रूयादसावस्मीति। खादिर II. 4. 12.

the gotra of the boy (as e. g. Gārgya, Śāṇḍilya, Gautama &c.). This practice is based on the usage we find in the Upaniṣads, where Satyakāma when about to go to a teacher for Vedic study asks his mother what his gotra was (Chān. Up. IV. 4. 1) and where the teacher also asks him what his gotra was. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad Naciketas is styled Gautama and in Chān. V. 3. 7 Śvetaketu is addressed as Gautama by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali when the latter expounded Saṁvarga-vidyā to the former. But if the abhivādanīya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy. From Gobhila it appears that the ācārya told the boy his abhivādanīya name, but the Khādira suggests that the boy already knew it (from his father or mother) and informed the teacher. The nakṣatranāma was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Vedāṅgajyotiṣa [563] (of the Ṛg) in verses 25–28 enumerates 28 nakṣatras (adding Abhijit after Uttarāṣāḍhā and before Śravaṇa) and their presiding deities and adds that in sacrifices the sacrificer is to bear a name derived from the name of the presiding deity of his nakṣatra. The object of keeping the nakṣatra name secret seems to have been to prevent rites of *abhicāra* (magical practices) against a

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563. नक्षत्रदेवता ह्येता एताभिर्यज्ञकर्माणि । यजमानस्य शास्त्रज्ञैर्नाम नक्षत्रजं स्मृतम् ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (ऋ.) verse 28. In the Vedic Literature and in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa the nakṣatras are enumerated from Kṛttikā to Apabharaṇī and not from Aśvinī to Revatī as in medieval and modern times. For the position of Abhijit, vide Tai. Br. I. 5. 2. The nakṣatras and their presiding deities may profitably be specified here. Some of the names differ from the modern ones. The oldest lists are in the Atharvaveda (19. 7. 2–5) and Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. 1–3, Tai. Br. I. 5. 1 and III. 1. 1. कृत्तिका-अग्नि, रोहिणी—प्रजापति, मृगशीर्ष or मृगशिरः (इन्वका in तै. सं.)—सोम, आर्द्रा (बाहू in तै. सं)—रुद्र, पुनर्वसू—अदिति, तिष्य (पुष्य in अथर्व०)—बृहस्पति, आश्रेषा (आश्लेषा in अथर्व०)—सर्पाः, मघा–पितरः, फल्गुनी (पूर्वा)—अर्यमा, फल्गुनी (उत्तरा)—भग, हस्त–सवितृ, चित्रा (त्वष्टृ), निष्ट्या (स्वाति in अथर्व०)—वायु, विशाखे–इन्द्राग्नी, अनूराधा (or अनुराधा)—मित्र, ज्येष्ठा (रोहिणी in तै. सं.)—इन्द्र, मूल (विचृतौ in तै. सं.)—पितरः (निर्ऋति in ब्राह्मणs and शाङ्खायनगृह्य and प्रजापति acc. to others), अषाढा (पूर्वा)—आपः, अषाढा (उत्तरा)—विश्वेदेवाः, श्रोणा (श्रवण in अथर्व०)—विष्णु, श्रविष्ठा (or धनिष्ठा)–वसवः, शतभिषक्—वरुण (called इन्द्र in तै. सं.), प्रोष्ठपदा (पूर्वाभाद्रपदा)—अजएकपात्, प्रोष्ठपदा (उत्तरा भाद्रपदा)—अहिर्बुध्न्य, रेवती—पूषन्, अश्वयुक् (अश्विनी)—अश्विनौ, अपभरणी (भरणी in अथर्व०)—यम. The deity of अभिजित् is ब्रह्मा. These are given also in शाङ्खायनगृह्य I. 20, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 78. 16–17, वैखानसस्मार्त (III. 20). Some give इन्द्र as the deity of चित्रा. In the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (ऋग्वेदीय), विष्णु ध. सू., शाङ्खा. गृ., भग and अर्यमा are the presiding deities of पूर्वा फल्गुनी and उत्तरा फल्गुनी respectively.

person, for the effective employment of which it was necessary to know a person's name. [564]

Hundreds of names occur in the Vedic Literature, but there are hardly any names directly derived from a nakṣatra. In the Śatapatha (VI. 2. 1. 37) there is an Āṣāḍhi Sauśromateya (son of Aṣāḍha and Suśromatā). Here Aṣāḍha is probably connected with the nakṣatra Aṣāḍhā. It appears therefore that in the times of the brāhmaṇas nakṣatra names were secret and so are not met with. Gradually however nakṣatra names ceased to be secret and became common. For several centuries before the Christian era nakṣatra names were very common. Pāṇini (who cannot be placed later than 300 B. C. and may have flourished some centuries earlier still) gives several rules (IV. 3. 34–37 and VII. 3. 18) for deriving names of males and females from nakṣatras. In IV. 3. 34 he says that names are derived from Śraviṣṭhā, Phālgunī, Anurādhā, Svāti, Tiṣya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Aṣāḍhā and Bahulā (Kṛttikā) without adding any termination signifying 'born on' (e. g. we have the names Śraviṣṭhaḥ, Phālgunaḥ &c.). In VII. 3. 18 he derives the name Proṣṭhapadaḥ from Proṣṭhapadā. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) the brother-in-law of Candragupta Maurya is said to have been a vaiśya named Puṣyagupta (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 43). This shows that in the 4th century B. C. a name was derived from the nakṣatra Puṣya (so the name was nakṣatrāśraya). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 231) speaks of boys named Tiṣya and Punarvasu and cites Citrā, Revatī, Rohiṇī as names of women born on these nakṣatras (vol. II. p. 307) and of Caitra as a male (vol. II. p. 128). The Mahābhāṣya speaks of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty (vol. I. p. 177, vol. II. pp. 34 and 123). Buddhists also had nakṣatra names e. g. Moggaliputta Tissa (where a gotra name and a nakṣatra name from Tiṣya are combined), a parivrājaka Poṭṭhapāda in Dīgha I. p. 187 and III. p. 1 (from the nakṣatra Proṣṭhapadā), Asāḍa, Phaguna, Svātiguta, Pusarakhita and in the Sāñcī inscriptions of 3rd century B. C. (E. I. (vol. II. p. 95). The giving of nakṣatra names continued for centuries after the Christian era. For example, in the Palitana plate of Dhruvasena I dated Valabhi saṁvat 210 (about 529 A. D.) there is a brāhmaṇa named Viśākha. We have

564. The com. of खादिरगृह्य says (II. 2. 32) 'वैदिककर्मार्थमेतत्। नामापरिज्ञाने अभिचाराद्यसिद्धिः फलम्' and देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 36. 4 says 'प्रयोजनं परैरभिचारे क्रियमाणेऽनुच्चारात्मकटम्'.

names like Puṣyasvāmī, Rohiṇīsvāmī (in the plates of Śivarāja dated 602–3 A. D., in E. I. vol. IX. p. 288). Another way of deriving names from nakṣatras was to form them from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which a person was born. A man was called Āgneya, if he was born on Kṛttikā (Agni being its devatā), Maitra (from being born on Anurādhā). In modern times this round-about way is given up and persons are named directly from the names of gods and avatāras (like Rāma).

There is another way of deriving names from nakṣatras set forth in medieval works on Dharmaśāstra and Jyotiṣa. Each of the 27 nakṣatras is divided into four *pādas* and to each pāda a specific letter is assigned (e. g., cū, ce, co and lā for the pādas of Aśvinī) from which names are derived for persons born in those pādas (e. g. Cūḍāmaṇi, Cedīśa, Coleśa and Lakṣmaṇa for the four pādas of Aśvinī).[565] These names are secret and are even now muttered into the ear of the brahmacārī in Upanayana and are known as the name in the daily saṁdhyā prayer.

Modern works like the Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 237) say that four kinds of names may be given viz. devatānāma, māsanāma, nakṣatranāma and vyāvahārikanāma. The first shows that the bearer is the devotee of that devatā. The Nirṇayasindhu[566] quotes a verse about twelve names derived from the month in which a man was born and adds that the Madanaratna laid down that the names specified in the verse were to be given to the months from Mārgaśīrṣa or Caitra. Such names (of Viṣṇu) are being given now, particularly in Western India, but without regard to the month of birth. So early as in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of

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565. Vide संस्काररत्नमाला p. 859 and संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 239–240 where all the letters for the 27 नक्षत्रs are set out from a work called ज्योतिषार्क and on pp. 860–861 of the former the 112 names (for the 4 पादs of 28 नक्षत्रs) are exemplified. Even so late a work as the धर्मसिन्धु (composed in 1790 A. d.) disapproves of these names as not based on any Vedic authorities 'केचित्तु चूचेचोलाश्विनीप्रोक्तेत्यादिज्योतिर्ग्रन्थोक्तावकहडाचक्रानुसारेणाश्विन्यादेश्चतुर्षु चरणेषु चूडामणिश्चेदीशश्चोलेशो लक्ष्मण इत्यादिकानि नाक्षत्रनामानि कुर्वन्ति तन्न श्रौतग्रन्थादिबहुसंमतम् ।' धर्मसिन्धु III परिच्छेद, पूर्वार्ध.

566. स्मृतिसंग्रहे । कृष्णोऽनन्तोऽच्युतश्चक्री वैकुण्ठोथ जनार्दनः । उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः । योगीशः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मासनामान्यनुक्रमात् ॥ अत्र मार्गशीर्षादिश्चैत्रादिर्वा क्रम इति मदनरत्ने । निर्णयसिन्धु परिच्छेद III पूर्वार्ध. The verse quoted occurs in the Śaunaka Kārikās (Ms. in Bombay University Library) as one of Garga. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (Ānand.ed.) VI. 2 speaks of माsनामs beginning from मार्गशीर्ष.

Varāhamihira the twelve names of Viṣṇu are associated with the twelve months.[567]

As to the names of girls, some special rules were laid down. Many gṛhyasūtras say that the names of girls should contain an uneven number of syllables and the Mānava gṛ. (I. 18) expressly says that the names of girls should be of three syllables. Pār. and Vārāhagṛhya further say that the names of girls should end in ' ā ', Gobhila and Mānava say they should end in ' dā ' (as in Satyadā, Vasudā, Yaśodā, Narmadā), Śaṅkha-likhita dharmasūtra and Baijavāpa require that it should end in ' ī ', while the Baud.[568] gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra says that it should end in a long vowel. The Vārāhagṛhya adds an intricate rule that the name of a girl should have an ' ā ' vowel in it and should not be after a river, a nakṣatra or should not be the name of the sun or moon or Pūṣan and should not be one having the idea of ' given by god ' as in Devadattā or having the word ' rakṣitā (as in Buddharakṣitā).[569] Manu II. 33 prescribes that the names of women should end in a long vowel, should be easy to pronounce, should not suggest any harsh acts, should be perspicuous, should be pleasing to the ear, auspicious and should convey some blessing and in III. 9 Manu and Āp. gṛ. III. 13 say that one should not marry a girl named after nakṣatras, trees, rivers. In modern times girls frequently bear the names of the great rivers of India (Sindhu, Jāhnavī, Yamunā, Tāpī, Narmadā, Godā, Kṛṣṇā, Kāverī &c.).

It is remarkable that Manu altogether omits the involved rules given by the gṛhya sūtras about naming a boy and prescribes (II. 31–32) two simple rules viz. that the names of all the members of the four varṇas should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, wealth and lowness (or contempt) and that the names of brāhmaṇas and the other varṇas should have an addition (upapada) suggestive of śarman (happiness), rakṣā

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567. The 12 names are केशव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूदन, त्रिविक्रम, वामन, श्रीधर, हृषीकेश, पद्मनाभ, दामोदर.

568. Vide अपरार्क p. 27 for quotations from शङ्खलिखित and बैजवाप. नामैवं कन्याया अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमयुग्माक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषादेवदत्तरक्षिता-वर्जम् । वाराहगृह्य 2.

569. These directions of the Vāraha gṛ. were not observed in ancient times. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 307) mentions women named Citrā, Revatī, Aśvinī, also a woman named Devadattā (vol. I. p. 184) and यज्ञदत्ता (vol. III. p. 156) and also देवदत्तिका (or देवका), यज्ञदत्तिका (or यज्ञका) in vol. III. p. 325.

(protection), puṣṭi (prosperity) and preṣya (service or dependence on others). It is significant that none of the gṛhyasūtras except Pāraskara[570] makes any reference to these additions (śarman and the like) to the names of brāhmaṇas and others. Therefore this was comparatively a later development, though such additions must have been in vogue at least two centuries before the Christian era. The Mahābhāṣya[571] (vol. III. p. 416) cites Indravarman and Indrapālita as the names of a rājanya and a vaiśya. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 27) says[572] that the names of brāhmaṇas should have the addition of *śarma* or *deva*, of kṣatriyas *varma* or *trāta*, of vaiśyas *bhūti* or *datta*, and of śūdras *dāsa*. Similar rules are given in the Purāṇas[573]. These rules were sometime observed, but were often broken from very ancient times as inscriptions show. A striking example of the observance of these rules is contained in the Talguṇḍa Inscription of Kakutsthavarman of the Kadamba family (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) where the founder who was a brāhmaṇa is styled Mayūraśarman, but his descendants who were kings had names ending in varman (which was appropriate to kṣatriyas). On the other hand we have frequent breaches of these rules. In the Gupta Inscriptions No. 35 (C. I. I. vol. III, p. 150, at p. 156 the Mandasor Ins. of Yaśodharman of Mālava year 589, 645–46 A. D.) the genealogy of the brāhmaṇa ministers is Ṣaṣṭhīdatta, his son Varāhadāsa, his son Ravikīrti (so the upapadas ' datta ' and ' dāsa ' appropriate to vaiśyas and śūdras respectively were added to brāhmaṇa names). In the Neulpur plate of Śubhakara of Orissa (8th century A. D., E. I. vol. XV. p. 4) we have several bhaṭṭas whose names end in *vardhana*, *datta* and *svāmin*. In the Nidhanpura plate of Bhāskaravarman (E. I. vol. XIX p. 115) among the numerous donees (who must have been all brāhmāṇas) there are some who are named Śrāddhadāsa, Karkadatta and Merudatta. In the Inscriptions of the Śaka king Dāmijaḍa

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570. नक्षत्रनामा नदीनामा वृक्षनामाश्च गर्हिताः । आप. गृ. III. 13; शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य । पारस्कर I. 17. The बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र I. 11. 10 says 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति–शर्मान्तं ब्राह्मणस्य, वर्मान्तं क्षत्रियस्य, गुप्तान्तं वैश्यस्य, भृत्यदासान्तं शूद्रस्य दासान्तमेव वा । '.

571. This is on वार्तिक 2 ' भोराजन्यविशां वेति वाच्यम् ' on पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83.

572. यमः । शर्मा देवश्च विप्रस्य वर्मा त्राता च भूभुजः । भूतिर्दत्तश्च वैश्यस्य दासः शूद्रस्य कारयेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 27.

573. e. g. विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 9 शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रसंश्रयम् । गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥; the संस्कारतत्त्व p. 919 quotes another verse of विष्णुपुराण 'ततश्च नाम कुर्वीत पितैव दशमेऽहनि । देवपूर्वं नराख्यं हि शर्मवर्मादिसंयुतम् ॥.' This is विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 8.

of the year 60 (C. I. I. vol. II. p. 16) his father is called *Valavaḍha* (Balavardhana) and his son Mitravaḍhana (Mitravardhana).

A few words may be said about matronymics. A few examples of such names have been given above from Vedic Literature. Āśv. gṛ.[574] (I. 5. 1.) says that in selecting a bridegroom or bride " one should first examine the family, as has been already said ' those who on the mother's and father's side ' ". This refers to the Āśv. Śrauta sūtra where it is required that both parents of the brāhmaṇa at the time of camasabhakṣaṇa in Daśapeya should be for ten generations perfect in their learning, austerities, and meritorious works and who can be traced to have throughout been of the brāhmaṇa class on both sides &c. Yāj. I. 54 enjoins that one should choose a girl from a great family of śrotriyas, which has been famous for ten generations (for learning and character). Therefore when in certain cases a person is named after his mother or after the gotra of his mother's father, all that is intended to be conveyed is that he is descended from worthy male and female ancestors. There is no question in such cases of matriarchy. In the Nasik Inscription No. 2 (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60) siri Puḷumāyi is described as Vāsiṭhīputa and in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 88 the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena is described as Māḍharīputra.[575] In a Scythian Inscription (E. I. vol. X at page 108) we have mention of ' the son of Bhārgavī '. In all these cases the mother's gotra name is specially emphasized probably to convey that the mothers were of the bluest blood. Comparatively late writers mention the gotra in which their mother was born (e. g. Bhavabhūti who flourished about 700–750 A. D. says that he was a Kāśyapa while his mother was a Jātūkarṇī). From a Kārikā in the Mahābhāṣya we learn that the great grammarian Pāṇini was the son of a Dākṣī. Pāṇini himself[576] (IV. 1. 147) delivers a

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574. कुलमग्रे परीक्षेत ये मातृतः पितृतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 1. The आश्व. श्रौ. सू. IX. 3. 20 has 'ये मातृतः पितृतश्च दशपुरुषं समनुष्ठिता विद्यातपोभ्यां पुण्यैश्च कर्मभिर्येषामुभयतो वा ब्राह्मण्यं निनयेयुः पितृतश्चैके'. The printed text reads °नाब्राह्मण्यं which practically conveys the same sense.

575. Vide E. I. vol. XX. p. 6. for other examples of Māḍharīputa and Vāsiṭhīputa.

576. सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 75 on पाणिनि (I. 1. 20). पाणिनि was also called शालातुरीय (from his place शलातुर). Vide भामह's काव्यालंकार VI. 62 and Nogawa plate of ध्रुवसेन II (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 192, dated Gupta era 320 i. e. 649–50 Ad). Pāṇini (IV. 3. 94) derives the word शालातुरीय.

special rule about the formation of a name for a man from the gotra name of his mother to convey contempt (e. g. Gārgaḥ or Gārgikaḥ, a rogue, from his mother's name Gārgī).[577] Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya (I. 25. 2–9, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) prescribes that the father and mother (having bathed themselves and the child) should put on new clothes, that the father should cook a mess of food in the sūtikāgni, that he is to offer oblations to the *tithi* of the boy's birth and to three constellations with their presiding deities, that he is to place in the middle the oblation to the nakṣatra of birth and he should make two other oblations to fire with two mantras and then the 10th oblation is made to Soma with Ṛg. I. 91. 7. The father pronounces aloud the child's name and causes the brāhmaṇas to say auspicious words.

The Āśv. gṛ. does not describe Nāmakaraṇa. Many of the other gṛhyasūtras prescribe that the sūtikāgni is to be removed and the homa for nāmakaraṇa is to be performed in the Aupāsana (gṛhya) fire. The Bhāradvāja gṛ. [578] prescribes the repetition of the Jayā, Abhyātāna and Rāṣṭrabhṛt mantras and the offering of eight oblations of ghṛta with the eight mantras 'may Dhātṛ bestow on us wealth' (Āp. M. P. II. 11. 1ff). The Hir. gṛ. (II. 4. 6–14, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 214–215) contains similar rules. It prescribes twelve oblations with the mantras 'may Dhātṛ bestow on us wealth' and gives two names (a secret naṣkatra name and an ordinary name) to the boy. The twelve oblations are as follows: four to Dhātṛ, four to Anumati, two to Rākā, two to Sinīvālī. According to some a thirteenth oblation to Kuhū was to be offered.

The later works state many details which it is unnecessary to set out. The mother with her child on her lap sits to the right of the father. Some late writers prescribe that the father is to give a secret name to the boy and should spread husked

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577. The महाभाष्य gives several Vārtikas on Pāṇini IV. 1. 147 and the Kāśikā remarks 'पितुरसंविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोऽपत्यस्य कुत्सा' and गार्गः would mean गार्ग्याः पुत्रः (whose father was unknown).

578. e. g. भारद्वाज गृ. I. 26 'दशम्यां स्नातौ मातापुत्रौ शुच्यगारं कुर्वन्त्युपानिर्हरन्त्यौपासनं सूतिकाग्निमतिहरन्ति । अन्तरागारेऽग्निमुपसमाधाय जयाभ्यातानान् राष्ट्रभृत इति हुत्वैता आहुतीर्जुहोति धाता ददातु नो रयिमित्यष्टौ।. The Jayas are certain mantras (13 in all) which are Tai. S. III. 4. 4. 1 (vide आप. म. पाठ I. 10. 9 'चित्तं च चित्तिश्च ... स्वाहा'), अभ्यातानs are 18 viz. 'अग्निर्भूतानामधिपतिः स मावत्वस्मिन्' in तै. सं. III. 4. 5. 1; the Rāṣṭrabhṛts are 22 (ऋताषाडृतधामा) in तै. सं III. 4. 7. 1. Other sūtras specify other mantras from their respective śākhās.

grains of rice in a vessel of bronze, write thereon with a golden pen the words 'salutations to Śrī Gaṇapati' and then write four names of the boy, viz. kuladevatā nāma (such as Yogeśvarībhakta), then māsanāma (vide note 566 above), a vyāvahārikanāma, a nakṣatranāma.[579]

Some sūtra works add a detail immediately after Nāmakaraṇa. For example, Āśv. gṛ. (I. 15. 11) says 'when a father returns from a journey he holds in his hands his son's head, mutters the verse 'aṅgād aṅgād &c.' and thrice smells (kisses) his son on the head. Āp. gṛ. 15. 12[580] prescribes that on returning from a journey the father should address his son (abhimantraṇa) with the verse 'aṅgād,' should smell the child on the head with the verse 'be thou an axe' and should mutter in his right ear five mantras. These rules have a very ancient origin. The Kauṣītaki Bṛ. Up. II. 11 says that on returning from a journey the father touches the head of a son with the verse 'aṅgād-aṅgād &c.' and takes the name of the boy and also repeats the verse 'aśmā bhava' &c. In the case of the girl there is no smelling of the head nor muttering in the ear, but only address (with a prose formula). This no doubt indicates that greater value was attached to a son than to a daughter, but it also shows that the daughter was not altogether neglected.

Karṇavedha:—(piercing the lobes of the ears of the child). In modern times this is generally done on the 12th day after birth. In the Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12) karṇavedha is prescribed in the 7th or 8th month, while Bṛhaspati quoted in Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 258) says that it may be performed on the 10th, 12th or 16th[581] day from birth or in the 7th or 10th month from birth. The Sm. C. has a brief note on karṇavedha. The gṛhyapariśiṣṭa says that the father sits facing the east in the first half of the day and first addresses the right ear of the boy with the mantra 'Oh gods, may we hear bliss with our ears' (Ṛg. I. 89. 8) and then also the left ear. If the boy cries honey is to be

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579. The संकल्प in नामकरण is 'ममास्य कुमारस्य बीजगर्भसमुद्भवैनोनिबर्हणायुर्वर्चोभिवृद्धिव्यवहारसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं नामकरणाख्यं कर्म करिष्ये' संस्काररत्नमाला p. 861.

580. For अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवसि and for अश्मा भव vide note 537 above. In आप. म. पा. (II. 14. 3) the reading is वेदो वै पुत्रनामासि. The formula for a daughter is सर्वस्मादात्मनः संभूतासि सा जीव शरदः शतम् (आप. म. पा. II. 14. 10).

581. The संस्काररत्नमाला (p. 873) quotes from मदनरत्न the verse 'प्रथमे सप्तमे चापि अष्टमे दशमेऽथ वा। द्वादशे वा प्रकुर्वीत कर्णवेधं शुभावहम्॥.' Vide संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 379 for कर्णवेध.

given to him; after the rite brāhmaṇas are to be fed. In modern times, generally a goldsmith is called who pierces the lower lobes of the ears with a pointed golden wire and turns it into a ring round the lobes. In the case of girls the left ear is pierced first. That ears of boys were pierced even in ancient times is suggested by a mantra quoted in the Nirukta.[582] 'He (the teacher) who pierces the ear with truth, without causing pain and yet bestowing ambrosia, should be regarded as one's father and mother'.

Niṣkramaṇa:—(Taking the child out of the house in the open). This is a minor rite. Pār. gṛ. I. 17 gives the briefest description. Vide also Gobhila II. 8. 1–7 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 56–57), Khādira II. 3. 1-5 (S. B. E. vol 29. p. 396), Baud. gṛ. II. 2, Mānava gṛ. I. 19. 1–6, Kāṭhaka gṛ. 37–38.[583] This was done according to most authorities in the 4th month after birth. Aparārka (p. 28) quotes a purāṇa that the going out of the house may be done on the 12th day or in the 4th month. According to Pār. gṛ. the father makes the child [584] look at the sun pronouncing the verse 'that eye' (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Mānavagṛhya prescribes that the father cooks a mess of food in milk and offers oblations thereof to the sun with the verses 'the brilliant sun has risen in the east' (Mait. S. 4. 14. 4), 'he is the *haṁsa* sitting in pure worlds' (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5 = Mait. S. II. 6. 12 = Tai. S. I. 8. 15. 2), 'whenever him' (Ṛg. X. 88. 11) and then he worships the sun with the verse 'that Jātavedas' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1, it occurs in all Saṁhitās) and then he should present the child turning its face towards the sun with the verse 'salutation to thee, Oh divine (sun) who hast hundreds of rays and who dispellest darkness, remove the misfortune of my lot and endow me with blessings'; then brāhmaṇas are to be fed and the fee is to be a bull. Baud.

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582. निरुक्त II. 4 य आतृणत्त्यवितथेन कर्णावदुःखं कुर्वन्नमृतं संप्रयच्छन् । तं मन्येत पितरं मातरं च तस्मै न द्रुह्येत्कतमच्चनाह ॥. This verse also occurs in Vas. II. 10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 47; vide शान्तिपर्व 108. 22–23 where there is a very similar verse (यश्चावृणोत्यवितथेन) and मनु II. 144.

583. These two chapters of the काठकगृह्य seem to be later additions. The com. ब्राह्मणबल remarks 'निष्क्रमणान्नप्राशनविधिमाचार्यो नाह । श्रोत्रियास्तु पारंपर्येण पठन्ति । तृतीये मासि कर्तव्यं शिशोः सूर्यस्य दर्शनं । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं तथा चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ।'.

584. चतुर्थे मासि निष्क्रमणिका सूर्यमुदीक्षयति तच्चक्षुरिति । पारस्कर I. 17. The verse is तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं पुरस्ताच्छुक्रमुच्चरत् । पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतं शृणुयाम शरदः शतं प्रब्रवाम शरदः शतमदीनाः स्याम शरदः शतं भूयश्च शरदः शतात् ।. Vide Tai. Ār. 4. 42 for this benediction.

gr. (II. 2) prescribes a homa with eight oblations. Gobhila speaks of candradarśana. It says that on the 3rd *tithi* of the third bright fortnight after birth, the father bathes the child in the morning, worships in the evening the moon with folded hands, then the mother, having dressed the child, hands it with its face to the north from the south to north to the father and herself passes behind the back of the father and stands to the north of him, who worships with the three verses [585] 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, thy heart' (Mantrabrāhmaṇa I. 5. 10–12), then the father hands back the son to the mother with the words 'that this son may not come to harm and be torn from his mother'. Then in the following bright fortnights, the father filling his joined hands with water and turning his face towards the moon, lets the water flow out of his joined hands once with the Yajus 'what is the moon' (Mantrabrāhmaṇa I. 5. 13) and twice silently. The Khādiragṛhya has practically the same rules, except that it does not speak of two times. It will be noted that both omit the sight of the sun, but only mention the seeing of the moon. Laghu-Āśvalāyana VII. 1–3 speaks of the performance of ābhyudayika śrāddha, then reciting the sūkta from 'svasti no mimītam' (Ṛg. V. 51. 11) and 'āśu śiśānaḥ' (Ṛg. X. 103. 1), showing the boy to the sun in the courtyard of one's father-in-law or in that of another and then repeating the verse 'that eye' (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Sm. C. remarks that those in whose śākhā this rite is not mentioned need not perform it. The Saṁskāraprakāśa pp. 250–256 and Saṁskāraratnamālā pp. 886–888 give an extensive description and make of this saṁskāra a matter of great pomp, festivity and rejoicing. Yama [586] quoted in Saṁ. Pr. says that seeing the sun and seeing the moon should be done respectively in the 3rd and 4th months from birth.

Annaprāśana :—(making the child eat cooked food for the first time). Vide Āśv. gr. I. 16. 1–6 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 183), Śāṅ. gr. I. 27 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 54), Āp. gr. 16. 1–2 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 283), Pār. gr. I. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 299–300), Hir. gr. II. 5. 1–3 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 216), Kāṭhaka gr. 39. 1–2, Bhār. gr. I. 27, Mānava gr. I. 20. 1–6, Vaik. III. 22. The Gobhila and Khādira gr. omit this saṁskāra. Most smṛtis prescribe the 6th

585. The verse यत्ते सुसीमे हृदयं occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 13. 4.

586. यमः । ततस्तृतीये कर्तव्यं मासि सूर्यस्य दर्शनम् । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं शिशोश्चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ॥ संस्कारप्रकाश p. 250.

month from birth as the time for this saṁskāra; but Mānava gr. says it may be the 5th or 6th; while Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka says it should be performed at the end of a year or at the end of six months, according to some[587]. The Kāṭhaka gr. enjoins the sixth month from birth or the time when the child first strikes teeth. The procedure is very brief in all except Śāṅ. and Pār. Śāṅ. says that the father should prepare food of goat's flesh, or flesh of partridge, or of fish or boiled rice, if he is desirous of nourishment, holy lustre, swiftness or splendour respectively and mix one of them with curds, honey and ghee and should give it to the child to eat with the reciting of the Mahāvyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ). Then the father is to offer oblations to fire with four verses 'Annapate',[588] Ṛg. IV. 12. 4–5 and 'him, Oh Agni, lead to long life and splendour &c'. The father recites over the child the verse Ṛg. IX. 66. 19 and then sets down the child on northward pointed kuśa grass with Ṛg. I. 22. 15. The mother is to eat the remnant of the food thus prepared. Āśv. has almost the same rules as to food (omitting fish) but prescribes only one verse 'Annapate'. Āp. gr.[589] prescribes feeding of brāhmaṇas, making them give benedictions to the child and then making the child eat only once a mess of curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice mixed together, with the recitation of a mantra joined to the three vyāhṛtis singly and collectively and says that according to some the flesh of partridge may also be added. Bhār. says that the method of making a child eat is the same as in Medhājanana and is silent about the food. Pār. gr. (I. 19) prescribes the cooking of sthālīpāka and offering the two ājyabhāgas and then two offerings of ghee with the mantras 'the gods generated[590] the goddess of speech &c' (Ṛg. VIII. 100. 11) and the verse 'may vigour to-day produce for us gifts &c' (Vāj. S. 18. 33). Mānava, Kāṭhaka and Vaik. are entirely silent about flesh. Kāṭhaka

587. संवत्सरेऽन्नप्राशनमर्धसंवत्सर इत्येके । शङ्ख. q. by अपरार्क p. 28.

588. अन्नपतेऽन्नस्य नो देह्यनमीवस्य शुष्मिणः । प्र प्रदातारं तारिष ऊर्जं नो धेहि द्विपदे चतुष्पदे ॥ तै. सं. IV. 2. 3. 1.

589. भूरपां त्वौषधीनां रसं प्राशयामि । शिवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वनमीवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वसौ ॥ भुवोऽपां त्वौ० । सुवरपां त्वौ० । भूर्भुवः सुवरपां० । आप. म. पा. II. 14. 11–14. After असौ the child's name in the vocative is to be uttered.

590. देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति । सा नो मन्द्रेषमूर्जं दुहाना धेनुर्वागस्मानुपसुष्टुतैतु ॥ ऋ. VIII. 100. 11.

prescribes the cooking of all haviṣya food[591] and the other two works prescribe food cooked in milk.

It will be seen from the above that the principal part of the saṁskāra is making the child taste food. Some writers add homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, and benedictions. The Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 267–279) and Saṁskāraratnamālā (pp. 891–895) have very detailed notes on this saṁskāra. One interesting matter quoted by Aparārka (p. 28) from Mārkaṇḍeya is that on the day of this ceremony, in front of the gods worshipped in the house, tools and utensils required in various arts and crafts, weapons and śāstras should be spread about and the child should be allowed to crawl among them and what the child seizes at first should be noted and it should be deemed that he is destined to follow that profession for his livelihood which is represented by the thing first touched by him.

Varṣavardhana or abdapūrti:—In some of the sūtras provision is made for some ceremonies every month on the day of the birth of the child for one year and on every anniversary of the day of birth throughout life. For example, Gobhila gṛ. (II. 8. 19–20) says ' every month of the boy's birth for one year or on the parva days of the year he should sacrifice to Agni and Indra, to Heaven and Earth and to the Viśve devas. Having sacrificed to these deities he should sacrifice to the *tithi* and *nakṣatra* '.[592] The Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 25. 10–11 S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) similarly says ' having sacrificed in the same way every month on the tithi of the child's birth, he sacrifices when one year has expired in the (ordinary) domestic fire '. Baud. gṛ. III. 7[593] prescribes an offering of cooked rice for life (āyuṣyacaru) ' every year, every six months, every four months, every season or every month on the nakṣatra of birth '. Kāṭhaka gṛ. (36. 12 and 14) prescribes a homa every month after nāmakaraṇa for a year in the same way as in nāmakaraṇa or jātakarma and at the end of the year an offering of the

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591. कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 400 quotes a verse ' हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तदनु व्रीहयो मताः। माषकोद्रवगौरादीन् सर्वाभावे विवर्जयेत् ॥ ' and quotes समयप्रदीप ' प्रथमं यवास्तदलाभे व्रीहयस्तदलाभे माषकोद्रवचणकसर्षपमसूरचीनकपित्थवर्जमन्यदपि अन्नम् '.

592. कुमारस्य मासि मासि संवत्सरे सांवत्सरिकेषु वा पर्वसु अग्नीन्द्रौ द्यावापृथिव्यौ विश्वान्देवांश्च यजेत। दैवतमिष्ट्वा तिथिं नक्षत्रं च यजेत। गोभिलगृह्य II. 8. 19–20. The सांवत्सरिकपर्वs are the amāvāsyās of आषाढ, कार्तिक and फाल्गुन.

593. आहुताग्न्यन्तिरायुष्यचरुः। संवत्सरे षट्सु षट्सु मासेषु चतुर्षु चतुर्षु ऋतावृतौ मासि मासि वा कुमारस्य जन्मनक्षत्रे क्रियेत। बौ. गृ. III: 7. 1–2.

flesh of a goat and sheep to Agni and Dhanvantari and feeding the brāhmaṇas with food mixed with plenty of ghee. Vaik. III. 20–21 speaks at great length of the ceremony called 'Varṣavardhana' (increase of the years of a person) to be performed on the anniversary of the birth-day every year and lays down that in this rite the deity of the nakṣatra on which a child is born is the principal one, that oblations of ghee are to be offered to that deity and nakṣatra and then to the other presiding deities of the nakṣatras and to the nakṣatras themselves, then an oblation with the vyāhṛti (bhūḥ svāhā), then offerings to Dhātā. It describes in detail how different ceremonies are to be performed up to Upanayana, then up to finishing of Veda study, how ceremonies are to be performed on the anniversary day of one's marriage, on the nakṣatra on which a person performed solemn sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma and that if he thus lives till 80 years and 8 months he becomes one who has seen a thousand (full) moons and is called 'brahma-śarīra', in celebration of which several ceremonies are prescribed (which for want of space are not set out here). In connection with the anniversary of the marriage day,[594] Vaik. specially prescribes that whatever ceremonies women direct as done traditionally should be performed. Aparārka (p. 29) quotes verses of Mārkaṇḍeya to the effect that all should every year on the day of birth celebrate a festival (mahotsava) in which one should honour and worship one's elders, Agni, gods, Prajāpati, the *pitṛs*, one's nakṣatra of birth and brāhmaṇas. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540), the Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 621–624) quote the same verses (as Aparārka does) and add that on that day one should worship Mārkaṇḍeya (who is believed to be immortal) and the seven other *cirajīvins*.[595] The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 621) quotes a verse that in the case of kings the anniversary of the day on which they were crowned should be celebrated. The Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāraprakāśa (which in pp. 281–294 gives the most elaborate treatment) call

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594. यदह्नि विवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाह्नि तस्मिन् यास्त्रिय आहुः पारंपर्यागतं शिष्टाचारं तत्तत्करोति । वैखानस III. 21. आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 1. 7 also speaks of the anniversary of the day of marriage 'यच्चैनयोः प्रियं स्यात्तदेतस्मिन्नहनि भुञ्जीयाताम्'.

595. The नित्याचारपद्धति has these verses 'अश्वत्थामा बलिर्व्यासो हनूमांश्च बिभीषणः । कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः । सप्तैतान्यः स्मरेन्नित्यं मार्कण्डेयमथाष्टमम् । जीवेद्वर्षशतं साग्रं सर्वव्याधिविवर्जितः ॥'. The निर्णयसिन्धु quotes some verses from the कृत्यचिन्तामणि about मार्कण्डेय.

this festival ' abdapūrti '. The Saṁskāraratanamālā contains a very extensive discourse on this rite (pp. 877–886) and calls this festival ' āyurvardhāpana '. The Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāraratnamālā set out the verses that are addressed to Mārkaṇḍeya and others. In modern times women do celebrate every month the birthday of a child and the first anniversary of birth. They make the child cling to the principal house-post or to the post used for churning out butter from the pail of curds and water.

Caula or *Cūḍākarma* or *Cūḍākaraṇa* :—(the first cutting of the hair on the child'd head). This saṁskāra is mentioned by every writer. ' Cūḍā ' means the ' lock or tuft of hair ' kept on the head when the remaining part is shaved (i. e. the śikhā); so cūḍākarma or cūḍākaraṇa means that rite in which a lock of hair is kept (for the first time after birth). We get ' cauḍa ' from ' cūḍā ' [596] meaning ' a rite the purpose of which is keeping a lock of hair ' and ' ḍa ' and ' la ' often interchange places. So we get ' cauḍa ' or ' caula ' also as the name of the ceremony.

According to many [597] writers caula was performed in the third year from birth. Baud. gṛ. (II. 4), Pār. gṛ. (II. 1), Manu II. 35, Vaik. III. 23 say that it may be performed in the 1st or 3rd year; Āśv. gṛ. and Vārāha gṛ. say it may be performed in the 3rd year or in the year in which it is the custom of the family to perform it. Pār. also refers to family usage. Yāj. specifies no year, but mentions only family usage. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 29) allowed it in the first, 2nd or 3rd year, while Śaṅkha-Likhita allowed it in the 3rd or 5th (Aparārka p. 29), Ṣaḍ-guru-śiṣya quoted in the Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 296) and Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gṛ. I. 17. 1) say that some performed it at the time of upanayana.

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596. स च चूडाकरणशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम् । यौगिकन्यायेनोद्भिदादिशब्दवत् । योगश्च, चूडायाः करणं चूडार्थं करणं चूडा क्रियते यस्मिन्कर्मणीति वा त्रिधैव संभवति । संस्कारप्रकाश p. 295. The महाभाष्य (vol. II. p. 362 on पा. V. 1. 97) explains it as ' चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य चौडम् ' and we know from works on poetics that ' यमकश्लेषचित्रेषु बवयोर्डलयोर्न भित् (there is no distinction between ' ba ' and ' va ' or ḍa and la in Yamaka, paronomasia and citrakāvya).

597. Vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 17. 1-18 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 184–186), Āp. gṛ. 16. 3-11 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 283–84), Gobhila II. 9. 1–29 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 60–63), Hir. gṛ. II. 6. 1–15 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 216–218), Kāṭhaka gṛ. 40, Khādira II. 3.16–33 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 597–599), Pār. 1 II. (S. B. E. 29 pp. 301–303), Śāṅ. (I. 28. S. B. E. 29. pp. 55–57), Baud. gṛ. II. 4, Mānava gṛ. I. 21. 1–12, Vaik. III. 23 for a treatment of this topic.

Whether such a ceremony was performed in the Vedic ages cannot be ascertained with certainty. Bhār. gr. I. 28 expressly[598] refers to the Vedic verse (Ṛg IV. 75. 17 or Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 5) as indicative of the practice of Caula in Vedic times ' where arrows fall together like boys having many tufts of hair '. Manu II. 35 also has in view this Vedic verse.

The principal act in this ceremony is the cutting of the hair of the child. The other subsidiary matters are the performance of homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, receiving of their benedictions and giving of dakṣiṇā, the disposal of cut hair in such a way that no one can find them.

The ceremony is to be performed on an auspicious day as set out in note 494 above. Āp. gr. 16. 3 says it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with Punarvasu nakṣatra, while Mānava gr. says that it should not be done on the 9th *tithi* of a month. Later works like the Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 299–315) give very intricate rules about the auspicious times, which rules are passed over here. The most exhaustive treatment of this ceremony in the sūtra works is to be found in Āśv., Gobhila, Vārāha 4 and Pār. II. 1.

The materials required in this ceremony are stated as follows:—(1) To the north of the fire are placed four vessels each of which is separately filled with rice, barley, māṣa beans and sesame respectively (Āśv. gr. I. 17. 2), but Gobhila (II. 9. 6–7) says that they are to be placed to the east and Gobhila and Śāṅ. say that these are to be given to the barber at the end of the rite ; (2) to the west of the fire the mother with the boy on her lap is to be seated and two vessels one filled with the dung of a bull and the other with *śamī* leaves are to be also placed to the west (Gobhila II. 9. 5 and Khādira II. 3. 18 place the dung to the north of the fire and Khādira says that she sits to the north); (3) to the right of the mother the father sits holding 21 bunches[599] of kuśa grass or the brahmā priest (if there be any) may hold them ; (4) warm and cold water or only warm water ; (5) an ordinary razor or one made of Udumbara wood (according to Khādira II. 3. 17 and Gobhila II. 9. 4) ; (6) a

598. अथास्यै सांवत्सरिकस्य चौलं कुर्वन्ति यथर्षि यथोपज्ञं वा । विज्ञायते च । यत्र बाणाः संपतन्ति कुमारा विशिखा इव । इति बहुशिखा इवेति । भारद्वाज गृ. I. 28.

599. 21 bunches are required because he cuts off the hair four times on the right side and three times on the left side and each time three kuśa bunches are required.

mirror (Gobhila and Khādira). According to Gobhila and Khādira the barber, hot water, mirror, razor and bunches of kuśa grass are to the south of the fire and bull's dung and a mess of rice mixed with sesame are to the north of the fire. Āśv., Pār., Kāṭhaka and Mānava say that the razor is to be of *loha* (which the commentator Nārāyaṇa explains as copper).

After homa is performed, the principal matter (of cutting the hair) is to be begun. According to Gobhila and Khādira the father, having contemplated upon Savitṛ, looks at the barber with the mantra 'here comes Savitṛ' (Mantra-br. I. 6. 1) and contemplating on Vāyu looks at the warm water with the mantra 'with warm water, Oh Vāyu, come hither' (Mantra-Br. I. 6. 2). The father then mixes the hot and cold water and may put, in a part of the water, butter or drops of curds and apply the water to moisten three times the boy's head with the *mantra* 'may Aditi cut thy hair; may the waters moisten (thy hair) for vigour '. Then[600] on the right portion of the boy's hair the father puts three kuśa bunches with the points towards the boy with the formula 'herb, protect him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1). With the words 'Axe, do not harm him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1) he presses a copper razor (on the kuśa blades). The hair is cut with the *mantra* 'with that razor with which Savitṛ, the wise, cut (the hair) of king Soma and of Varuṇa, cut now his (the boy's hair), Oh brāhmaṇas, so that he may be endowed with long life and (reach) old age '. Each time the hair is cut, he gives[601] the cut hair with their ends turned towards the east together with śamī leaves to the mother, who puts them down on the bull dung. Cutting is done a second time with the mantra 'with what Dhātā shaved (the head) of Bṛhaspati, Agni and Indra for the

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600. The several sūtras generally cite different mantras at the time of the performance of the several acts. It is not possible for want of space to set out all these different verses. Only the mantras used in the Āśv. gṛ. are cited in order to convey some idea of the rite as it was practised in ancient times.

601. It appears that originally the father himself performed the cutting of the hair. Some of the gṛhya sūtras like those of Baud. and Śāṅ. nowhere mention the barber in this ceremony. Hence it appears that later on the father performed only the homa and repeated the mantras, while a barber was employed to shave the boy's head. 'तेन यश्चूडानां कारयिता पित्रादिः स एव वपनकर्तेति सिद्धं भवति । इदानीं तु तादृशशिक्षाया अभावाल्लोकविद्विष्टत्वाच्च समन्त्रकं चेष्टामात्रं कृत्वा नापितेनैव वपनं कारयन्ति शिष्टाः ॥' संस्काररत्नमाला p. 901.

sake of their long life, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness'. The cutting is done a third time with the mantra 'with what he may after night (is past) see the sun again and again, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness'. The cutting is done for the fourth time with all the three mantres together. Then the hair is cut three times on the left side similarly. The edge of the razor is then wiped off with the mantra 'when thou shavest as a shaver the hair (of the boy) with the razor that wounds and is well-shaped purify his head, but do not deprive him of life'. Then he gives orders to the barber 'doing with lukewarm water what has to be done with water, arrange his hair (well) without causing him (the boy) any wound'. Let him have the hair of the boy arranged according to the custom of the family. The rite only (without the mantras) is performed for a girl.[602]

According to several sūtras, the cut hair placed in the dung of a bull is buried in a cow stable[603] or is thrown in a pond or in the vicinity of water (Pār., Bhār.) or is buried at the root of the Udumbara tree (Bhār.) or in a bunch of darbha grass (Baud., Bhār., Gobhila) or in the forest (Gobhila). The Mānava gṛ. prescribes that as the hair fall down when cut they are gathered by some friendly person. The Kāṭhaka gṛ. and Mānava gṛ. say that the barber gets a sesame cake and a fine piece of cloth, while Vaik. says food is given to him. A bath for the boy is expressly prescribed by Baud. and some others.

There is a great divergence of views about the number of locks of hair to be left on the head and the portion of the head where they are to be left. Baud. gṛ. says that one or three or five locks [604] may be left on the head or according to family usage and he further says that some sages say that the locks should

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602. All the mantras in Āśv. gṛ. occur also in Mānava gṛ., some occur in Baud., Bhār., Pār., and others. The mantras in Āśv. viz उष्णेन वाय, येनावपत्, येन धाता, येन भूयश्च, यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता are आप. म. पा. II. 1. 1, 3–5 and 7 with slight variations. The verse यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता is almost the same as अथर्ववेद् VIII. 2. 17. and Āśv. appears to have adapted it purposely to make it suit the caula.

603. अथैनं गोमयपिण्ड गोष्ठ उदकान्त उदुम्बरमूले दर्भस्तम्बे वा निदधाति। भारद्वाज गृ. I. 28; अनुगुप्तमेतं सकेशं गोमयपिण्डं निधाय गोष्ठे पल्वले उदकान्ते वा ॥ पार. गृ. II. 1.

604. अथैनमेकशिखस्त्रिशिखः पञ्चशिखो वा यथैवैषां कुलधर्मः स्यात्। यथार्षि शिखां निदधातीत्येके। बौ. गृ. II. 4.

be as many as the pravaras invoked by the father.[605] Āśv. gṛ., and Pār. gṛ. say that locks may be kept according to family usage. Āp. gṛ, says that the locks may in number follow the pravara or they may be kept according to family usage. Gobhila and Khādira say that the locks should be arranged according to gotra and family usage. Whether they mean by 'gotra' the number of pravaras of the gotra or some rule such as the Kāṭhaka gives is not clear. The Kāṭhaka gṛ. says that the Vāsiṣṭhas keep a lock on the right, that persons of Atri and Kāśyapa gotra (or pravara) keep locks both on the right and the left, that the Bhṛgus shaves the entire head, that the Aṅgiras gotra keeps five locks or only a line of hair, while persons of other gotras (like Agastya, Viśvāmitra &c.) keep a śikhā (without any particular number of locks) simply because it is an auspicious sign or one may follow the usage of one's[606] family. Vaik.[607] says that the locks may be one, two, three, five or seven according to the pravaras. Ṛgveda[608] VII. 33. 1 refers to the fact that Vasiṣṭhas had a lock of hair on the right side of the head and so the rule of the Kāṭhaka has a very hoary antiquity behind it. Up to modern times one of the characteristic outward signs of all Hindus was the śikhā (the top-knot). A verse of Devala says that whatever religious act a man does without the *yajñopavīta* or without śikhā is as good as undone and Hārīta rules that a person who cuts off his śikhā through hate or ignorance or foolishness becomes pure only after

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605. The pravaras or ṛṣis of the several gotras are generally three but some gotras have one, two or five *pravaras*, but never four. Vide below under marriage for pravara.

606. दक्षिणतः कपुजा वासिष्ठानाम्। उभयतोऽत्रिकाश्यपानाम्। मुण्डा भृगवः। पञ्चचूडा अङ्गिरसः। वाजि (राजि ?) मेके। मङ्गलार्थं शिखिनोऽन्ये। यथाकुलधर्मं वा। काठक गृह्य 40. 2-8. Those sūtras are quoted by अपरार्क p. 29 and by the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 23. The स्मृतिच॰ in explaining the words मङ्गलार्थं says that some keep a śikhā of the form and size of the leaf of the Vaṭa tree. The सं. प्र. p. 316 arranges the sūtras differently and remarks मङ्गलार्थं; वाजिं केशपङ्क्तिं कुर्वन्ति। सा च समन्तात् ललाटकर्णमूलस्पर्शिनी मालेव भवति।...... ऋषिषु केचन पश्चाच्चूडाः केचन पुरश्चूडाः।

607. ऋषिक्रमेण। स्वस्यैकार्षद्व्यार्षत्र्यार्षपञ्चार्षसप्तार्षाच्चूडा विभजेत्। वैखानस III. 23.

608. श्वित्यञ्चो मा दक्षिणतस्कपर्दा धियंजिन्वासो अभि हि प्रमन्दुः। उत्तिष्ठन् वोचे परि बर्हिषो नृन्न मे दूरादवितवे वसिष्ठाः॥ ऋ. VII. 33. 1.

performing the *taptakṛcchra* penance.[609] In the Mudrārākṣasa (I.8) there is a reference to the śikhā of Cāṇakya having been kept untied when he was angered by the Nandas. Śabara (on Jaimini I. 3. 2) remarks that the śikhā (its position and locks) is a sign to indicate the gotra and quotes Ṛg. VI. 75. 17 (yatra bāṇāḥ &c. cited above in note 598). Vasiṣṭha (II. 21) prescribes that members of all varṇas (including the śūdra) should arrange their hair according to the fixed usage (of their family) or should shave the whole head except the śikhā. A Vedic passage[610] is 'the head that has no śikhā on it is unholy'. For rules about the śikhā of students vide later on under upanayana. During recent times men, particularly those receiving English education in towns and cities, are forsaking the ancient practice of keeping a śikhā and follow the western method of allowing the hair to grow on the whole head.

In modern times the rite of cūḍākaraṇa generally takes place if at all on the day of Upanayana.

Āśv. gṛ. (I. 17. 18) expressly says that the ceremony of cūḍākaraṇa was to be performed for girls also, but no Vedic mantras were to be repeated. Manu (II. 66) says that all the ceremonies from jātakarma to caula must be performed at the proper times for girls also in order to purify their bodies but without mantras and Yāj. (I. 13) is to the same effect. Even such late writers as Mitramiśra say that the caula of girls may be performed according to the usage of the family and that their hair may be entirely shaved or a śikhā may be kept or there should be no shaving at all.[611]

In some castes even in modern times girls when mere children are shaved once, it being supposed that the first hair are impure.

Vidyārambha:—The gṛhya sūtras and dharmasūtras are entirely silent as to what was done for the child's education

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609. सदोपवीतिना भाव्यं सदा बद्धशिखेन च। विशिखो व्युपवीतश्च यत्करोति न तत्कृतम्॥ देवल; 'शिखां छिन्दन्ति ये मोहाद् द्वेषादज्ञानतोपि वा। तप्तकृच्छ्रेण शुध्यन्ति त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः॥ हारीत, both quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 316. लघुहारीत verses 18–19 (Ānand. Ed.) are very similar to the 2nd verse. The first is गोभिलस्मृति I. 4 and is quoted as भृगु's in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32.

610. अमेध्यं वा एतच्छिरो यदशिखम्। quoted by the commentators on काठकगृह्य 40. 7.

611. कुमारीचौलेऽपि यथाकुलधर्ममित्यनुवर्तते। ततश्च सर्वमुण्डनं शिखाधारणं अमुण्डनमेव वेति सिध्यति। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 317; एतच्च स्त्रीणामपि। 'स्त्रीशूद्रौ तु शिखां छित्वा क्रोधाद् वैराग्यतोऽपि वा। प्राजापत्यं प्रकुर्वीताम्' इति प्रायश्चित्तविधिबलात्। एतत्परिग्रहपक्षे। अत्र देशभेदाद् व्यवस्था द्रष्टव्या। स्त्रीणां केशधारणमेव शिखाधारणम्। एतच्चामन्त्रकमेव स्त्रीणां कार्यम्। ...होमोपि न। संस्काररत्नमाला p. 904.

between the third year when usually caula was performed and the 8th year (from conception) when the upanayana usually took place (in the case of brāhmaṇas). They state that rarely upanayana was performed even in the 5th year (as will be shown hereafter). Some faint light is thrown on this matter by the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya,[612] which says that the prince after the performance of caula is to engage in the study of the alphabet and of arithmetic, and after his upanayana he is to study the Vedas, *ānvīkṣikī* (metaphysics), *vārtā* (agriculture and the science of wealth) and *daṇḍanīti* (the art of government) up till the 16th year when the godāna ceremony is to be performed and after which year he may marry. Kālidāsa also (in Raghuvaṁśa III. 28) says that prince Aja first mastered the alphabet and then entered into the ocean of (Sanskrit) literature. Bāṇa has [613] probably the Arthaśāstra in view when he makes prince Candrāpīḍa enter the temple of learning (vidyāmandira) at 6 and remain there till he became sixteen and he (like Milton in his letter to Hartlile) tells us how extensive the ideal curriculum of studies in arts and sciences for the prince was thought to be. In the Uttararāmacarita (Act II) it is said that Kuśa and Lava were taught vidyās other than the Veda after their *caula* and before *upanayana*.

It appears that at least from the early centuries of the Christian era, a ceremony called Vidyārambha (commencement of learning the alphabet) was celebrated. Aparārka (pp. 30–31) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 26) cite verses from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa[614]

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612. वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपिं संख्यानं चोपयुञ्जीत। वृत्तोपनयनस्त्रयीमान्वीक्षिकीं च शिष्टेभ्यो वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं वक्तृप्रवक्तृभ्यः। ब्रह्मचर्यं चाषोडशाद्वर्षात्। अतो गोदानं दारकर्म च। अर्थशास्त्र I. 5.

613. Vide कादम्बरी para 69 for विद्यामन्दिर and para 71 for the various arts and sciences 'पदे वाक्ये प्रमाणे धर्मशास्त्रे राजनीतिषु व्यायामविद्यासु ...... सर्वेष्वायुधविशेषेषु रथचर्यासु गजपृष्ठेषु तुरंगमेषु ...... वाद्येषु भरतादिप्रणीतेषु नृत्यशास्त्रेषु नारदीयप्रभृतिषु गान्धर्ववेदविशेषेषु ...... ग्रहगणिते ...... वास्तुविद्यास्वायुर्वेदे यन्त्रप्रयोगे ... कथासु नाटकेषु आख्यायिकासु काव्येषु महाभारतपुराणेतिहासरामायणेषु सर्वलिपिषु सर्वदेशभाषासु सर्वशिल्पेषु छन्दःसु अन्येष्वपि कलाविशेषेषु परं कौशलमवाप।; vide para 74 about 6 and 16 years.

614. प्राप्तेथ पञ्चमे वर्षे अप्रसुप्ते जनार्दने। षष्ठीं प्रतिपदं चैव वर्जयित्वा तथाष्टमीम्॥ रिक्तां पञ्चदशीं चैव सौरभौमदिनं तथा। एवं सुनिश्चिते काले विद्यारम्भं तु कारयेत्॥ पूजयित्वा हरिं लक्ष्मीं देवीं चैव सरस्वतीम्। स्वविद्यासूत्रकारांश्च स्वां विद्यां च विशेषतः॥ एतेषामेव देवानां नाम्ना तु जुहुयाद्घृतम्। दक्षिणाभिर्द्विजेन्द्राणां कर्तव्यं चात्र पूजनम्॥ प्राङ्मुखो गुरुरासीनो वारुणाशामुखं शिशुम्। अध्यापयेत प्रथमं द्विजाशीर्भिः सुपूजितम्॥ ततः प्रभृत्यनध्यायान्वर्जनीयान् विवर्जयेत्। अपरार्क pp. 30, 31. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (quoted in सं. प्र. p. 321) says 'आषाढशुक्लद्वादश्यां शयनं कुरुते हरिः। निद्रां त्यजति कार्तिक्यां तयोः संपूज्यते हरिः॥'.

about vidyārambha as follows: in the fifth year of the child on some day from the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika to the 11th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, but excluding the 1st, 6th, 8th, 15th tithi or *riktā* tithis (i. e. 4th, 9th and 14th) and Saturday and Tuesday, the ceremony of beginning to learn should be performed. Having worshipped Hari (Viṣṇu), Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, the sūtra writers of one's *śākhā* and the lore peculiar to one's family, one should offer in the fire oblations of clarified butter to the above mentioned deities and should honour brāhmaṇas by the payment of dakṣiṇā. The teacher should sit facing the east and the boy should face the west and the teacher should begin to teach the first lesson to the boy who should receive the benedictions of brāhmaṇas. Thereafter teaching should be stopped on the days of *anadhyāya* (which will be specified later on).

The Saṁskāra-prakāśa (pp. 321–325) and Saṁskāraratnamālā (pp. 904–907) have an extensive note, a considerable part of which is devoted to astrological matters. The Saṁskāraprakāśa quotes passages from Viśvāmitra, Devala and other sages and works that vidyārambha is performed in the 5th year or in any case before upanayana. It also quotes a verse from Nṛsiṁha that Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati should be worshipped and then the teacher should be honoured. The modern practice is to begin learning the alphabet on an auspicious day, generally the 10th of the bright half of Āśvina, Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati are worshipped, the teacher is honoured and the boy is asked to repeat the words 'om namaḥ siddham' and to write them on a slate and then he is taught the letters ('a', 'ā' &c.) of the alphabet. The Saṁskāraratnamālā[615] calls this ceremony Akṣarasvīkāra (appropriately enough) and among other texts cites a long prose passage from Garga quoted in the Pārijāta and prescribes a homa also with ājyāhutis to Sarasvatī, Hari, Lakṣmī, Vighneśa (Gaṇapati), sūtrakāras and one's vidyā.

615. सरस्वतीपूजनादिप्रकारमाह पारिजाते गर्गः । स्नात्वा शुचौ समे देशे गोचर्ममात्रमुपलिप्य सैकतं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा पलाशशाखया मृदं खनित्वा तत्र सरस्वतीमावाहयेत् । भुवनमातः सर्ववाङ्मयरूपे आगच्छागच्छेति । ततः प्रणवेनासनार्घ्यपाद्याचमनीयस्नानवस्त्रगन्धपुष्पाक्षतधूपदीपपायसगुडौदननैवेद्यसमर्पणनमस्कारान्कृत्वा विघ्नेशं संपूज्याचार्यं शक्तितो वस्त्रालंकारादिभिः पूजयित्वा सरस्वतीविघ्नेशाचार्यांस्त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्रणवपूर्वकमक्षरमारभेत । तत आचार्यादिवन्दनं कृत्वा सरस्वत्यादीनावाहनक्रमेणोद्वासयेद्विद्यावृद्धिर्भवति । संस्काररत्नमाला p. 906.

CHAPTER VII

UPANAYANA

This word literally means 'leading or taking near'. But the important question is 'near what'? It appears that it originally meant 'taking near the ācārya' (for instruction); it may have also meant 'introducing the novice to the stage of student-hood'. Some of the gṛhyasūtras bring out this sense clearly e. g. the Hir. gṛ. I. 5. 2[616] says "The teacher then makes the boy utter 'I have come unto brahmacarya. Lead me near (initiate me into it). Let me be a student, impelled by the god Savitṛ'". The Mānava and Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 1) also use the word upāyana for upanayana and Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 1) says that upānaya, upanayana, mauñjībandhana, baṭukaraṇa, vratabandha are synonyms.

A few words about the origin and development of this most important saṁskāra would not be out of place here. Comparison with the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures (vide S. B. E. vol. V. pp. 285–290 about the sacred girdle and shirt) and the modern practices among the Parsis of India tend to show that Upanayana goes back to an Indo-Iranian origin. But that subject is outside the scope of this work. Confining ourselves to Indian Literature, we find that already in the Ṛg. X. 109. 5 the word 'brahmacārī' occurs 'oh gods! he (Bṛhaspati), all pervading one, moves as a brahmacārī pervading all (sacrifices); he is only one part of the gods (i. e. of sacrifices); Bṛhaspati secured by that (i. e. by his service to the gods) a wife (me who am named) Juhū, who was (formerly) taken by Soma'.[617] The

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616. अथैनमभिव्याहारयति। ब्रह्मचर्यमागामुप मा नयस्व ब्रह्मचारी भवानि देवेन सवित्रा प्रसूतः। हिरण्य. गृ. I. 5. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 150); ब्रह्मचर्यमागामिति वाचयति ब्रह्मचार्यसानीति च। पार. गृ. II 2; vide गोभिलगृह्य II. 10. 21 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 65). The phrases ब्रह्मचर्यमागाम् and ब्रह्मचार्यसानि occur in the शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1; vide आप. म. पा. II. 3. 26 for ब्रह्मचर्य...प्रसूतः. विश्वरूप on या. I. 14 remarks 'वेदाध्ययनायाचार्यसमीपनयनमुपनयनं तदेवोपनायनमित्युक्तं छन्दोनुरोधात्। तदर्थं वा कर्म।'. Vide मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकेशिगृ. I. 1. 1.

617. ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद् विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम्। तेन जायामन्वविन्दद् बृहस्पतिः सोमेन नीतां जुह्वं न देवाः॥ ऋ. X. 109.5 = अथर्व V. 17. 5. The reference to Soma recalls Ṛg X. 85. 45 'सोमो ददद्गन्धर्वाय.' Every girl was supposed to have been under the protection of Soma, Gandharva and Agni before her marriage with a human bridegroom.

word 'upanayana'[618] can be derived and explained in two ways: (1) taking (the boy) near the ācārya, (2) that rite by which the boy is taken to the ācārya. The first sense appears to have been the original one and when an extensive ritual came to be associated with upanayana the second came to be the sense of the word. Such an ancient work as the Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19 says that *upanayana* is a saṁskāra (purificatory rite) laid down by revelation for him who seeks learning (i. e. it accepts the second explanation) or this sūtra may mean 'it is a saṁskāra brought about by imparting the śruti (viz. Gāyatrī mantra) to him who seeks learning'. This would mean that upanayana principally is gāyatryupadeśa (the imparting of the sacred Gāyatrī mantra). This appears to be suggested by the Vedic passage quoted above (p. 154 *f. n.* 356) 'he created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the kṣatriya with Triṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagatī', and by Kātyāyana Śrauta 'one should initiate the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī'. Jaimini[619] also (in VI. 1. 35) propounds the view that upanayana is a saṁskāra and has a seen result viz. thereby the boy is brought near the teacher for learning Veda.

Ṛg. III. 8. 4[620] is a verse that clearly indicates that some of the characteristics of upanayana described in the gṛhya sūtras were well known even then. There the sacrificial post (yūpa) is praised as a young person (i. e. in the language of the later classical rhetoricians there is the first kind of the figure Atiśayokti) 'here comes the youth, well dressed and encircled (the boy by his mekhalā and the post by its raśanā); he, when born, attains eminence; wise sages, full of devotion to the gods in their hearts and entertaining happy thoughts, raise him up'. Here in 'un-nayanti' we have the same root that we have in upanayana. This mantra is employed in the upanayana by several gṛhya sūtras e. g. Āśv. I. 20. 8 (who employs it for

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618. तत्रोपनयनशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम्। ...... तच्च यौगिकमुद्भिन्न्यायात्। योगश्च भावव्युत्पत्त्या करणव्युत्पत्त्या वेत्याह भारुचिः। स यथा। उप समीपे आचार्यादीनां बटोर्नयनं प्रापणमुपनयनम्। समीपे आचार्यादीनां नीयते बटुर्येन तदुपनयनमिति वा। ...... तत्र च भावव्युत्पत्तिरेव साधीयसीति गम्यते। श्रौतार्थविधिसंभवात्। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 334.

619. संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वात् विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः। जैमिनि VI. 1. 35; 'विद्यायामेवैषा श्रुतिः (वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत)। उपनयनस्य संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वात्। विद्यार्थमुपाध्यायस्य समीपमानीयते नादृष्टार्थं नापि कटं कुड्यं वा कर्तुम्। दृष्टार्थमेव सैषा विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः। कथमवगम्यते। आचार्यकरणमेतदवगम्यते। कुतः। आत्मनेपददर्शनात्।' शबर.

620. युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात्स उ श्रेयान्भवति जायमानः। तं धीरासः कवय उन्नयन्ति स्वाध्यो मनसा देवयन्तः॥ ऋ. III. 8. 4. आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 8 prescribes that the boy is to be adorned and is to wear new clothes 'अलंकृतं कुमारं...अहतेन वाससा संवीतं' &c. and I. 20. 8 is युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगादित्यर्धर्चेनैनं प्रदक्षिणमावर्तयेत्'

making the boy circumambulate) and Pār. II. 2. (prescribes that the mantra is to be recited when tying the girdle round the boy's waist). In the Tai. S. VI.[621] 3. 10. 5 we have the famous passage referring to the three debts where the words 'brahmacārī' and 'brahmacarya' occur. 'Every brāhmaṇa when born is indebted in three debts viz. in brahmacarya to the sages, in sacrifice to the gods and in offspring to the manes; he indeed becomes free from debts who has a son, who sacrifices and who dwells (with the teacher) as a brahmacārī.'

In the other Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇa literature there is ample material to show what the characteristic features of *upanayana* and brahmacarya were. The whole of Atharvaveda XI. 7 (26 verses) is a hymn containing hyperbolical laudation of the brahmacārī (Vedic student) and brahmacarya. The very first verse [622] may be cited as a sample 'The brahmacārī incessantly covering (the world by his glory) roams in the two worlds; the gods have the same thoughts (of grace and favour) about him; he fills his teacher by his austerities'. Verse 3 says 'the teacher leading (the boy) near him makes the brahmacārī like unto a foetus' (here the word 'upanayamānaḥ' occurs). Verse 4 states that the heaven and the earth are the 'samidh' (the fuel stick) of the brahmacārī and that the brahmacārī by his *mekhalā* (girdle), by his samidh and by his life of hard work fills the world with austerities. Verse 6 tells us that the brahmacārī wears the skin of a black antelope and has a long beard; verse 13 says that the brahmacārī offers samidh into fire (or if fire is not available) to the sun, to the moon, to the wind or into waters. This hymn thus brings out most of the characteristic features of the brahmacārī and of upanayana (viz. deerskin, mekhalā, offering of samidh, begging and a life of hard work and restraint). From the reference to the beard and from the words 'this man (ayam puruṣaḥ)' occurring in the Atharvaveda VIII. 1. 1 and elsewhere it appears probable that upanayana was performed rather later in those ancient days than in the days of the sūtras.

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621. जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । तै. सं. VI. 3. 10. 5.

622. ब्रह्मचारीष्णंश्चरति रोदसी उभे तस्मिन्देवाः संमनसो भवन्ति । स दाधार पृथिवीं दिवं च स आचार्यं तपसा पिपर्ति ॥ अथर्ववेद XI. 7. 1. This verse is explained in गोपथब्राह्मण II. 1. आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः । अथर्व XI. 7. 3; the idea is found in Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 16–18 (quoted above p. 189 *f. n.* 443) and compare शतपथब्रा. XI. 5. 4. 12 'आचार्यो गर्भीभवति हस्तमाधाय दक्षिणम् । तृतीयस्यां स जायते सावित्र्या सह ब्राह्मणः ॥'. ब्रह्मचार्येति समिधा समिद्धः कार्ष्णं वसानो दीक्षितो दीर्घश्मश्रुः । अथर्व XI. 7. 6.

In the Tai. Br. III.[623] 10. 11 there is the story of Bharadvāja who remained a brahmacārī for three parts of his life (i. e. till 75) and to whom Indra said that in all that long period of brahmacarya he had mastered only an insignificant portion (three handfuls out of three mountains) of the Vedas, which were endless in extent. The story of Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu, who was excluded from ancestral property at a partition made by his brothers, narrated in the Ait. Br. shows [624] that he was a brahmacārī staying with a teacher away from his father's place. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 4. contains many and almost complete details about the life of *brahmacārins* which bear a very close similarity to those taught in the gṛhya sūtras. A brief summary is set out below. The boy says 'I have come unto brahmacarya' and 'let me be a brahmacārī'. Then the teacher asks him 'what is your name'; then the teacher takes him near (upanayati); the teacher takes hold of the boy's hand with the words 'you are the brahmacārī of Indra; Agni is your teacher, I am your teacher, N. N. (addressing the boy by his name)'. Then he consigns the boy to (the care of) the elements. The teacher instructs him 'drink water, do work (in the teacher's house), put a fuel stick (on the fire), do not sleep (by day).' He repeats the Sāvitrī (mantra sacred to Savitṛ). Formerly it was repeated a year (after the boy came as a brahmacārī), then at the end of six months, 24 days, 12 days, 3 days; but one should repeat to the brāhmaṇa boy the verse at once (on the very day of upanayana); the teacher repeats it to him first each *pāda* separately, then the half and then the whole. Being a brahmacārī one should not eat honey.[625]

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623. भरद्वाजो ह वै त्रिभिरायुर्भिर्ब्रह्मचर्यमुवास तं ह...इन्द्र उपव्रज्योवाच। यत्ते चतुर्थमायुर्दद्यां किमेतेन कुर्या इति। ब्रह्मचर्यमेवैतेन चरेयमिति होवाच। तं ह त्रीन् गिरिरूपानविज्ञातानिव दर्शयांचकार। तेषां हैकैकस्मिन्मुष्टिनाददे स होवाच भरद्वाजेत्यामन्त्र्य वेदा वा एते। अनन्ता वै वेदाः। एतद्वा एतैस्त्रिभिरायुर्भिरन्ववोचथाः। अथ त इतरदननूक्तमेव। तै. ब्रा. III. 10. 11.

624. नाभानेदिष्ठं वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन्। सोऽब्रवीदेत्य किं मह्यमभाक्तेति। ऐ. ब्रा. 22. 9. This story occurs also in Tai. S. III. 1. 9. 5.

625. ब्रह्मचर्यमागामित्याह। ... ब्रह्मचार्यसानीत्याह .... । अथैनमाह को नामासीति। अथास्य हस्तं गृह्णाति। इन्द्रस्य ब्रह्मचार्यसि अग्निराचार्यस्तवाहमाचार्यस्तवासाविति। ...... अथैनं भूतेभ्यः परिददाति। ...... अद्भ्यस्त्वौषधीभ्यः परिददामीत्याह। ...... अपोऽशान... कर्म कुरु ...... समिधमाधेहीति ...... मा सुषुप्था इति। अथास्मै सावित्रीमन्वाह। तां ह स्मैतां पुरा संवत्सरेऽन्वाहुः ...... । अथ षट्सु मासेषु ...... । अथ चतुर्विंशत्यहे अथ द्वादशाहे ...... । अथ त्र्यहे। तदपि श्लोको भवति। आचार्यो गर्भी ...... ब्राह्मण इति। सद्यो ह त्वेव ब्राह्मणायानुब्रूयादाग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणः। ...... तं वै पच्छोऽन्वाह ...... अथार्धर्चशोऽन्वाह ...... अथ कृत्स्नाम्। तदाहुः। न ब्रह्मचारी सन् मध्वश्नीयात्।...... । शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1-17.

The word 'antevāsī' (lit. one who dwells near a teacher) occurs in the Śat. Br. V. 1. 5. 17 and in the Tai. Up. I. 11. The Śat. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 2) says[626] 'he who takes to *brahmacarya* indeed takes upon himself a sacrificial session of long duration.' It further says (XI. 3. 3. 3–6) that the boy when entering upon studenthood approaches giving a fourth part of himself to Agni, Death, the teacher and himself and that by the offering of samidh (to fire), by begging and by doing work in the teacher's house respectively he secures freedom from the action of the first three. It also says that after one finishes studenthood and takes the ceremonial bath one should not beg. Vide Gopatha Br. (ed. by Gastra) 2. 3 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 53. The Śat. Br. (III. 6. 2. 15) further says 'therefore brahmacārins protect the teacher, his house and his cattle, with the idea that otherwise he might be taken away from them'.[627]

Janamejaya Pārikṣita asks the haṁsas (who were the Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇā fires) 'what is holy' and the latter reply 'It is brahmacarya' (vide Gopatha Br. 2. 5). Gopatha (2. 5) further says 'the period of studenthood for the mastery of all Vedas is 48 years, which, being distributed among the Vedas in four parts, makes brahmacarya last for 12 years, which is the lowest limit; one should practise brahmacarya according to one's ability before taking the ceremonial[628] bath.' The same work says that the brahmacārī should fetch *samidhs* every day for worshipping fire and beg and that if he does not do so continuously for seven days he has to undergo upanayana again (2. 6) and that the lady of the house should daily give alms to a brahmacārin with the idea that he may not deprive her of her wealth, of merit due to *iṣṭāpūrta*. It also says that a brahmacārī should not sleep on a cot, should not engage in singing and dancing, should not roam about, should not spit about nor go to a cemetery.[629]

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626. दीर्घसत्रं वा एष उपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यमुपैति । शतपथ XI. 3. 3. 2. This is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 52. The words 'अपोऽशान' refer to sipping water before and after bhojana respectively with the words 'amṛtopastaraṇamasi svāhā' and 'amṛtāpidhānam-asi svāhā.' Vide संस्कारतत्त्व p. 893. These two मन्त्रs occur in आप. म. पा. II. 10. 3–4.

627. तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारिण आचार्यं गोपायन्ति गृहान्पशून्नेन्नोऽपहरानिति । शतपथ III. 6. 2. 15.

628. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं सर्ववेदब्रह्मचर्यं तच्चतुर्धा वेदेषु व्युह्य द्वादशवर्षं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशवर्षाण्यवरार्धमपि स्नास्यंश्चरेद्यथाशक्ति। गोपथ 2. 5.

629. तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारिणे अहरहर्भिक्षां दद्याद् गृहिणी मा मायमिष्टापूर्तसुकृतद्रविणमवरुन्ध्यादिति । नोपरिशायी स्यान्न गायनो न नर्तनो न सरणो न निष्ठीवेत्...न श्मशानमातिष्ठेत् । गोपथ 2. 5–7.

It appears from the above and from the Upaniṣad passages set out immediately below that originally Upanayana was a very simple matter. The would-be student came to the teacher with a *samidh* in his hand and told the teacher that he desired to enter the stage of studenthood and begged to be allowed to be a brahmacārī living with the teacher. There were no elaborate ceremonies like those described in the gṛhya sūtras. The word brahmacarya occurs in the Kaṭha. Up. I. 1. 15, Muṇḍaka II. 1. 7, Chāndogya VI. 1. 1 and other Upaniṣads. The Chāndogya and the Bṛ. Up., probably the oldest among the Upaniṣads, furnish very valuable information. That some ceremonies were required before a young boy was admitted as a student even in Upaniṣadic times is clear from the statement in the Chāndogya V. 11. 7[630] that when Aśvapati Kekaya was approached by Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava and four others who carried fuel in their hands (like young students) and who were grown-up householders and theologians, 'he (Aśvapati) without submitting them to the rites of Upanayana began the discourse'. When Satyakāma[631] Jābāla tells the truth about his gotra to Gautama Hāridrumata, the latter says 'fetch, dear boy, fuel, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth' (Chāndogya IV. 4. 5). Similarly in the Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 7. it is said that former students (i. e. students in former ages) approached (the teacher for brahmacarya) only in words (i. e. without any further solemn rite or ceremony).[632] In the most ancient times it is probable that the father himself always taught his son.[633] But it appears that from the times of the Tai. S. and the Brāhmaṇas the student generally went to a guru and stayed in his house (vide note 624 about Nābhānediṣṭha). Uddālaka Āruṇi who was himself a profound philosopher of *brahma* asks his son Śvetaketu to enter upon brahmacarya and sends him to a teacher to learn the Vedas.[634] The same Upaniṣad describes the

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630. ते ह समित्पाणयः पूर्वाह्णे प्रतिचक्रमिरे तान्हानुपनीयैवैतदुवाच । छान्दोग्य V. 11. 7.

631. समिधं सोम्याहरोप त्वा नेष्ये न सत्यादगा इति । छान्दोग्य IV. 4. 5.

632. उपैम्यहं भवन्तमिति वाचा ह स्मैव पूर्व उपयन्ति स होपायनकीर्त्योवास । बृह. उ. VI. 2. 7.

633. Vide बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1 'अनुशिष्टोन्वसि पित्रेत्योमिति होवाच.' विश्वरूप on या. I. 15 remarks गुरुग्रहणं तु मुख्यं पितुरुपनेतृत्वमिति । तथा च श्रुतिः । तस्मात्पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहुरिति । आचार्योपनयनं तु ब्राह्मणस्यानुकल्पः ।

634. श्वेतकेतुर्हारुणेय आस तं ह पितोवाच श्वेतकेतो वस ब्रह्मचर्यं ... ... स ह द्वादश वर्ष उपेत्य चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः सर्वान्वेदानधीत्य महामना अनूचानमानी स्तब्ध एयाय तं ह पितोवाच श्वेतकेतो ... उत तमादेशमप्राक्ष्यः येनाश्रुतं श्रुतं भवति । छान्दोग्य VI. 1. 1–2.

āśrama of *brahmacarya* 'dwelling as a brahmacārī in the house of a teacher, mortifying his body in the house of his teacher till his[635] end'. Chāndogya IV. 4. 4. shows that the teacher asked the pupil his gotra (in order that he may address him by that name). The same Upaniṣad shows that the brahmacārī had to beg for food (IV. 3. 5), that he had to look after the fire of his teacher (IV. 10. 1–2) and that he had to tend his cattle (IV. 4. 5). The age when upanayana was performed is not expressly stated in the Upaniṣads except in the case of Śvetaketu who was 12 (vide note 634 above). The period of student-hood was usually twelve (Chāndogya II. 23.1, IV. 10.1, VI.1.2), though the Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) speaks of Indra's brahmacarya for 101 years and Chāndogya II. 23. 1; speaks of brahmacarya for life.

We shall now turn to upanayana as described in the sūtras and smṛtis. The following matters fall to be treated under Upanayana: The proper age for upanayana, the auspicious seasons for it; the skin, the garments, the girdle and the staff for the brahmacārins of different varṇas; the yajñopavīta; the preliminaries of upanayana, such as homa, taking of curds by the boy, añjalipūraṇa, aśmārohaṇa; the principal rites of upanayana viz. taking of the student's hand by the teacher, touching the chest of the student expressive of acceptance as pupil, handing the boy to Savitṛ and other gods (paridāna), instruction in the duties of the student (such as putting fuel on fire, begging &c.), instruction in the famous Sāvitrī mantra; *medhājanana*; study of the Vedas and daily recitation of Vedic texts; special *vratas* of the brahmacārī; *Patitasāvitrīka* (those whose upanayana has not been performed at all) and rules about them. These matters will now be dealt with in order. It should be remembered that all these matters are not dwelt upon by all the smṛtis nor are they treated of in the same order. Further the Vedic mantras often differ in the different sūtras.

The proper age for Upanayana

The Āśv. gṛ.[636] (I. 19. 1–6) says that a brāhmaṇa boy should undergo upanayana in the eighth year from birth or from conception, a kṣatriya in the 11th year, a vaiśya in the

635. छान्दोग्य II. 23. 1. This refers to the नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचारिन्.

636. अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत् । गर्भाष्टमे वा । एकादशे क्षत्रियम् । द्वादशे वैश्यम् । आ षोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः । आ द्वाविंशात्क्षत्रियस्य । आ चतुर्विंशाद्वैश्यस्य । आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 1–6.

12th and that to the 16th, 22nd and 24th years respectively for the three varṇas it cannot be said that the time for upanayana has passed. Āp.[637] (10. 2), Śāṅ. (II. 1), Baud. (II. 5. 2) and Bhār. (1. 1), Gobhila (II. 10. 1) gṛhya sūtras, Yāj. I. 14, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19 expressly say that the respective years are calculated from conception. The Mahābhāṣya [638] also refers to the rule that a brāhmaṇa's upanayana is to be performed in the 8th year from conception. Pār.[639] gṛ. (II. 2) allows upanayana in the 8th year from birth or conception and adds that in the case of all varṇas family usage may be followed. Yāj. I. 14 also refers to family usage. Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 1. 1) allows upanayana in the 8th or 10th year from conception, the Mānava gṛ. (I. 22. 1) allows it in the 7th or 9th year, the Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 1-3) prescribes 7th, 9th and 11th years for the upanayana of the three varṇas respectively. In some smṛtis upanayana is allowed to be performed even earlier or at different ages, e. g. Gautama (I. 6-8) prescribes that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa is in the 8th year from conception but it may be in the 5th or 9th according to the result desired; and Manu. II. 37 says that if spiritual eminence (for the boy) is desired (by his father) then upanayana may be performed in the 5th year for a brāhmaṇa, in the 6th year for a kṣatriya if there is a desire for military power, in the 8th for a vaiśya if there is desire for endeavour to accumulate wealth. Vaik. (II. 3) also prescribes the 5th, 8th, 9th years from conception for a brāhmaṇa if there is a desire respectively for

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637. गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत गर्भैकादशेषु राजन्यं गर्भद्वादशेषु वैश्यम् । आप. गृ. 10. 2-3. Vide सं. प्र. pp 340-341 for discussion whether there is option of counting the years from conception or birth in the case of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Āp. and several others employ the Ātmanepada 'उपनयीत' while Āśv., Khādira (II. 2. 1) and Pār. employ the Parasmaipada उपनयेत्. It should be noticed that in the Atharvaveda XI. 7. 3., शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1, छा. उ. IV. 4. 5 and elsewhere in the Vedic texts it is the Ātmanepada that is found. Pāṇini (I. 3. 36) lays down that the root 'nī' takes the Ātmanepada alone in the case of several senses one of which is आचार्यकरण (and so we should have उपनयेत only). हरदत्त quotes a कारिका that the परस्मैपद is a mistake 'परस्मैपदपाठोऽयमध्येतॄणां प्रमादतः । आचार्यकरणे यस्मात्प्राप्नोत्यत्रात्मनेपदम् ॥'. Vide संस्कारप्रकाश p. 339 for criticism of हरदत्त's view. Vide शबर quoted above (p. 269 *f. n.* 619).

638. गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मण उपनेय इति सकृदुपनीय कृतः शास्त्रार्थः । महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 57.

639. अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयेद्गर्भाष्टमे वैकादशवर्षं राजन्यं द्वादशवर्षं वैश्यं यथामङ्गलं वा सर्वेषाम् । पारस्करगृ. II. 2. बौ. गृ. adds त्रयोदशे मेधाकामं चतुर्दशे पुष्टिकामं पञ्चदशे भ्रातृव्यवन्तं षोडशे सर्वकाममिति ।

spiritual eminence, long life and wealth. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 21 and Baud. gr. (II. 5) prescribe 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th years respectively for one desiring spiritual eminence, long life, brilliance, abundant food, physical vigour and cattle.

Therefore, the 8th, 11th and 12th years from birth for the three varṇas are the principal time for upanayana; while the years from 5th onwards up to 11th are the secondary time (gauṇa) for a brāhmaṇa, 9th to 16th are secondary for kṣatriya and so on. From 12th to 16 is *gauṇatara* for brāhmaṇas and after 16 gauṇatama for them. Vide Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 342.

The auspicious times according to the Āp. gr. and Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19, Hir. gr. (I. 1) and Vaik. are vasanta (spring), grīṣma (summer), and śarad (autumn) for the three varṇas. The Bhār. gr. (I. 1) says that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa should be performed in vasanta, for a kṣatriya in summer or hemanta, for a vaiśya in śarad, in the rains for a carpenter (rathakāra) or in śiśira for all. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 1. 33 where upanayana is denied to śūdras quotes 'vasante brāhmaṇam upanayīta' as a Vedic text. Āśv. gr. I. 4. 1 (quoted above in *f. n.* 494), Hir. gr. (I. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 30 p.1 37) and Bhār. gr. (1. 1) say that upanayana should be performed in the bright half of a month, on an auspicious nakṣatra, particularly under a nakṣatra the name of which is masculine.[640]

Later works introduced very intricate rules about the proper months, *tithis*, days and times for upanayana. It is neither possible nor very necessary to go into these astrological details. But a few words must be said as in modern times upanayana is performed only in accordance with these rules. Vṛddhagārgya[641] laid down that six months from Māgha were the proper months for upanayana, while others say that five months from Māgha are the proper ones. Then 1st, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 15th i. e. (full moon and new moon) tithis are generally avoided (though there are some counter exceptions which are not set out here). It is stated that upanayana should not be performed when Venus is so near the sun that it cannot be seen, when the sun is in the first degree of any zodiacal sign, on anadhyāya

640. आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विशेषेण पुंनामधेये । भारद्वाज I. 1. For पुंनामधेयनक्षत्र see note 512.

641. मासानाह वृद्धगार्ग्यः । माघादिमासषट्के तु मेखलाबन्धनं मतम् । quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 355 ; तथा च ज्योतिःशास्त्रम् । माघादिषु च मासेषु मौञ्जी पञ्चसु शस्यते । एतच्च वर्णत्रयसाधारणम् । स्मृतिच० I. p. 27.

days and on galagraha[642] (the tithis specified above). Jupiter, Venus, Mars[643] and Mercury are respectively the presiding deities of the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas. Therefore the upanayana of those who have to study these Vedas should be performed on the week days presided over by these planets. Among week days Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are the best, Sunday is middling, Monday is the least suitable, but Tuesday and Saturday are prohibited (except that for students of the Sāmaveda and kṣatriyas Tuesday is allowed). Among the nakṣatras[644] the proper ones are Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Puṣya, Dhaniṣṭhā, Aśvinī, Mṛgaśiras, Punarvasu, Śravaṇa and Revatī. There are other rules about nakṣatras with respect to those who follow a particular Veda (which are passed over). One rule is that all nakṣatras except Bharaṇī, Kṛttikā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Jyeṣṭhā, Śatatārakā are good for all. The Moon and Jupiter must be astrologically strong with reference to the boy's horoscope. The rule about Jupiter probably arose from the fact that Jupiter was supposed to rule over knowledge and happiness and as upanayana was meant to be the entrance for Veda-study, Jupiter's benevolent aspect was thought to be necessary. If Jupiter and Venus are not to be seen owing to nearness to the sun, upanayana cannot be performed. Jupiter when in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th zodiacal sign from the sign of birth (calculation to be made inclusive of the sign of birth) is auspicious, when in the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 10th place from the sign of birth it is auspicious after the performance of a propitiatory homa and when it is in the 4th, 8th, 12th place from birth, it is inauspicious. The moon is supposed to be malefic when she is in the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th or 12th place from the sign of birth. Four hours from sunrise is the best for upanayana, from that time to noon is middling and afternoon is prohibited. Some said that a person's upanayana should not be performed in the month in which he was born, others restricted the prohibition to the pakṣa (the half) of the month in which he was born. There are other rules about the Lagna (the rising

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642. नष्टे चन्द्रेऽस्तगे शुक्रे निरंशे चैव भास्करे। कर्तव्यमौपनयनं नानध्याये गलग्रहे॥ ...... त्रयोदशीचतुष्कं तु सप्तम्यादित्रयं तथा। चतुर्थ्येकादशी प्रोक्ता अष्टावेते गलग्रहाः॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 27; अपरार्क p. 32 cites the first as from पुराण.

643. The निर्णयसिन्धु quotes नारद as to गलग्रह differently 'कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्थी च सप्तम्यादिदिनत्रयम्। त्रयोदशीचतुष्कं' च अष्टावेते गलग्रहाः॥'. गुरुर्भृगुसुतो धात्रीपुत्रः शशधरात्मजः। स्युरेते ऋग्यजुःसामाथर्वणामधिपाः क्रमात्॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 27.

644. हस्तात्रये पुष्यधनिष्ठयोश्च पौष्णाश्विसौम्यादितिविष्णुभेषु। शस्ते तिथौ चन्द्रबलोपयुक्तो कार्यो द्विजानामुपनायनो विधिः॥ अपरार्क p. 32, स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 27.

zodiacal sign at the time of upanayana) which are not set out here. There are other prohibited astrological conjunctions like Vyatīpāta, Vaidhṛti &c. For detailed rules on these, works like the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 355–385), Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu may be consulted.

For persons who are entitled to perform the upanayana of a boy, vide note 480.

A brahmacārī had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (vāsas), another for covering the upper part of the body (uttarīya). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 39–I. 1. 3. 1–2) says that 'the garment[645] (vāsas) for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya brahmacārī is respectively to be made of hemp, flax, ajina (deerskin), some teachers prescribe that the lower garment should be of cotton but coloured reddish-yellow for brāhmaṇas; dyed with madder for kṣatriyas, dyed with turmeric for vaiśyas.' Pār. gṛ. (II. 5), Manu (II. 41) speak of 'āvika' (made of wool) for vaiśya instead of 'ajina'. Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 64-67) says that a brāhmaṇa (brahmacārī) should wear a (lower) garment which is white and unblemished (or new) and for a kṣatriya or vaiśya it should be the same as in Āp. Dh., but for vaiśya Vas. prescribes also one made of kuśa grass or he says that all should wear cotton cloth that is undyed.' Gaut. (I. 17–20) on the other hand says 'for all the lower garment may be made of hemp, flax or kuśa grass (*cīra*) or of the hair of the mountainous goat (kutapa); other teachers prescribe coloured garments, one coloured with the juice of trees for brāhmaṇas and madder-red and yellow for kṣatriya and vaiśya. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 19. 8), Pār. gṛ. (II. 5), Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 61–63), Baud. gṛ. (II. 5. 16) say that the upper garment for a brāhmaṇa should be the skin of a black deer, for kṣatriya the skin of *ruru* deer and for a vaiśya of cow-skin or of goat skin. Baud. and Āśv. prescribe only goat skin. Pār. gṛ. adds that if any one cannot secure a skin suited to one's varṇa, he may wear an upper garment of cow-hide as the cow is the chief among animals.[646] Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 16 prescribes the skin of black deer for all in the same

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645. वासः । शाणीक्षौमाजिनानि । काषायं चैके वस्त्रमुपदिशन्ति । माञ्जिष्ठं राजन्यस्य । हारिद्रं वैश्यस्य । आप. ध. 1. 1. 2. 39–41–I. 1. 3. 1–2; शुक्लमहतं वासो ब्राह्मणस्य । माञ्जिष्ठं क्षत्रियस्य । हारिद्रं कौशेयं वा वैश्यस्य । सर्वेषां वा तान्तवमरक्तम् । वसिष्ठ XI. 64-67 ; what is अहत is defined by प्रचेतस् 'ईषद्धौतं नवं श्वेतं सदशं यन्न धारितम् । अहतं तद् विजानीयात्सर्वकर्मसु पावनम् ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 29.

646. ऐणेयमजिनमुत्तरीयं ब्राह्मणस्य रौरवं राजन्यस्याजं गव्यं वा वैश्यस्य सर्वेषां वा गव्यमसति प्रधानत्वात् । पारस्कर II. 5.

circumstances. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 7–8) gives the option to all varṇas to use a sheep skin (as upper garment) or a woollen plaid (*kambala*). Āśv. gṛ. (I. 19. 8–9) appears to suggest that the lower and upper garments may be of the same skin or that the lower garment may be white or coloured (as stated above by Āp. Dh. S.). The Kāṭhaka gṛ.[647] (41. 13) says that the upper garment for the three varṇas should be respectively of the skins of black deer, tiger and *ruru* deer. A vestige of these rules survives in the modern practice of tying a small piece of deer skin to the yajñopavīta of the boy when his upanayana is performed.

That the rules about the lower and upper garments go back to great antiquity is shown by a reference to a Brāhmaṇa passage in the Āp. Dh. S.[648] I. 1. 3. 9 'one should wear only deer-skin (as lower and upper garments) if one desires the increase of Vedic lore, only (cotton) garments if one desires the increase of martial valour and both if one desires both'.

Daṇḍa (staff):—There is some divergence of view about the trees of which the staff was to be made. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 19. 13 and I. 20. 1) says 'a staff of the palāśa wood for a brāhmaṇa, of udumbara for a kṣatriya and of bilva for a vaiśya or all the varṇas may employ a staff of any of these trees.' The Āp. gṛ. 11. 15–16 (this is the same as Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38) says that the staff should be of palāśa wood for a brāhmaṇa, of the branch of the nyagrodha tree (so that the downward end of the branch forms the tip of the staff) for a kṣatriya, of *badara* or *udumbara* wood for a vaiśya; while some teachers say that the staff should be made of a tree (which is used in sacrifices) without reference to any varṇa. Gaut. (I. 21) and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5. 17) say that the staff of palāśa or bilva should be used for brāhmaṇa and Gaut. (I. 22–23) says that aśvattha and pīlu wood staff should be used respectively for kṣatriya and vaiśya or of any sacrificial tree for all varṇas. Baud. gṛ. prescribes nyagrodha or rauhitaka for kṣatriya, and badara or udumbara for vaiśya. Pār. gṛ.

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647. ऐणेयं चर्म ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छति वैयाघ्रं राजन्याय रौरवं वैश्याय। काठकगृह्य 41. 13.

648. ब्रह्मवृद्धिमिच्छन्नजिनान्येव वसीत क्षत्रवृद्धिमिच्छन्वस्त्राण्येवोभयवृद्धिमिच्छन्नु-भयमिति हि ब्राह्मणम्। अजिनं त्वेवोत्तरं धारयेत्। आप. ध. I. 1. 3. 9–10; compare भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 1 यद्वाजिनं धारयेद्ब्रह्मवर्चसवद्वासो धारयेत्क्षत्रं वर्धयेदुभयं धार्यमुभयोर्वृद्ध्या इति विज्ञायते।, compare the गोपथब्रा. 2. 4 न तान्तवं वसीत यस्तान्तवं वस्ते क्षत्रं वर्धते न ब्रह्म तस्मात्तान्तवं न वसीत ब्रह्म वर्धतां मा क्षत्रमिति।

(II. 5) recommends a staff of palāśa, bilva and udumbara respectively for the three varṇas (or any of these for all). Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 22) recommends palāśa, aśvattha and nyagrodha respectively for the three. Manu (II. 45) prescribes bilva and palāśa for brāhmaṇa, vaṭa and khadira for kṣatriya, pīlu and udumbara for vaiśya, and Kulluka adds that two staffs should be used by the boy, as two are recommended in a compound.

The staff was required for support, for controlling the cattle of the teacher (which the student was to tend), for protection when going out at night and for guidance when entering a river or the like.[649]

The length of the staff varied according to the varṇa of the boy. Āśv. gr. I. 19. 13, Gaut. I. 25, Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 55–57), Pār. gr. (II. 5), Manu (II. 46) prescribe that in the case of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya boy respectively the staff should be as high as his head, forehead or the tip of the nose. The Śāṅ. gr. (II. 1. 21–23, S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 260) on the other hand reverses this (the brāhmaṇa having the shortest staff and the vaiśya the longest). Gaut. I. 26 says that the staff should be one not eaten by worms, should have the bark attached to it, and should have a curved tip, while Manu II. 47 adds that the staff should be straight, pleasing to look at and should not have come into contact with fire. The Śāṅ. gr. (II. 13. 2–3) prescribes that the brahmacārī should not allow any one to pass between himself and his staff and that if the staff, girdle or the yajñopavīta break or rend, he has to undergo a penance (same as the one for the breaking of a chariot at a wedding procession) and that at the end of the period of brahmacarya, he should sacrifice in water the yajñopavīta, staff, the girdle and the skin[650] with a mantra to Varuṇa (Ṛg. I. 24. 6) or with the sacred syllable 'om '. Manu II. 64 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 29) say the same thing.

Mekhalā (*girdle*) :—Gaut. (I. 15), Āśv. gr. (I. 19. 11), Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13), Manu II. 42, Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 12), Bhār. gr. (I. 2) and others prescribe that a girdle made of muñja grass should be

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649. दण्डाजिनोपवीतानि मेखलां चैव धारयेत् । या. I. 29 ; 'तत्र दण्डस्य कार्यमवलम्बनं गवादिनिवारणं तमोवगाहनमप्सु प्रवेशनमित्यादि' अपरार्क. As the carrying of a staff has a seen result, it need not be carried at all times, according to Aparārka (p. 57), but the others having unseen results must be worn always.

650. उपवीतं च दण्डे बध्नाति । तदप्येतत् । यज्ञोपवीतदण्डं च मेखलामजिनं तथा। जुहुयादप्सु व्रते पूर्णे वारुण्यर्चा रसेन । शा. गृ. II. 30. 31. रस means 'ओम्'.

tied round a brāhmaṇa boy's waist, one made of mūrvā grass (which is used for making a bowstring) for a kṣatriya and one of hemp cords for a vaiśya. Pāraskara says that the string of a bow should be used for a kṣatriya and of mūrvā grass for a vaiśya and adds that in the absence of these the girdle should respectively be made of kuśa, aśmantaka and balvaja grass (for brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya). Manu (II. 42-43) gives the same rules as Pār. gṛ. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.2. 35-37) [651] optionally allows a girdle of muñja grass with an iron piece intertwined in it for kṣatriyas and woollen string or the yoke-string or a string of tāmala bark for vaiśyas (according to some). Baud. gṛ. (II. 5. 13) allows mauñjī girdle also to all. Some of the sūtras (e. g. Baud. gṛ., Āp. Dh. S.) further prescribe that the girdle of muñja grass should have three strings to it and the grass should have its ends turned to the right and the knot of the girdle should be brought near the navel. Manu (II. 43) says that there may be one knot or three or five (according to family usage, says Kullūka). [652]

In order to convey an idea of the rites of upanayana in the days of the gṛhya sūtras the ceremony as contained in the Āśv. gṛ. sūtra (which is among the shortest) is set out in full.[653] ' Let him initiate the boy who is decked, whose hair (on the head) is shaved (and arranged), who wears a new garment or an antelope skin if a brāhmaṇa, ruru skin if a kṣatriya, goat's skin if a vaiśya; if they put on garments they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow, red and yellow (for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya respectively), they should have girdles and staffs (as described above). While the boy takes hold of (the hand of) his teacher, the latter offers (a homa of clarified butter oblations) in the fire (as described above) and seats himself to the north of the fire with his face turned to the east, while the other one (the boy) stations himself in front (of the teacher) with his face turned to the west. The teacher then fills the folded hands of both himself and of the boy with water and with the verse ' we choose that of Savitṛ ' (Ṛg. V. 82. 1) the teacher drops down the water in his own folded hands on to the water in the folded

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651. ज्या राजन्यस्य मौञ्जी वायोमिश्रा। आविसूत्रं वैश्यस्य। सैरी तामली वेत्येके। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 34–37. तामल is explained as शण (hemp) in the com. on गोभिल II. 10. 10 and by हरदत्त as ' तामलो मूलेाद्वकसंज्ञो वृक्षः। तस्य त्वचा ग्रथिता तामली '.

652. The number of knots was probably regulated by the number of the pravara sages invoked by a person.

653. Vide Appendix for the text of Āśv. gṛ. and for a very concise form prepared recently.

hands of the boy; having thus poured the water, he should seize with his own hand the boy's hand together with the thumb (of the boy) with the formula 'by the urge (or order) of the god Savitṛ, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I seize thy hand, oh! so and so';[653a] with the words 'Savitṛ has seized thy hand, oh so and so' a second time (the teacher seizes the boy's hand); with the words 'Agni is thy teacher, oh so and so' a third time. The teacher should cause (the boy) to look at the sun, while the teacher repeats 'God Savitṛ! this is thy brahmacārī, protect him, may he not die'[654] and (the teacher should further) say 'Whose brahmacārī art thou? thou art the brahmacārī of Prāṇa. Who does initiate thee and whom (does he initiate)? I give[655] thee to Ka (to Prajāpati)'. With the half verse (Ṛg. III 8. 4.) 'the young man, well attired and dressed, came[656] hither' he (the teacher) should cause him to turn round to the right and with his two hands placed over (the boy's) shoulders he should touch the place of the boy's heart repeating the latter half (of Ṛg. III. 8. 4). Having wiped the ground round the fire the brahmacārī should put (on the fire) a fuel stick silently, since it is known (from śruti) 'what belongs to Prajāpati is silently (done)', and the brahmacārī belongs to Prajāpati. Some do this (offering of a fuel stick) with a mantra 'to Agni I have brought a fuel stick, to the great Jātavedas; by the fuel stick mayst thou increase, Oh Agni and may we (increase) through *brahman* (prayer or spiritual lore), svāhā'.[657] Having put the fuel stick (on the fire) and having touched the fire, he (the student) thrice wipes off his face with the words 'I

653a. Here the boy should be addressed by his name. The formula 'devasya tvā' occurs in several connections (e. g. in adoption etc.) in several saṁhitās. Vide for this वाज. सं. II. 11, तै. सं. II. 6. 8. 6. A similar formula occurs in आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 3. 24 and II. 9. 5, हिरण्य. गृ. I. 11. 17, मानवगृ. I. 22. 5, बौ. गृ. II. 5. 28 (देवस्य......हस्ताभ्यामुपनयेऽसौ), काठकगृ. 41. 16 (reads as in बौ. गृ.)

654. देव ...... मा मृत. This मन्त्र occurs also in the आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 3. 31 (असावेष ते देव सूर्य ...... मृत) and in मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, शां. गृ. II. 18. 4 and others.

655. The words कस्य ...... परिददामि occur in आप. म. पा. II. 3. 29, मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, पारस्कर II. 2 (with variations in all)

656. For the whole verse युवा सुवासाः vide note 620 above.

657. अग्नये समिधमाहार्षं &c—The first half occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 6. 2, पारस्कर II. 4, हिरण्य. गृ. I. 7. 2, गोभिलगृह्य II. 10. 46, भारद्वाजगृ. I. 8, all of which have a long latter half like यथा त्वमग्ने समिधा समिध्यसे एवं मामायुषा ... मेधया प्रजया etc.

anoint myself with lustre'; it is known (from śruti) 'for he does anoint himself with lustre'. 'May Agni bestow on me, insight, offspring and lustre; on me may Indra bestow insight, offspring and vigour (indriya); on me may the sun bestow insight, offspring and radiance; what thy lustre is, Oh Agni, may I thereby become lustrous; what thy strength is, Agni, may I thereby become strong; what thy consuming power is Agni, may I thereby acquire consuming power'.[658] Having waited upon (worshipped) Agni with these formulas, (the student) should bend his knees, embrace (the teacher's feet) and say to him 'recite, Sir, recite, Sir, the Sāvitrī'. Seizing the student's hands with the upper garment (of the student) and his own hands the teacher recites the Sāvitrī, first pāda by pāda, then hemistich by hemistich (and lastly) the whole verse. He (the teacher) should make him (the student) recite (the Sāvitrī) as much as he is able. On the place of the student's heart the teacher lays his hand with the fingers upturned with the formula 'I place thy heart[659] unto duty to me; may thy mind follow my mind; may you attend on my words single-minded; may Bṛhaspati appoint thee unto me'. Having tied the girdle round him (the boy) and having given him the staff, the teacher should instruct him in the observances of a brahmacārī with the words 'a brahmacārī[660] art thou, sip water, do service, do not sleep by day, depending (completely) on the teacher learn the Veda'. He (the student) should beg (food) in the evening and the morning; he should put a fuel stick (on fire) in the evening and the morning. That (which he has received by begging) he should announce to the teacher; he should not sit down (but should be standing) the rest of the day."[661]

The whole procedure of upanayana is more elaborately described in the Āp. gṛ., in Hir. gṛ. and Gobhila. A few points

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658. मयि मेधां &c. These mantras occur in तै. सं. III. 3. 1. 2 and III. 5. 3. 2; also in हिरण्य. गृ., बौ. गृ. II. 5. 62 &c.

659. मम व्रते &c. These words also occur in पारस्करगृ. II. 2., मानवगृ. I. 22. 10, हिरण्यगृ. (where we have मम हृदये). These words also occur in the marriage ceremony (as addressed by the husband), vide पारस्करगृ. I. 8.

660. ब्रह्मचार्यसि &c. These words (with some additions and omissions) occur in आप. म. पा. II. 6. 14, पारस्करगृ. II. 3, काठकगृ 41. 17 and several others. These are based on the शतपथ passage quoted in note 625 above. In some it is said simply 'do not sleep' and this is explained in आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 28. as 'अथ यः पूर्वोत्थायी जघन्यसंवेशी तमाहुर्न स्वपितीति'.

661. अनुप्रवचनीय sacrifice is to be performed after a part of the Veda has been learnt., vide आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 10-16, गोभिलगृह्य III. 2. 46-47.

of interest and divergence may be noted here briefly. It is remarkable that Āśv., Āp. and several other sūtrakāras do not say a word about the sacred thread, while a few like Hir. gṛ. (I. 2. 6), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 3) and Mānava gṛ. (I. 22. 2) say that the boy already wears the yajñopavīta before the homa begins; while Baud. gṛ.[662] (II. 5. 7) says that the boy is given the yajñopavīta and then made to recite the well-known mantra 'the Yajñopavīta is extremely sacred' and the Vaik. smārta (II. 5) says that the teacher gives the upper garment to the boy with [663] the verse 'parīdaṁ vāsaḥ', the sacred thread with the mantra 'Yajñopavītam' and the black antelope skin with the mantra 'the eye of Mitra'. Sudarśana on Āp. gṛ. 10. 5 says that the boy puts on the yajñopavīta with the mantra before he takes his meal (according to some) or (according to others) before[664] he puts the fuel stick on the fire and relies on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 for support. According to Karka and Harihara (on Pāraskara) the yajñopavīta was given to the student by the teacher after the tying of the girdle. The Saṁskāratattva p. 934 says the same. Late works like the Saṁskāraratnamālā (p. 202) prescribe the wearing of the sacred thread before the homa. The origin and development of the ideas about yajñopavīta will be dealt with separately later on. Āp. gṛ. (X. 5), Baud gṛ. (II. 5. 7) and Pār. gṛ. (II. 2) prescribe a dinner to brāhmaṇas before the ceremonies begin and receiving their benedictions. Āp. gṛ. (X. 5), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 1), Baud gṛ. [665] (II. 5. 7) say that the boy also is made to take food; according to later works (e. g. Saṁskāraratnamālā) the boy takes his meal in the same dish with his mother (for the last time) and other brahmacārins (eight in number) are also invited at the same time for meals in the

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662. स्नातं शुचिवाससं बद्धशिखं यज्ञोपवीतं प्रतिमुञ्चन् वाचयति 'यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात्। आयुष्यमग्र्यं प्रतिमुञ्च शुभ्रं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तु तेजः॥' इति। यज्ञोपवीतिनमप आचमय्याथ देवयजनमुदानयति। बौ. गृ. II. 5. 7–8; the verse यज्ञोपवीतं is quoted as from गृह्यपरिशिष्ट in स्मृतिच० (I. p. 31) and is repeated even in the island of Bali by the *pedandas*. In some mss. of Pār. gṛ. this mantra occurs, but it is an interpolation, as Karka, Jayarāma and Harihara say 'यद्यपि सूत्रकारेण यज्ञोपवीतधारणं न सूत्रितम्' (हरिहर).

663. परीदं वासः — this is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 8; मित्रस्य चक्षुः is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 11.

664. Acc. to शाङ्खायनगृह्य II. 2. 3 the आचार्य says 'यज्ञोपवीतमसि यज्ञस्य त्वा यज्ञोपवीतेनोपनह्यामि.'

665. बौ. गृ. सू. 'कुमारं भोजयित्वा तस्य चौलवत्तूष्णीं केशान्वोप्य स्नातं शुचिवाससं बद्धशिखम्' &c. (II. 5. 7).

company of the boy. This practice is observed even in modern times. Almost all prescribe that the boy is shaved on this day (as in caula); this also is done in modern times. But in ancient [666] times the shaving was done by the ācārya himself as stated by Sudarśana on Āp. gṛ. 10. 6–8. There are several other matters detailed in Āp. and others, on which Āśv. and some others are silent. The important ones are mentioned below.

(*a*) Āp. gṛ. (10. 9), Mānava gṛ. (I. 23. 12), Baud. gṛ. (II. 5, 10), Khādira gṛ. (II. 4) and Bhār. gṛ. (I. 8) make the boy tread on a stone to the north of the fire with his right foot after homa. The mantras repeated in the several sūtras are significant asking the boy to be firm like a stone. [667]

(*b*) Mānava gṛ. (I.22.3) and Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 10) prescribe after homa the tasting of curds thrice after repeating the verse ' Dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam ' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6 = Tai. S. I. 5. 4. 11).

(*c*) Pār. gṛ. (II. 2), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 7), Āp. gṛ. (11. 1–4), Āp. Mantrapāṭha (II. 3. 27–30), Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 25 (quoting Śāṭyāyanaka), Mānava gṛ. I. 22. 4–5, and Khādira gṛ. II. 4. 12 refer to the fact that the teacher asks the boy his name and the latter pronounces his name. The teacher also asks whose brahmacārī the boy is.

A person was given (as shown above at pp. 246–247) an abhivādanīya name either derived from the nakṣatra of birth or from a deity name or the gotra name. This was necessary for several purposes. The teacher had to know that the boy came from a good family, he had also to address him by name (as there might be several pupils). It is wrong to suppose [668] from the story of Satyakāma Jābāla (where the

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666. त्रींस्त्रीन् दर्भानन्तर्धायोत्तराभिश्चतसृभिः चतसृभिः प्रतिमन्त्रं प्रतिदिशं प्रवपति। वपन्तमुत्तरयानुमन्त्रयते दक्षिणतो माता ब्रह्मचारी वा । आनडुहे शकृत्पिण्डे यवानिधाय तस्मिन्केशानुपयम्योत्तरयोदुम्बरमूले दर्भस्तम्बे वा निदधाति । आप. गृ. X.6–8. सुदर्शन on sūtra says ' प्रशस्तकरणात्कुशलीकरणमप्याचार्यस्यैव ' and on sūtra 8 ' केचित्—आचार्यः पूर्वं वपनमारभते ततो नापितः संसृष्टाभिरेवाद्भिरवधं कुर्वन् केशान् प्रवपति । तं च वपन्तमुत्तरया आचार्योऽनुमन्त्रयते । दक्षिणतो मातेत्युक्तार्थमेव । तन्न । एतद्वपनं नापितः समापयतीत्यत्र वचनाभावात् तत्कल्पनायां चानुपपत्त्यभावात् ।.' हरदत्त on आप. गृ. X. 6 says ' पूर्वं मन्त्रवद्वपनं करोत्याचार्यः पश्चात् नापित इत्युक्तं भवति,' which is combated by सुदर्शन.

667. आतिष्ठेममश्मानमश्मेव त्वं स्थिरो भव । अभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः। आप. म. पा. II. 2. 2, which is the मन्त्र in आप. गृ., भार० गृ., बौ. गृ.

668. Vide Keay in ' Ancient Indian Education ' p. 23 where he says ' it was still the rule for brāhmaṇas to be received as students.' Dr. Ghurye in ' Caste and race in India ' p. 48 merely repeats this dictum.

teacher asked him his gotra) that only brāhmaṇas were admitted to brahmacarya. All smṛtis, even the latest, contemplated that the three castes had the right to learn the Veda. It is one thing to have a right and another to exercise it. Probably very few kṣatriyas cared to submit their sons to the rigorous discipline of brahmacarya as laid down in the smṛtis and cared much less for Veda studies. In the Mahābhārata and in the Kādambarī it is said that the princes were taught in a special house constructed for the purpose and teachers were paid handsomely and brought there to teach instead of the princes going to the teachers.

It is not possible for want of space to show how the greatest possible confusion prevails as to the order of the various components of the ceremony of upanayana. But a few striking examples may be given. Āśvalāyana gṛ. treats of the tying of the girdle and the giving of the staff almost at the end of the ceremony, while Āp. gṛ. puts this after homa and immediately before añjalipūraṇa (filling the folded hands of both with water); Āśvalāyana puts ādityadarśana after the boy's hand is held by the teacher and before paridāna (handing the boy over to the deities), but Bhār. (I. 9) puts it after the instruction in the observances of brahmacarya. The Bhār. gṛ. (I. 9) treats of ādityadarśana almost at the end of the rites, while Āśv. places it among the earlier ones after homa. Besides the same mantras are employed by different sūtras for different purposes; for example, the mantra 'suśravaḥ &c.' is employed by Āp. at the time of taking the staff by the boy (XI. 14 and Mantrapāṭha II. 5. 1), while Āśv. gṛ. (I. 22. 19), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 10), Mānava gṛ. (I. 23. 17) employ it in 'medhājanana' (on the 4th day after upanayana) and Pār. gṛ. (II. 4) employs it at the time of putting a fuel stick on fire. Āśv. employs the verse 'yuvā suvāsāḥ' (Ṛg. III. 8. 4) for making the boy turn round (first half) and for touching the region of the boy's heart (latter half), while the same verse is employed at the time of tying the girdle round the boy's waist by the Mānava gṛ. (I. 22. 8) and Pār. gṛ. (II. 2).

Later writers went on adding mantras and details. On the day prior to upanayana the Nāndīśrāddha was performed as said by Haradatta on Āp. gṛ. 10. 5. *Grahamakha* (a sacrifice to the planets) also may be performed the previous day or on any day within 7 or 10 days of the upanayana. Then before the actual upanayana, there is the worship of Gaṇapati and of

Kuladevatās, puṇyāhavācana, the worship of Mātṛs and the consecration of the maṇḍapa-devatās. For the detailed modern procedure (prayoga) of upanayana, the S. R. M. (pp. 197–210), which in the main follows the briefer procedure in the gṛhya sūtras, may be consulted. Up to the act of making the boy dine with his mother it is the father who does everything; thereafter it is the ācārya who does the rest. The saṁkalpa of upanayana is given below [669].

Yajñopavīta [670] :—A few words must be said on the history of *yajñopavīta* from ancient times. Among the earliest references is one from the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 ' the nivīta [671] is (used in actions) for men, the prācīnāvīta (is used in rites) for pitṛs, the upavīta (in rites) for gods; he wears it in the upavīta mode (i. e. slung from the left shoulder), thereby he makes a distinguishing sign of the gods'. In the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 8.) we read 'wearing in the prācīnāvīta form he offers towards the south; for in the case of pitṛs, acts are performed towards the south. Disregarding that one should wear in the upavīta form and offer in the north only, since both gods and pitṛs are worshipped (in this rite)'.[672] The three words nivīta, prācīnāvīta and upavīta are explained in the Gobhila gṛ. (I. 2. 2–4) which says ' raising his right arm, putting the head into (the upavīta) he suspends (the cord) over his left shoulder in such a way that it hangs down on his right side; thus he becomes yajñopavītin. Passing his left arm, putting the head (into the upavīta) he suspends it over his right shoulder, so that it hangs down along his left side; in this way he becomes prācīnāvītin; a person becomes prācīnāvītin only in the sacrifice offered to the Manes' [673]. To the same effect is

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669. आचम्य प्राणानायम्य देशकालौ संकीर्त्यास्य कुमारस्य द्विजत्वसिद्धिपूर्वकवेदाध्ययनाधिकारसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमाचार्यत्पैतृकसावित्रीमातृकमुपनयनाख्यं संस्कारं करिष्य इति सङ्कल्पं कुर्यात्।

670. Vide ' Orion ' by the late Mr. Tilak pp. 145–148 for discussion on this.

671. निवीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितॄणामुपवीतं देवानाम्। उपव्ययते देवलक्ष्ममेव तत्कुरुते। तै. सं. II. 5. 11. 1.

672. दक्षिणतः प्राचीनावीती निर्वपति। दक्षिणावृद्धि पितॄणाम्। अनादृत्य तत्। उत्तरत एवोपवीय निर्वपेत्। उभये हि देवाश्च पितरश्चेज्यन्ते। अथो यदेव दक्षिणार्धेऽधिश्रयति तेन दक्षिणावृत्। तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 8.

673. दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोऽवधाय सव्येंऽसे प्रतिष्ठापयति दक्षिणं कक्षमन्ववलम्बं भवत्येवं यज्ञोपवीती भवति। सव्यं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोऽवधाय दक्षिणेंऽसे प्रतिष्ठापयति सव्यं कक्षमन्ववलम्बं भवत्येवं प्राचीनावीती भवति। पितृयज्ञे त्वेव प्राचीनावीती भवति। गोभिल गृह्य I. 2. 2–4.

Khādira gr. I. 1. 8–9, Manu II. 63, Baud. gr. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 7 and 10, Vaik. I. 5. The Baud.[674] gr. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 3 says ' when it is carried over the neck, both shoulders and the chest and is held with both the thumbs (of the two hands) lower than the region of the heart and above the navel, that is *nivīta* ; (when the śruti says it is) for men, what it means is that it is for sages. The occasions when nivīta mode is used are: ṛṣi-tarpaṇa, sexual intercourse, saṁskāras of one's children except when homa is to be performed, answering the calls of nature, carrying a corpse and whatever other actions are meant only for men; nivīta is what hangs from the neck '.

The Śat. Br. (II. 4. 2. 1, S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 361) says " the gods being yajñopavītins approached near, bending their right knee; he (Prajāpati) said to them ' the sacrifice is your food, immortality is your strength, the sun is your light '; then the pitṛs approached him, being prācīnāvītins and bending their left knee and then men approached him covered with a garment and bending their bodies " etc.[675] It is important to note here that men are said to have been covered only with a garment and there is no reference in their case to any mode of wearing either as yajñopavīta or nivīta or prācīnāvīta. This rather suggests that men wore only garments when approaching gods and not necessarily a cord of threads. In the Tai.[676] Br. III. 10. 9. it is said that when *vāk* (speech) appeared to Devabhāga Gautama he put on the yajñopavīta and fell down with the words ' namo namaḥ '.

It seems to follow from a passage in the Tai. Ā. (II. 1) that a strip of black antelope skin or of cloth was used in ancient times as upavīta[677] ' the sacrifice of him who wears the

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674. उपरिष्टादंसाभ्यां ग्रीवां हृदयं च संपरिगृह्य हृदयस्याधस्तादूर्ध्वं नाभेरङ्गुष्ठाभ्यां परिगृह्णाति तन्निवीतं मनुष्याणामिति ऋषीणामित्येवेदमुक्तं भवति । अथ निवीतकार्याणि ऋषीणां तर्पणं व्यवायः प्रजासंस्कारोऽन्यत्र होमात्, मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गः प्रेतोद्वहनं यानि चान्यानि मनुष्यकार्याणि कण्ठेऽवसक्तं निवीतमिति । बौ. गृ. परिभाषासूत्र II. 2. 3 and 6.

675. ततो देवा यज्ञोपवीतिनो भूत्वा दक्षिणं जान्वाच्योपासीदंस्तानब्रवीद्यज्ञो वोऽन्नममृतत्वं व ऊर्ग्वः सूर्यो वो ज्योतिरिति । अथैनं पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जान्वाच्य ... ... अथैनं मनुष्याः प्रावृता उपस्थं कृत्वोपासीदन् ' शतपथ II. 4. 2. 1.

676. एतावति ह गौतमः यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा अधो निपपात नमो नम इति । तै. ब्रा. III. 10. 9. सायण remarks ' स्वकीयेन वस्त्रेण यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा. '.

677. प्रसृतो ह वै यज्ञोपवीतिनो यज्ञोऽप्रसृतोऽनुपवीतिनो यत्किं च ब्राह्मणो यज्ञोपवीत्यधीते यजत एव तत् । तस्माद्यज्ञोपवीत्येवाधीयीत याजयेद्यजेत वा यज्ञस्य प्रसृत्यै । अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरतेऽवधत्ते सव्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतमेतदेव विपरीतं प्राचीनावीतं संवीतं मानुषम् । तै. आ. II. 1. This passage is quoted as from the Kaṭhaka in the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि I. 3. 7 (p. 201).

yajñopavīta becomes spread out (prosperous, famous), while the sacrifice of him who does not wear it does not spread ; whatever a brāhmaṇa studies, wearing a yajñopavīta, he really (therein) performs a sacrifice. Therefore one should study, sacrifice or officiate at a sacrifice with the yajñopavīta on for securing the spreading of sacrifice; having worn an antelope skin or a garment on the right side, he raises the right hand and keeps the left down ; this is yajñopavīta; when this position is reversed it is prācīnāvīta ; the position called saṁvīta is for men.' It is remarkable that here at any rate no cord of threads is meant by upavīta, but only a piece of skin or cloth. The Par. M. (I. part 1 p. 173) quotes[678] a portion of the above passage and remarks that the Tai. Ār. lays down that a man becomes an upavītin by wearing one of the two, viz. antelope skin and (cotton) garment.

In the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra (III. 1. 21) it is established (with reference to the words) in the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 (upavyayate etc. quoted in *f. n.* 671) that one has to be an upavītin throughout all the actions, prescribed in the sections on the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice and not only when the Sāmidhenī verses are recited. The first part of the same passage is discussed by Jaimini (III. 4. 1–9) and it is established that the passage enjoins the wearing of upavīta in Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa which is devakarma and that the reference to prācīnāvīta and nivīta is only an *anuvāda* intended to emphasize the desirability of the wearing of upavīta in sacrifices to gods. The Tantravārtika [679] explains that *nivīta* is tying the upavīta round the throat like a braid of hair (according to some), while according to others it is tying it round the waist as if for girding up the loins and that the first is not done except in battle, while the latter has to be resorted to in all acts in order to devote sole attention to them. So according to the Tantravārtika, the Tai. S. is not referring (in II. 5. 11. 1) to a cord of threads but to a piece of cloth. Some of the sūtrakāras and commentators drop hints that garments were used or could be used as upavīta. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22–23) says that a householder should always wear an upper garment and then adds ' or the sacred thread may serve the purpose of an upper garment.' This shows that originally

678. तत्रेति कर्तव्यतारूपेण कृष्णाजिनवाससोरन्यतरेणोपवीतित्वं तैत्तिरीयके विधीयते। परा. मा. I. 1. p. 173.

679. निवीतं केचिद्गलवेणिकाबन्धं स्मरन्ति। केचित्पुनः परिकरबन्धम्। तत्र गलवेणिकाबन्धो युद्धादन्यत्र न प्राप्नोति। परिकरबन्धस्तु सर्वकर्मस्वव्यग्रताकरत्वात्प्राप्तः। तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि III. 4. 2 (p. 891).

upavīta meant an upper garment and not merely a cord of threads. In another place the same sūtra says (II. 8. 19. 12) 'one (who partakes of śrāddha dinner) should eat covered with an upper garment slung over the left shoulder and passing under the right arm'. Haradatta gives two explanations of this, viz. that one should wear an upper garment (while dining at a śrāddha) like a yajñopavīta i. e. under the right arm and over the left shoulder, that is, a brāhmaṇa cannot rely on Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and wear at śrāddha repast only the sacred thread (but he must wear the garment in that fashion) and give up the sacred thread for the time.[680] While another view is that he must wear the sacred thread and the upper garment both in the fashion of upavīta. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 6. 18-19) prescribes that when a student wears two garments he should wear one of them (i. e. the upper one) in the yajñopavīta mode, but when he wears only one garment then he should wear it round the lower part of the body (and should not cover the upper body with a portion of the garment though it may be long enough for that). Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 prescribes that a man must be yajñopavītin at the time of waiting upon teachers, elders, guests, at the time of homa, in *japa* (murmuring prayer), at meals and in taking ācamana and at the time of daily vedic study. On this Haradatta says 'yajñopavīta means a particular mode of wearing the (upper) garment; if one has no upper garment, then there is another (but inferior) mode stated in Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and that at other times it is not necessary to have the yajñopavīta'.

The Gobhila gṛ. (I. 2. 1) in treating of upanayana[681] says 'the student takes as yajñopavīta a cord of threads, a garment

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680. नित्यमुत्तरं वासः कार्यम्। अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 22-23; सोत्तराच्छादनश्चैव यज्ञोपवीती भुञ्जीत। आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 12; हरदत्त explains "उत्तराच्छादनमुपरिवासः। तेन यज्ञोपवीतेन यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा भुञ्जीत। नास्य भोजने 'अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे' इत्ययं कल्पो भवतीत्येके। समुच्चय इत्यन्ये।"; यज्ञोपवीती द्विवस्त्रः। अधोनिवीतस्त्वेकवस्त्रः। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 18-19; उपासने गुरूणां वृद्धानामतिथीनां होमे जप्यकर्मणि भोजन आचमने स्वाध्याये च यज्ञोपवीती स्यात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 1, where हरदत्त says 'वासोविन्यासविशेषो यज्ञोपवीतम्। दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरत इति ब्राह्मणविहितम्। वाससोऽसंभवेऽनुकल्पं वक्ष्यति अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे इति। एषु विधानात् कालान्तरे नावश्यंभावः।'; vide औशनसस्मृति (Jīvānanda, part I. p. 502) 'अग्न्यगारे गवां गोष्ठे होमे जप्ये तथैव च। स्वाध्याये भोजने नित्यं ब्राह्मणानां च संनिधौ। उपासने गुरूणां च संध्ययोरुभयोरपि। उपवीती भवेन्नित्यं विधिरेष सनातनः॥'

681. यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते वस्त्रं वापि वा कुशरज्जुमेव। गोभिलगृह्य I. 2. 1; सूत्रमपि वस्त्राभावाद्वेदितव्यमिति। अपि वाससा यज्ञोपवीतार्थान् कुर्यात्तदभावे त्रिवृता सूत्रेणेति ऋष्यशृङ्गस्मरणात्। स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 32.

or a rope of kuśa grass'. This indicates that though a cord of threads was considered in Gobhila's days as the appropriate yajñopavīta, that was not an invariable rule in his day and that a garment could be employed instead. The commentator being brought up in the latter day tradition explains by saying that if the sūtra was lost in a forest then a garment may be worn like the sacred thread and if even that was lost a rope of kuśa. But this appears to be rather far-fetched as an explanation of Gobhila's unqualified words. Manu (II. 44) says that 'the upavīta of a brāhmaṇa should be made of cotton, its strands should be twined with the right hand moved over them (or the twist of the strands must be upwards) and it should have three threads'. Medhātithi comments on this that 'upavīta' means a particular mode of wearing a garment or a particular position of it and therefore here by upavīta is meant that which can be worn in that mode. The Sm. C. quotes a prose passage from Ṛṣyaśṛṅga 'or one may carry out all the purposes for which yajñopavīta is required by means of a garment and in its absence by a string of three threads'. From the above passages, from the fact that many of the gṛhyasūtras are entirely silent about the giving or wearing of the sacred thread in upanayana and from the fact that no mantra[682] is cited from the Vedic Literature for the act of giving the yajñopavīta (which is now the centre of the upanayana rites), while scores of vedic mantras are cited for the several component parts of the ceremony of upanayana, it is most probable, if not certain, that the sacred thread was not invariably used in the older times as in the times of the later smṛtis and in modern times, that originally the upper garment was used in various positions for certain acts, that it could be laid aside altogether in the most ancient times and that the cord of threads came to be used first as an option and later on exclusively for the upper garment.

A few rules about yajñopavīta may now be stated here.[683] The yajñopavīta is to have three threads of nine strands well

682. The mantra 'यज्ञोपवीतं परमं &c. is cited only in Baud. gṛ. (note 662 above) and in Vaik. (II. 5), has certainly a comparatively modern ring about it and is not cited in any well-known ancient work.

683. Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 4 and सं. प्र. pp. 416–418 as to how the upavīta is to be manufactured and who is to manufacture it, one interesting fact being that an upavīta prepared by a maiden was to be preferred to one prepared by a widow. मदनरत्न quoted in the आचाररत्न defines ऊर्ध्ववृत in Manu II. 44 as 'करेण दक्षिणेनोर्ध्वगतेन त्रिगुणीकृतम्। वलितं मानवे शास्त्रे सूत्रमूर्ध्ववृतं स्मृतम् ॥' (p. 2).

twisted (for each thread). Vide Baud. Dh.S.I. 5. 5., Devala quoted in the Sm. C.[684]. The nine devatās of the nine *tantus* (strands) are given by Devala viz. Oṁkāra, Agni, Nāga, Soma, Pitṛs, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya,[685] all gods. Medhātithi on Manu II.44 says that in iṣṭis, animal sacrifices and soma sacrifices, the yajñopavīta was to have only one thread of three *tantus*, but it was three-fold in three classes of *ahīna, ekāha*, and *sattra* sacrifices as they required three fires and in the seven *somasaṁsthās* seven-fold and five-fold when viewed with reference to the three savanas and two saṁdhyās. The yajñopavīta should reach as far as the navel, should not reach beyond the navel, nor should it be above the chest.[686] Manu II. 44 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 19 prescribe that the yajñopavīta for brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya should respectively be of cotton, hemp and sheep wool. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 5), Gobhila gṛ. (I. 2. 1) say that it may be of cotton thread or of kuśa grass and Devala as quoted in Sm. C. says that all twice-born persons should make their yajñopavīta of cotton, of kṣumā, hair of cow's tail, hemp, tree bark or kuśa according to the availability of the material.[687] The remarks of the Saṁskāramayūkha after quoting Manu II. 44 are interesting ' we do not know the origin of (or authority for) the practice of present-day kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, viz. of wearing cotton yajñopavīta '. This shows that in the 17th century A. D. many kṣatriyas and vaiśyas put on yajñopavīta.[688] Kumārila also says that wearing yajñopavīta and studying Vedas is common to all the three varṇas.

The number of yajñopavītas to be worn differed according to circumstances. A brahmacārī was to wear only one yajñopavīta and saṁnyāsins, when they kept yajñopavīta at all, also wore

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684. कौशं सूत्रं वा त्रिस्त्रिवृद्यज्ञोपवीतम् । आ नाभेः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 5-6; उक्तं देवलेन यज्ञोपवीतं कुर्वीत सूत्रेण नवतन्तुकम् । इति । स्मृतिच. I. p. 31.

685. अत्र प्रतितन्तु देवताभेदमाह देवलः । ओंकारः प्रथमस्तन्तुर्द्वितीयोऽग्निस्तथैव च । तृतीयो नागदैवत्यश्चतुर्थो सोमदैवतः । पञ्चमः पितृदैवत्यः षष्ठश्चैव प्रजापतिः । सप्तमो वायुदैवत्यः सूर्यश्चाष्टम एव च ॥ नवमः सर्वदैवत्य इत्येते नव तन्तवः । स्मृतिच० I. p. 31

686. कात्यायनस्तु परिमाणान्तरमाह । पृष्ठवंशे च नाभ्यां च धृतं यद्विन्दते कटिम् । तद्धार्यमुपवीतं स्यान्नातिलम्बं न चोच्छ्रितम् । ...... देवलः । स्तनादूर्ध्वमधो नाभेर्न कर्तव्यं कथंचन । स्मृतिच० I. p. 31

687. कार्पासक्षौमगोवालशणवल्कतृणोद्भवम् । सदा संभवतः कार्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 32 ; परा. मा. I. 2. p. 36 ; वृद्धहारीत (VIII. 47–48) has a similar verse.

688. एवं च यदिदानींतनानां क्षत्रियवैश्यानां कार्पासोपवीतधारणं तत्र मूलं न विद्मः । संस्कारमयूख.

only one. A snātaka[689] (i. e. one who has returned from the teacher's house after brahmacarya) and a house-holder were to wear two while one who desired long life may wear more than two. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 14 says 'snātakas should always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two yajñopavītas, should have a stick and a pot filled with water'. Kaśyapa allowed a householder to wear any number up to ten. Whether yajñopavīta as worn in modern times was worn from the most ancient times or not, it is certain that long before the Christian era it had come to be so worn and it had become an inflexible rule that a brāhmaṇa must always wear a yajñopavīta and have his top-knot (of hair) always tied up; if he did any act without observing this rule, it was inefficacious.[690] Vas.[691] and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) both say that a man must always wear yajñopavīta. If a brāhmaṇa took his meals without wearing yajñopavīta, he had to undergo prāyaścitta viz. to bathe, to mutter prayers and fast; vide Laghu-Hārīta verse 23 quoted by Aparārka pp. 1171, 1173. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 prescribes prāyaścitta for answering calls of nature without having the yajñopavīta placed on the right ear (as Yāj. I. 16 prescribes). Manu IV. 66 forbids the wearing of another's yajñopavīta along with several other things (such as shoes, ornament, garland and kamaṇḍalu). In Yāj. (I. 16 and 133) and other smṛtis the yajñopavīta is called brahmasūtra.

An interesting question is whether women ever had upanayana performed or whether they had to wear the yajñopavīta. Several smṛtis contain instructive dicta on this point.[692] The

689. स्नातकानां तु नित्यं स्यादन्तर्वासस्तथोत्तरम् । यज्ञोपवीते द्वे यष्टिः सोदकश्च कमण्डलुः ॥ वसिष्ठ XII. 14; विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 13–15 has similar rules, the verse of Vasiṣṭha is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 133, compare मनु. IV. 36; एकैकमुपवीतं तु यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । गृहिणां च वनस्थानामुपवीतद्वयं स्मृतम् । सोत्तरीयं त्रयं वापि बिभृयाच्छुभ्रतन्तु वा । वृद्धहारीत VIII. 44–45. Vide देवल quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32 and त्रीणि चत्वारि पञ्चाष्ट गृहिणः स्युर्दशापि वा । सर्वैर्वा शुचिभिर्धार्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥ कश्यप quoted in the संस्कारमयूख.

690. Vide note 609 above.

691. नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतितान्नवर्जी । ऋतौ च गच्छन् विधिवच्च जुह्वन् ब्राह्मणश्च्यवते ब्रह्मलोकात् ॥ वसिष्ठ 8. 9, बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 1, उद्योगपर्व 40. 25, the first pāda is quoted in the तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 896.

692. 'यत्तु हारीतेनोक्तं द्विविधाः स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भिक्षाचर्येति । सद्योवधूनां तु उपस्थिते विवाहे कथंचिदुपनयनमात्रं कृत्वा विवाहः कार्यः ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 24; संस्कारप्रकाश p. 402.

Hārītadharmasūtra as quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests says 'there are two sorts of women, those that are brahmavādinīs (i. e. students of sacred lore) and those that are sadyovadhūs (i. e. who straightway marry). Out of these brahmavādinīs have to go through upanayana, keeping fire, vedic study and begging in one's house (i. e. under the parental roof); but in the case of sadyovadhūs when their marriage is drawing near, the mere ceremony of upanayana should somehow be performed and then their marriage should be celebrated.' In the Gobhila gṛ. [693] II. 1. 19 it is said "leading forward towards the sacred fire (from the house) the bride who is wrapped in a robe and wears the sacred thread (slung from her left shoulder, in the yajñopavīta mode) he (the husband) should murmur the verse 'Soma gave her to Gandharva' (Ṛg. X. 85. 41)". It is clear that the girl, according to Gobhila, wore the yajñopavīta as a symbol of the rite of upanayana. The commentator to whom this procedure naturally seemed strange explains 'yajñopavītinīm' as meaning 'whose upper garment is worn in the fashion of the sacred thread'. In the Saṁskāratattva of Raghunandana it is stated that Hariśarmā held that according to Gobhila the bride was to wear a yajñopavīta, though Raghunandana himself does not approve of this explanation. In the ceremony of Samāvartana, Āśv. gṛ. III. 8, [694] on the subject of applying ointment says 'after having smeared the two hands with ointment a brāhmaṇa should salve his face first, a kṣatriya his two arms, a vaiśya his belly, a woman her private parts and persons who gain their livelihood by running, their thighs'. It is improper to say, as some do, that as to women this is a general rule interpolated in the treatment of samāvartana and has nothing to do with the latter. We should rather hold that Āśv. knew of women undertaking Vedic study and so prescribed what they should do in their samāvartana. In the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 305. 20) [695] a brāhmaṇa is said to have taught to the

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693. प्रावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिनीमभ्युदानयन् जपेत् सोमो ददद्गन्धर्वायेति ।' गोभिलगृह्य II. 1. 19 ; the com. says 'यज्ञोपवीतवत्कृतोत्तरीयाम्', 'न तु यज्ञोपवीतिनीमित्यनेन स्त्रीणामपि कर्माङ्गत्वेन यज्ञोपवीतधारणमिति हरिशर्मोक्तं युक्तं स्त्रीणां यज्ञोपवीतधारणानुपपत्तेः ।' संस्कारतत्त्व p. 896.

694. अनुलेपनेन पाणी प्रलिप्य मुखमग्रे ब्राह्मणोऽनुलिम्पेत् । बाहू राजन्यः । उदरं वैश्यः । उपस्थं स्त्री । ऊरू सरणजीविनः । आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 11.

695. ततस्तामनवद्याङ्गीं ग्राहयामास स द्विजः । मन्त्रग्रामं तदा राजन्नथर्वशिरसि श्रुतम् ॥ वनपर्व 305. 20.

mother of the Pāṇḍava heroes a number of mantras from the Atharvaśiras. Hārīta[696] prescribes that in the case of women samāvartana took place before the appearance of menses. Therefore brahmavādinī women had upanayana performed in the 8th year from conception, then they studied Vedic lore and finished student-hood at the age of puberty. Yama[697] says 'in former ages, tying of the girdle of muñja (i. e. upanayana) was desired in the case of maidens, they were taught the vedas and made to recite the Sāvitrī (the sacred Gāyatrī verse); either their father, uncle or brother taught them and not a stranger and begging was prescribed for a maiden in the house itself and she was not to wear deer-skin or bark garment and was not to have matted hair'. Manu seems to have been aware of this usage as prevalent in ancient times, if not his own. Having spoken of the saṁskāras from jātakarma to upanayana, Manu winds up (II. 66) 'these ceremonies were to be performed in their entirety for women also, but without mantras' and adds (II. 67) 'the ceremony of marriage is the only saṁskāra performed with Vedic mantras in the case of women; (in their case) attendance on the husband amounts to serving a guru (which a student had to do) and performance of domestic duties to worship of fire' (which the student had to perform by offering a fuel-stick in the evening every day). This shows that in the day of the Manusmṛti, upanayana for women had gone out of practice, though there were faint glimmerings of its performance for women in former days. Relying on the words 'in former ages' occurring in the verses of Yama quoted above medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Nirṇayasindhu and others say that this practice belonged to another yuga. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī,[698] Mahāśvetā (who was practising *tapas*) is described as 'one whose body was rendered pure by (wearing) a brahmasūtra (i. e. yajñopavīta)'. The yajñopavīta came to have superhuman virtues attributed to it and so probably even women who were practising austerities wore it. The Saṁ. Pr.

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696. प्राग्रजसः समावर्तनम् । इति हारीतोक्त्या-संस्कारप्रकाश p. 404.

697. यमोपि । पुराकल्पे कुमारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते । अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवाचनं तथा ॥ पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत्परः । स्वगृहे चैव कन्याया भैक्षचर्या विधीयते ॥ वर्जयेदजिनं चीरं जटाधारणमेव च ॥ संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 402–403; these verses are ascribed to Manu in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (I. p. 24) edited by Mr. Gharpure, but this seems to be a misreading for यम (which is the reading of the Mysore ed.)

698. ब्रह्मसूत्रेण पवित्रीकृतकायाम् in para 133 of कादम्बरी (पूर्वार्ध)

(p. 419) quotes a verse saying that the Supreme Being is called yajña and yajñopavīta is so called because it belongs to the Supreme Being (or is used in sacrifices for Him).[699]

Though kṣatriyas and vaiśyas also were entitled to have the upanayana performed, it appears that they often neglected it or at least neglected the constant wearing of yajñopavīta, so much so that from comparatively early times the yajñopavīta came to be regarded as the peculiar indicator of the wearer's being of the brāhmaṇa caste. For example, Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa (XI. 64)[700] while describing the irate brāhmaṇa hero Paraśurāma says 'wearing the upavīta, which was the heritage that came to him from his father, and holding a formidable bow that came to him from the side of his mother (who was a kṣatriya princess)'. If the upavīta had been as constantly worn by the kṣatriyas as by brāhmaṇas in Kālidāsa's day he would not have spoken of it as the peculiar sign of a brāhmaṇa. In the drama Veṇīsaṁhāra (Act III) when Karṇa resented the attitude of Aśvatthāman, who raised his left foot for kicking Karṇa, and said that he could not cut off his leg as by virtue of his caste (as brāhmaṇa) he could not be punished in that way, Aśvatthāman replied by throwing away his sacred thread with the words 'here do I give up my caste'.[701] That shows that in the days of the Veṇīsaṁhāra (not later than about 600 A. D.) the yajñopavīta had become the peculiar indicator of the caste of brāhmaṇas only.

The Baudhāyana-sūtra quoted in the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā (p. 188) says that yarn spun by a brāhmaṇa or his maiden daughter is to be brought, then one is to measure first 96 aṅgulas of it with the syllable bhūḥ, then another 96 with bhuvaḥ and a third 96 with svaḥ, then the yarn so measured is to be kept on a leaf of palāśa and is to be sprinkled with water to the accompaniment of the three mantras 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3), with the four verses 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1 and Atharva I. 33. 1-4) and with the *anuvāka* beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8) and with the Gāyatrī, then the yarn is to be taken in the left hand and there is to be a clapping of the two hands thrice, the yarn is to be twisted

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699. यज्ञार्थः परमात्मा य उच्यते चैव होतृभिः । उपवीतं ततोऽस्येदं तस्याद्यज्ञोपवीतम् ॥ सं. म. p. 419.

700. पित्र्यमंशमुपवीतलक्षणं मातृकं च धनुरूर्जितं दधत् । रघुवंश XI. 64.

701. जात्या चेद्वध्योऽहमियं सा जातिः परित्यक्ता । वेणीसंहार III.

with the three verses 'bhūragnim ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and then the knot is to be tied with the formula 'Bhūrbhuvaḥ svaś-candramasaṁ ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and the nine deities 'oṁkāra, Agni (quoted above in note 685)' have to be invoked on the nine strands, then the upavīta is to be taken with the mantra 'devasya tvā' and then it is to be shown to the sun with the verse 'ud vayam tamasaspari' (Ṛg. I. 50. 10) and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the verse 'yajñopavītam &c.' Then there is to be a *japa* of the *gāyatrī* verse and then ācamana. For a brief statement of the mode of putting on a fresh sacred thread vide note below.[702]

The Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra (II. 8. 1-12) gives a few insignificant points of difference as to the upanayana of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, ambaṣṭha and karaṇa (son of a vaiśya from a śūdra female). It is not necessary to go into these details.

The next important question is as to whether upanayana was performed in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb, the idiotic &c. Jaimini has established that those who are devoid of a limb[703] are not eligible for agnihotra, but this inability arises only when the defect is incurable. Similarly the Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1, Gaut. 28. 41-42, Vas. 17. 52-54, Manu 9. 201, Yāj. II. 140-141, Viṣṇu. Dh. S. 15. 32 ff. lay down that persons who are impotent, *patita*, congenitally blind or deaf, cripple and those who suffer from incurable diseases are not entitled to share property on a partition, but are only entitled to be maintained. But they all allow even these to marry. As marriage is not possible for dvijātis unless upanayana precedes it, it appears that the ceremony of upanayana was gone through as far as it could be carried out in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb &c. The Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra (II. 9) prescribes a special procedure for the upanayana of the deaf and dumb and idiots. The principal

702. In modern times whenever a new yajñopavīta has to be worn (because the one worn is lost or cut &c.) the ceremony briefly consists in repeating the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3) over water with which the yajñopavīta is to be sprinkled ; then there is the repetition of the Gāyatrī ten times (each time preceded by the vyāhṛtis, as 'om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ') and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the mantra 'yajñopavītam paramaṁ' (cited above in note 662).

703. अङ्गहीनश्च तद्धर्मा । उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात् । जै. VI. 1. 41-42. The exclusion of these from inheritance will be dealt with later.

points in which their upanayana differs from that of others are that the offering of samidh, treading on a stone, putting on a garment, the tying of mekhalā, the giving of deer skin and staff are done silently, that the boy does not mention his name, it is the ācārya himself who makes offerings of cooked food or of clarified butter, all the mantras are muttered softly by the ācārya himself. The sūtra[704] says that according to some the same procedure is followed as to other persons who are impotent, blind, lunatics, or suffering from such diseases as epilepsy, white leprosy or black leprosy &c. The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa cited in the Prayogapārijāta about the upanayana of the impotent, the deaf and others which contains rules similar to Baudhāyana's. The Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 399-401) and S. R. M. (pp. 273-274) also quote the passage and explain it. The purāṇa[705] says that those who cannot repeat the Gāyatrī (such as the deaf and dumb) should be brought near the teacher or fire and that the teacher should then touch them and then mutter the Gāyatrī himself, but that in other cases such as lunatics, they should be made to repeat the Gāyatrī at least if possible and if that too is not possible, then on touching them the ācārya should repeat it. The same purāṇa prescribes that kuṇḍa and golaka (the first being the offspring of an adulterous intercourse when the husband of the woman is living and the second when the husband is dead) should have upanayana performed in the same way as for the deaf and dumb, if it is known that the adulterer and the woman were both of the brāhmaṇa caste. There is some difference of opinion as to *kuṇḍa* and *golaka*. Manu (II. 174) defined them as above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 1, Manu (10. 5) and Yāj. (I. 90, 92)[706] expressly say that a person born of a brāhmaṇa from a brāhmaṇa woman belongs to the same caste only if he is born in lawful wedlock and that even the anuloma sons must be born in wedlock. The *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* being the offspring of adultery

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704. षण्ढजडक्लीबान्धव्यसनिव्याधितोन्मत्तहीनाङ्गबधिराधिकाङ्गामयावि-अपस्मारि-श्वित्रि-कुष्ठि-दीर्घरोगिणश्चैतेन व्याख्याता इत्येके । बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र II. 9. 14.

705. स्वस्तपुंस्त्वेषु चैतेषु संस्काराः स्युर्यथोचितम् । मत्तोन्मत्तौ न संस्कार्याविति केचित्प्रचक्षते । कर्मस्वनधिकाराच्च पातित्यं नास्ति चैतयोः । तदपत्यं च संस्कार्यमपरे त्वाहुरन्यथा । संस्कारमन्त्रहोमादीन् करोत्याचार्य एव तु । उपनेयांश्च विधिवदाचार्यः स्वसमीपतः । आनीयाग्निसमीपं वा सावित्रीं स्पृश्य वा जपेत् । कन्यास्वीकरणादन्यत्सर्वं विप्रेण कारयेत् । एवमेव द्विजैर्जातौ संस्कार्यौ कुण्डगोलकौ ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in निर्णयसिन्धु and संस्कारप्रकाश; the स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 4) quotes some of these verses.

706. विवाहस्यैष विधिः स्मृतः ॥ या. I. 92.

would not really be brāhmaṇas even though both parents were brāhmaṇas. Thus, though these two are not strictly brāhmaṇas, upanayana of a secondary kind is allowed to them. Manu (III. 156) included the *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* among brāhmaṇas not to be invited at śrāddha. Elaborate discussions have been held why they were so specially mentioned, when they were not on Manu's own dictum brāhmaṇas. Some like the author of the Saṁgraha held that the *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* forbidden by Manu in śrāddha were those born under the ancient practice of niyoga; while others repudiated the idea that those born under the practice of niyoga had any taint attaching to them.[707]

It is not necessary to go into the question of the upanayana of mixed castes. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anulomas are eligible for the rites of *dvijas* (and so for upanayana) and the Mit.[708] on Yāj. I. 92 and 95 says that the anulomas have upanayana performed according to the rules of the caste of the mother and further mixed castes arising from the six anuloma castes in the anuloma order are also eligible for upanayana. The Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra II. 8 gives rules for the upanayana of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and of mixed castes like rathakāra, ambaṣṭha &c. Gaut.[709] IV. 21 made an exception in the case of the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman. All *pratilomas* were like śūdra according to Manu (IV. 41) and the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman, though anuloma, was like *pratilomas*. A śūdra is only *ekajāti* and not *dvijāti* (Gaut. X. 51) and for the pratilomas (as well as for the śūdra) there was no upanayana.

Upanayana was so highly thought of that some of the ancient texts prescribe a method of upanayana for the Aśvattha tree. Vide Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra II. 10. In modern times also rarely this upanayana is performed. To the west of the Aśvattha tree homa is performed, the saṁskāras from puṁsavana are imitated but with the vyāhṛtis only, the tree being touched with Ṛg. III.

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707. Vide स्मृतिचन्द्रिका on श्राद्ध (II. pp. 399–400, Gharpure's ed.) for this elaborate discussion; vide also संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 397–398.

708. अतश्च मूर्धावसिक्तादीनां क्षत्रियादेरूक्तैरेव दण्डाजिनोपवीतादिभिरुपनयनादिकं कार्यम्। मिता० on या. I. 92 and 'एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्नमूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्यादावनुलोमसंकरे जात्यन्तरता उपनयनादिप्राप्तिश्च वेदितव्या तयोर्द्विजातित्वात्।' मिता० on या. I. 95.

709. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः। शूद्रायां च। गौतम IV. 20–21; अशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपायनं वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याधेयं फलवन्ति च कर्माणि। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 6.

8. 11 'vanaspate'. A piece of cloth is held between the tree and the performer, then eight auspicious verses are repeated (maṅgalāṣṭaka), the cloth is removed and then the hymn called Dhruvasūkta (Ṛg. X. 72. 1-9) is repeated. Other mantras (like Ṛg. X. 62-63) are also recited. Then a piece of cloth, yajñopavīta, girdle, staff and deer-skin are given with appropriate mantras and lastly after touching the tree, the Gāyatrī is repeated. In E. C. vol. III. Malavalli No. 22 there is a reference to the upanayana of Aśvattha trees performed by one Bāchappa in 1358 A. D.

Sāvitryupadeśa :—It will be seen from the passage of the Śat. Br. quoted above (in note 625) that the sacred Gāyatrī verse was imparted in very ancient times to the student by the teacher a year, or six months, 24, 12 or 3 days after upanayana and that the Śat. Br. prescribes that in the case of brāhmaṇa students this must be done immediately. This ancient rule was probably due to the fact that students in those far-off times when they came to the teacher at the age of seven or eight had hardly any previous instruction and so must have found it difficult to pronounce properly and correctly the sacred verse immediately on initiation. It is for this reason that so modern a work as the S. R. M. (p. 194) says that such mantras as 'Śan-no devīrabhiṣṭaye' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4) which have to be repeated by the brahmacārī in the rites of upanayana should be taught to him even before upanayana, just as the wife (who being a woman had no upanayana performed) was taught the Vedic mantras accompanying such acts as that of examining ājya in sacrifices.[710] The same rule[711] of postponing the instruction in Gāyatrī is stated in Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 22. 15, Bhār. gṛ. I. 9, Pār. gṛ. II. 3. The general practice however seems to have been to impart the Gāyatrī that very day. According to most of the sūtras the teacher sits to the north of the fire facing the east and in front of him the student sits facing the west and then the student requests the teacher to recite to him the verse sacred to Savitṛ and the teacher imparts to him first one pāda at a time, then two pādas and then the whole. According

710. ब्रह्मचारिकर्तृकक्रियाकरणीभूतमन्त्राणां शं नो देवीरित्येवमादीनामुपनयनात्प्रागेव शिक्षणं कर्तव्यं सूत्रवृत्तिकृद्भ्यमनुज्ञातत्वात्। पत्न्या यथाऽवेक्षणादिमन्त्राणाम्। सं. रत्नमाला p. 194.

711. संवत्सरे सावित्रीमन्वाह त्रिरात्रमन्वक्षं वा। शां. गृ. II. 5; तां खल्विमां सावित्रीं संवत्सरादेक आहुर्द्वादशरात्रादेके त्रिरात्रादेके सद्य एके। भारद्वाज गृ. I. 9.

to Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 34-37 the student places on the fire four fuel sticks of the palāśa or other sacrificial tree anointed with clarified butter and repeats mantras to Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and the lord of *vratas* with 'svāhā' when offering[712] them. Various intricate modes occur in the sūtras and the commentaries thereon about how this first instruction in Gāyatrī is to be carried out. The differences are due to the place assigned to the vyāhṛtis[713] (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ). Two illustrations are set out below from Sudarśana[714] on Āp. gṛ. II. 11. The syllable 'om' has been looked upon as very sacred from ancient times and is a symbol of the Supreme Being. The Tai. Br. II. 11 contains a eulogy of 'oṁkāra' and quotes Ṛg. I. 164. 39 in support 'ṛco akṣare parame &c.' taking the word 'akṣara' to mean the 'oṁkāra'. The Tai. Up. I. 8. says '(syllable) om is Brahma; om is all this (universe)'. A brāhmaṇa about to begin the teaching (of the Veda) says 'om' with the idea that he may reach near *brahma*. 'Om' is called *praṇava*. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 6 says 'oṁkāra is the door to

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712. अग्ने व्रतपते सावित्रं व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यतां स्वाहा। वायो व्रतपते आदित्य व्रतपते व्रतानां व्रतपते सावित्रं व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यतां स्वाहा। बौ. गृ. II. 5. 36-37.

713. The mystic words भूः, भुवः, स्वः are sometimes called महाव्याहृतिs (vide Gobhila gṛ. II. 10. 40, Manu II. 81). They are also called simply व्याहृतिs; vide तै. उप. I. 5. 1, where महः is said to be the 4th. The number of vyāhṛtis is usually seven, भूः, भुवः, स्वः, महः, जनः, तपः, सत्यं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz भूः, भुवः, स्वः, पुरुषः, सत्यं, while the व्याहृतिसाम has the same five, but पुरुष is last.

714. व्याहृतीर्विहृताः पादादिष्वन्तेषु वा तथर्धर्चयोरुत्तमां कृत्स्नायाम्। आप. गृ. 11. 11; on which सुदर्शन says 'ओं भूस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम्। ओं भुवः भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। ओं सुवः धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। ओं भूस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। ओं भुवः धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। ओं सुवः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्।; this is one method; another is to put the vyāhṛtis at the end e. g. ओं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भूः। ओं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि भुवः। ओं धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् सुवः। ओं तत्सवितुर्व ... ... धीमहि भूः। ओं धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् भुवः। ओं तत्सवितु ... यात् सुवः ॥; compare Bhār. gṛ. I. 9. बौ. गृ. II. 5. 40 is the same as आप. गृ. 11. 11. स्वः is often pronounced as सुवः. ओमिति ब्रह्म। ओमितीदं सर्वम्। ... ओमिति ब्राह्मणः प्रवक्ष्यन्नाह ब्रह्मोपाप्नवानीति। ब्रह्मैवाप्नोति। तै. उ. I. 8; योगसूत्र I. 27 declares 'तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः'. ओंकारः स्वर्गद्वारं तस्माद् ब्रह्माध्येष्यमाण एतदादि प्रतिपद्येत। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 6. मेधा० on मनु II. 74 'सर्ववाग्ब्रह्मण-मध्ययनविधिमात्रधर्मो यथा स्यात्। ... अतो होममन्त्रजपशास्त्रानुवचनयाज्यादीनामारम्भे नास्ति प्रणवोऽन्यत्रापि उदाहरणार्थे वैदिकवाक्यव्याहारे.' In the माण्डूक्योपनिषद् (12) and in गौडपाद's कारिकाs (I. 24-29) ओंकार is identified with the supreme Brahma.

heaven; therefore one who is about to study the Veda, should start his study by first repeating *om.*' Manu (II. 74) prescribes the repetition of praṇava at the beginning and at the end of daily Vedic study and further on (II. 76) says that the three letters 'a', 'u', 'm' (in om) and the three vyāhṛtis were distilled from the three vedas by Prajāpati as the essence. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 74) says that 'om must be uttered at the beginning of the daily Vedic study by the student or by the householder (when performing brahmayajña), but it is not necessary in japa' &c. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa chap. 42, Vāyu chap. 20, Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti VI. 59–62 and in numerous other places there are hyperbolical or esoteric identifications of the three letters of *om* with Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and the jīva, with the three Vedas, with the three worlds, with three fires &c. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 2. 15–17 om is said to be the end of all Vedas, the source of the knowledge of *brahma* and also its symbol.

The sacred Gāyatrī verse is Ṛg. III. 62. 10 and occurs in the other Vedas also. It is addressed to Savitṛ (the sun) and may also be interpreted as a prayer to the Source and Inspirer of everything. It literally means 'we contemplate that esteemed (longed for) refulgence (glory) of the divine Savitṛ who may inspire our intellects (or actions)'. Some gṛhya sūtras prescribe the same verse for all students, whether brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas or vaiśyas. But others say that for brāhmaṇa the Sāvitrī verse is the Gāyatrī, but for kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, a sāvitrī (verse addressed to Savitṛ) in the *Triṣṭubh* (having 11 syllables in each quarter) or *Jagatī* (12 syllables in each quarter) should be the proper one. Here again there is difference. According to the commentators on the Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 20), the verse 'adabdhebhiḥ savitā' (Kāṭhakam IV. 10) and the verse 'Viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI. 8) are cited as the Sāvitrī for a kṣatriya and a vaiśya respectively; while the commentator on Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 5. 4–6) says that the Triṣṭubh which is to be taught as the Sāvitrī to the kṣatriya students is 'ā kṛṣṇena rajasā' Ṛg. I. 35. 2) and the Jagatī Sāvitrī for the vaiśya is 'Hiraṇyapāṇiḥ savitā' (Ṛg. I. 35. 9) or 'haṁsaḥ śuciṣad' (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5). According to the Vārāhagṛhya (5) 'devo yāti savitā' and 'yuñjate manaḥ' (Ṛg. V. 81. 1) are the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī meant as Sāvitrī for the kṣatriya and vaiśya respectively. According to Śātātapa quoted in the Madanapārijāta (p. 23) the verse 'Deva savitaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 7. 7. 1, Kāṭhakam XIII. 14) is the sāvitrī for the kṣatriya. According to Medhātithi on Manu II. 38 'ā kṛṣṇena (Ṛg. I. 35. 2) and 'viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI. 8)

are the two Sāvitrīs respectively for kṣatriya and vaiśya. That all these rules about the Sāvitrī being in the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī metres for the three varṇas respectively are probably very ancient follows from the text 'gāyatryā brāhmaṇamasṛajata triṣṭubhā rājanyam &c.' (quoted in note 356 above). The Āsv. gṛ., Āp. gṛ., and some other sūtras are entirely silent on the point, while Pār. gṛ. II. 3 allows an option viz. all varṇas may learn the Gāyatrī or the Sāvitrī verses in the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī respectively.[715] Why the Gāyatrī verse (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) came to be famous it is difficult to say. Its fame was probably due to its grand simplicity and to its adaptability to an idealistic conception of the world as emanating from an all-pervading Intelligence. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 32–33) explains the Gāyatrī in various ways. In the Tai. Ār. (II. 11) it is stated that the mystic words 'bhūḥ. bhuvaḥ, svaḥ' are the truth (essence) of speech and that Savitā in the Gāyatrī means 'one who engenders glory'.[716] Atharvaveda 19. 71. 1 calls it 'vedamātā' and prays that it may confer long life, glory, children, cattle &c. on the singer.[717] The Bṛ. Up. V. 14. 1–6[718] contains a sublime eulogy of Gāyatrī which word is there derived from 'gaya' meaning 'prāṇa', and the root 'trai' (to save) and it is said that when the teacher repeats the Gāyatrī for the benefit of the young student he thereby saves the boy's life (from ignorance and the effects of sin). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 mentions a brāhmaṇa text to the effect that the Sāvitrī is recited for all the Vedas (i. e. by its recital all Vedas become recited as it is their essence). Manu II. 77 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 14) says that each pāda of the Sāvitrī was as if extracted from each of the three Vedas and that (II. 81=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 15) the Sāvitrī together with om and the three mystic syllables (bhūḥ &c.) is the mouth of Vedic lore (since Vedic study starts with it, or 'brahma' may mean 'the Supreme Being'). Manu II. 77–83, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 11–17, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII, Saṁvarta (verses 216–223),

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715. गायत्रीं ब्राह्मणायानुब्रूयादाग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मण इति श्रुतेस्त्रिष्टुभं राजन्यस्य जगतीं वैश्यस्य सर्वेषां वा गायत्रीम् । पार. गृ. II. 3.

716. ऋीनेव प्रायुङ्क्त भूर्भुवः सुवरित्याहैतद्वै वाचः सत्यं यदेव वाचः सत्यं तत्प्रायुङ्क्त । अथ सावित्रीं गायत्रीं त्रिरन्वाह पच्छोऽर्धर्चशोऽनवानं सविता श्रियः प्रसविता । तै. आ. II. 11 (अनवानं means 'without stopping or break').

717. स्तुता मया वरदा वेदमाता प्रचोदयन्तां पावमानी द्विजानाम् । आयुः प्राणं प्रजां पशुं कीर्तिं द्रविणं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । मह्यं दत्त्वा व्रजत ब्रह्मलोकम् ॥ अथर्ववेद 19. 71. 1.

718. सा हैषा गयांस्तत्रे प्राणा वै गयास्तत्प्राणांस्तत्रे तद्यद्गयांस्तत्रे तस्माद्गायत्री नाम स यामेवामूं सावित्रीमन्वाहैषैव सा स यस्मा अन्वाह तस्य प्राणांस्त्रायते । बृ. उ. V. 14. 4.

Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. V (where the mystical significance of each of the 24 letters of the Gāyatrī is explained) and numerous[719] other works contain hyperbolical eulogies of Gāyatrī. Parāśara V. 1 calls it 'Vedamātā'. The words 'Āpo jyotī rasomṛtam brahma bhūr-bhuvaḥ svarom' are said to be the *śiras* (head) of the Gāyatrī (vide Śaṅkhasmṛti XII. 12). Manu (II. 104) and others prescribe that every day a brahmacārī (as well as others) must perform japa of Gāyatrī. Baud. Dh. S. II 4. 7–9 prescribes that in the evening Saṁdhyā adoration one should murmur the Gāyatrī a thousand times, or a hundred times with prāṇāyāma each time or ten times with 'om' and the seven vyāhṛtis.[720] Vas. Dh. S. 26. 15 prescribes that a man desirous of purifying himself from sin should repeat the divine Gāyatrī 1000 times (daily) as the maximum or 100 times (as the middle way) or at least ten times. There are mantras for invoking the Gāyatrī and for taking leave of it.[721]

Brahmacāri-dharmāḥ:—Certain rules and observances are prescribed for all brahmacārins[722]. They are of two kinds, some are prescribed for a very short time and some have to be observed for all the years of studenthood. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 17[723] says "for three nights, or twelve nights or a year, after upanayana

719. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 143–152 for lengthy remarks on several matters connected with the Gāyatrī; on p. 145 there is a *dhyāna* of the 24 letters of the sacred verse. याज्ञ. I. 23 refers to the śiras of Gāyatrī.

720. विश्वरूप on या. I. 25 quotes a verse of हारीत 'देवी सहस्रशीर्षा तु शतमध्या दशावरा। जपेदतः सहस्रान्तां शतमध्यां दशावराम्।' and adds तत्तु कार्योपरोधादग्निहोत्रविषयं द्रष्टव्यम्। प्राक् सूर्योदयादुपस्थानाद्युपपत्तेरुत्कर्ष इति केचित्। न त्वेवं समाचारः।

721. The आवाहनमन्त्र acc. to गोभिल is 'आयाहि वरदे देवि अक्षरे ब्रह्मवादिनि। गायत्रीं छन्दसां मातर्ब्रह्मयोने नमोऽस्तु ते॥' quoted in स्मृतिच० (I. p. 143) and the विसर्जनमन्त्र is 'उत्तरे शिखरे जाता भूम्यां पर्वतवासिनि। ब्रह्मणा समनुज्ञाते गच्छ देवि यथासुखम्' quoted in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 241. The स्मृतिच० (I. p. 151) quotes from गोभिल 'महेश्वरमुखोत्पन्ना विष्णोर्हृदयसंभवा। ब्रह्मणा ... यथेच्छया' and also 'उत्तमे शिखरे जाते &c.' These are recited in the modern *Saṁdhyā* also.

722. अथ एवासीताधः शयीताधस्तिष्ठेदधो व्रजेत्। गोपथ 2. 4.

723. अत ऊर्ध्वमक्षारलवणाशी ब्रह्मचार्यधःशायी त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वा। आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 17; त्र्यहमेतमग्निं धारयन्ति क्षारलवणवर्जमधःशय्या च। बौ. गृ. II. 5. 55; त्रिरात्रं क्षारलवणदुग्धमिति वर्जयेत्। खादिर गृ. II. 4. 33. There is great divergence of views on the meaning of क्षारलवण. According to Nārāyaṇa on आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 10 क्षार means certain cereals 'हैडिम्बका राजमाषा माषा मुद्गा मसूरिकाः। लङ्कुकयाढकयाश्च निष्पावास्तिलाद्याः क्षारसंज्ञिताः।'; मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकेशिगृ. I. 8. 1 explains 'गुडादिरिक्षुविकारः क्षारः'; मेधा० on मनु V. 72 explains that क्षार means such salts as यवक्षार and लवण means सैन्धव. हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 12 explains 'यद् भक्ष्यमाणं पश्यतो लालोत्पद्यते तत् क्षारं गुडलिकुचादि.' कुल्लूक on मनु V. 72 explains क्षारलवण as 'manufactured salt'.

the brahmacārī should not eat 'kṣāra' and 'lavaṇa' and should sleep on the ground". The same rule is stated by Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 55 (adding the maintenance of the fire kindled at the upanayana for three days), Bhār. gṛ. I. 10, Pār. gṛ. II. 5, Khādira gṛ. II. 4. 33 (adding avoidance of milk also for three days). Hir. gṛ. (I. 8. 2) specially prescribes for the first three days the avoidance of kṣāra, of lavaṇa and vegetables, and the duty of sleeping on the ground, of not drinking out of an earthen vessel, of not giving the remnants of his food to śūdras and several other observances which he has to continue throughout the period of student-hood. These latter are briefly indicated in Manu II. 108 and 176 viz. offering *samidhs* into fire, begging for food, not using a cot, working for the teacher, daily bath, *tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and pitṛs &c.

The observances that last throughout the period of studenthood are first seen in the passage of the Śat. Br. (quoted above in note 625). The same are laid down in Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 2 (quoted on p. 283 above), Pār. gṛ. II. 3, Āp. Mantrapāṭha (II. 6. 14), Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 17) and other texts. These are principally ācamana, guruśuśrūṣā, vāksaṁyama (silence), samidādhāna. When the teacher says in the upanayana 'drink water, do work &c', the student is to reply with the word 'yes' ('bāḍham' or om). But the sūtras and smṛtis lay down many rules about these and other observances; vide Gaut. II. 10–40, Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 6. 8, Gobhila gṛ. III. 1.27, Khādira gṛ. II. 5. 10–16, Hir. gṛ. 8.1–7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 11–I. 2. 7. 30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, Manu II. 49–249, Yāj. I. 16–32 &c. The rules centre principally round agniparicaryā (worshipping fire), bhikṣā (begging for food), saṁdhyopāsana, study of Veda and its methods and duration, avoidance of certain foods and drinks and other matters like singing &c., guruśuśrūṣā (including honouring him and his family and other elders), and the special *vratas* of the brahmacārī. These principal topics will be dealt with in some detail now. Before doing so some other matters will have to be briefly disposed off.

On the 4th day after upanayana a rite was performed called Medhājanana[724] (generation of intelligence) by virtue of which

724. Compare मेधाजनन in जातकर्म above (on p. 233). 'वेदग्रहणसामर्थ्ययुक्ता मेधानुजायते। येन तन्मेधाजननकर्मोपदिशति स्वयम्॥' संग्रह quoted in सं. प्र. p. 446. Three directions viz. south, south-east and south-west are objectionable (निन्दित); the rest are unobjectionable. शौनक (quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 445) 'स्ववासापेक्षयाग्नेयीं दिशं याम्यां च नैर्ऋतीम्। वर्जयित्वा दिशोऽनिन्द्यास्तिस्रोऽन्यस्यां दिशि स्थितम्॥

it was supposed that the student's intellect was made capable of mastering Vedic lore. Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 18–19 deals with this. The teacher makes the student sprinkle water in an unobjectionable direction thrice from the left to the right with a pot of water round about a palāśa tree that has one root, or round a bunch of kuśa grass if there is no palāśa, and makes him repeat the mantra 'Oh glorious one, thou art glorious. As thou, glorious one, are glorious, thus, glorious one, make me full of glory. As thou art the preserver of the treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus may I become the preserver of the treasure of Veda among men'[725]. The Bhār. gṛ. (I. 10) also prescribes this rite on the fourth day after upanayana and says that a palāśa tree with one root is to be anointed with *ājya* and the mantra 'suśravaḥ' (the same as in Āśv.) is to be muttered. Kāṭhaka gṛ. 41. 18, Mānava gṛ. I. 22. 17 also refer to this. The Śaṁ. Pr. (pp. 444–446) gives a more elaborate description. In addition to what is stated in Āśv. gṛ. it quotes from Śaunaka and adds a few more details, viz. the student deposits at the root of the palāśa his garments already worn, the staff and the girdle and then wears new ones and then when the boy returns to the house, a stream of water is poured before him. The teacher takes the garments &c. left by the boy. The Āp. gṛ. 11. 24 says that on the fourth day the teacher takes the garments worn on the day of upanayana by the student and the boy wears new ones. Sudarśana on Āp. 11. 24 speaks of palāśa-karma on the fourth day. The boy goes out with his ācārya to the east or north and three sthaṇḍilas are prepared to the north or east of a palāśa tree and on these three praṇava (om), śraddhā and medhā are invoked, are worshipped with unguents, flowers, lamp &c. (as in the regular worship of an image), then the praṇava is worshipped with the formula 'yaś-chandasām' to 'śrutam me gopāya' (Tai. Up. I. 4. 1), śraddhā with the hymn 'śraddhayāgniḥ' Ṛg. X. 151 and Medhā with the anuvāka 'Medhā devī' (Tai. Ār. X. 39). Then the staff is deposited at the foot of the palāśa, another staff is taken and the student returns to the house with the ācārya. In modern times in the Deccan a similar ceremony is gone through under the (Marāṭhi) name 'Paḷasulā'.

725. सुश्रवाः has two meanings (1) 'glorious,' (2) 'who hears well' (i. e. who learns the Veda well by hearing it from the teacher). This occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 5. 1 also (but in आप. गृ. XI. 14 it is the मन्त्र for taking the staff).

We have seen above that the student has to offer *samidh* (fuel stick) into the fire on the day of upanayana. The fire kindled at the time of upanayana was to be kept up for three days and the fuel-sticks were offered in that fire during those days. Afterwards *samidh* was to be offered in the ordinary fire (vide Baud. gr. II. 5. 55–57, Āp. gr. 11. 22). The student is required to offer every day after upanayana a samidh into fire in the evening and in the morning. Āśv. gr. I. 22. 6 prescribes this and the commentator Nārāyaṇa adds that in so doing he has to observe the procedure prescribed in Āśv. gr. I. 20. 10–I. 21. 4 for the putting on of samidh on the first day. Śāṅ. gr. II. 10, Manu II. 186, Yāj. I. 25 and almost all others prescribe the offering of samidh into fire in the evening as well as in the morning; but Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 17 notes that according to some 'agnipūjā' was to be performed in the evening only. Āp. Dh. S. (1. 1. 4. 14–20) lays down the following rules: 'the student[726] should always bring fuel from the forest and heap it on a low place (otherwise if placed high it may fall on anybody's head), one should not go out after sunset for bringing fuel-sticks. Having kindled fire, having swept round it he should offer fuel-sticks in the evening and the morning as already directed (in the gṛhyasūtra). One should sweep round the fire that is burning red-hot with the hand and not with a broom (of kuśa grass).' The Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 12 further prescribes that no fuel is to be placed on fire (in śrauta and smārta rites) unless water has been sprinkled over it. The student had not only to offer samidhs on his own account into the fire, but he had to help his ācārya in the latter's worship of fire by bringing fuel and by offering oblations for his ācārya when the latter was away on a journey or was ill. The Āśv. gr. I. 9. 1 says[727] 'beginning from marriage a householder should worship gṛhya fire himself or his wife or son or maiden daughter or pupil may do so.' The Chāndogya Up. IV. 10 contains the story of Upakosala Kāmalāyana who was a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and looked after his teacher's fires for twelve years and whom Satyakāma did not teach anything, though the wife of Satyakāma interceded on behalf of the dejected pupil.

726. सदारण्यादेधानाहृत्याधो निदध्यात्। नास्तमिते समिद्धारो गच्छेत्। अग्निमिद्ध्वा परिसमूह्य समिध आदध्यात्सायं प्रातर्यथोपदेशम्। सायमेवाग्निपूजेत्येके। समिद्धमग्निं पाणिना परिसमूहेन्न समूहन्या। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 14–18; नाप्रोक्षितमिन्धनमग्नावादध्यात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 12.

727. पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा। आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1.; vide also शां. गृ. II. 17. 3 to the same effect. The various kinds of fires will be discussed later on under 'marriage.'

A few words about samidhs may be said here. The samidh[728] must be of palāśa or some other yajñiya tree (used in sacrifices). Such trees are palāśa, aśvattha, nyagrodha, plakṣa, vaikaṅkata, udumbara, bilva, candana, sarala, śāla, devadāru and khadira. The Vāyupurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 51) says that palāśa samidhs should be preferred, in their absence samidhs of khadira, in the absence of the first two, of śamī, rohitaka and aśvattha and in the absence of all these of arka and vetasa. The Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana (II. 82–84) has several rules on this point. The principal trees for fuelsticks (samidh) are palāśa and khadira, but samidhs of kovidāra, bibhītaka, kapittha, karabha, rājavṛkṣa, śakadruma, nīpa, nimba, karañja, tilaka, śleṣmātaka or śālmali are not to be employed. The samidh was not to be thicker than the thumb, was to have its bark on it, was not to be worm-eaten nor divided, nor longer nor shorter than the span (prādeśa) nor having two branches, it was to be without leaves and was to be strong.[729] According to Hārīta 'when death wanted to seize the brahmacārī formerly, Agni saved him from death and so a brahmacārī should serve fire '.[730]

The number of samidhs varied as shown above and not only in the worship of Agni by the brahmacārī, but also elsewhere.

Bhikṣā :—The Āśv. gṛ. after prescribing begging for food states (I. 22. 7–8) that the student should first beg of a man who would not refuse or of a woman who would not refuse and that in begging he should say 'sir, give food'. More detailed rules are laid down by others.

The Hir. gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 157) says "after giving the student the staff the teacher gives him a bowl (for collecting

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728. पलाशाश्वत्थन्यग्रोधप्लक्षवैकङ्कतोद्भवाः । अश्वत्थोदुम्बरौ बिल्वश्चन्दनः सरलस्तथा । शालश्च देवदारुश्च खादिरश्चेति यज्ञियाः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 61, where अश्वत्थन्यग्रोध is said to mean अश्वत्थसंपृक्तो वटः ; the same verses are quoted in हेमाद्रि, व्रतखण्ड part 1 p. 76 as शमीपलाशन्यग्रोध० ; compare या. I. 302 for the nine समिध्s for the nine grahas. याज्ञ. I. 302 is the same as मत्स्यपुराण 93. 27. Vide वायुपुराण vol. II. 13. 70–72 for similar verses.

729. नाङ्गुष्ठादधिका कार्या समित्स्थूलतया क्वचित् । न वियुक्ता त्वचा चैव न सकीटा न पाटिता । प्रादेशान्नाधिका नोना तथा न स्याद्विशाखिका । न सपर्णा न निर्वीर्या होमेषु च विजानता ॥' quoted by अपरार्क p. 51 and स्मृतिच० (I. p. 33) as कात्यायन's (= गोभिलस्मृति I. 114–115).

730. पुरा जग्राह वै मृत्युर्हिंसयन् ब्रह्मचारिणम् । अग्निस्तं मोक्षयामास तस्मात्परिचरेदग्निम् ॥ ब्रह्मचारी यदा त्वग्नावादध्यात्समिधो नहि । गृहीयात्तं तदा मृत्युरादध्यात् समिधस्ततः ॥ हारीत quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 33.

alms) and says to him ' go out for alms '. Let him beg of his mother first, then in other families which are generously disposed; he brings the food to his *guru* and announces it to him with the words ' (these are) the alms ' and then the teacher accepts with the words ' these are good alms '." The Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 47–53 gives the same rules and adds [731] that a brāhmaṇa student should beg with the words ' bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi ' (lady, give me food), a kṣatriya with the words ' bhikṣām bhavati dehi ' and a vaiśya with the words ' dehi bhikṣām bhavati.' Pār. gṛ. II. 5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 28–30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 17, Manu II. 49, Yāj. I. 30 and others contain the same rules about addressing the ladies for alms.[732] Pār. gṛ. II. 5 says that the student should first beg of three women who would not refuse or of six, of twelve or of an unlimited number and that according to some he should first beg of his mother. Manu II. 50 says that he should first beg of his mother, sister or mother's sister. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26 says that if women refuse to give alms to a devout brahmacārī he snatches away or destroys their merit arising from sacrifices, gifts and burnt offerings, progeny, cattle, spiritual glory (of their families) and food and quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage ' therefore indeed one should not refuse to give food to a crowd of students moving about (for alms) for fear that among them there may be some one who is like this (a devout student), and who has carried out all the observances for students.' If a brahmacārī cannot get food elsewhere he may beg from his own family, from his elders (like maternal uncles), his relatives and lastly from his ācārya himself. As to the persons[733] from whom to beg for food, one sees how the growing strictness of caste rules about food during the lapse of centuries affected the brahmacārī. Āp. Dh. S.[734] I. 1. 3. 25 prescribes that

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731. अथास्मै अरिक्तं पात्रं प्रयच्छन्नाह । मातरमेवाग्रे भिक्षस्वेति । स मातरमेवाग्रे भिक्षेत । भवति भिक्षां देहीति ब्राह्मणो भिक्षेत । भिक्षां भवति देहीति राजन्यः । देहि भिक्षां भवतीति वैश्यः । तत्समाहृत्याचार्याय प्राह भैक्षमिदमिति । तत्सुभैक्षमितीतरः प्रतिगृह्णाति । बौ. गृ. II. 5. 47–53.

732. Vide शां. गृ. II. 6. 5–8, गोभिलगृ. II. 10. 42–44, खादिरगृ. II. 4. 28–31 for similar rules.

733. गौतम II. 43–44 ' आचार्यज्ञातिगुरुस्वेष्वलाभेऽन्यत्र । तेषां पूर्वं पूर्वं परिहरेत् ।'; मनु II. 184 has the same rule.

734. सर्वं लाभमाहरन्गुरवे सायंप्रातरमत्रेण भिक्षाचर्यं चरेद्भिक्षमाणोऽन्यत्रापपात्रेभ्योऽभिशस्ताच्च । आप. ध. I. 1. 3. 25 ; सार्ववर्णिकभैक्षचरणमभिशस्तपतितवर्जम् । गौ. II. 41. अपपात्र is variously explained; on आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 21. 6 ' न पतितैः संव्यवहारो विद्यते तथापपात्रैः ' हरदत्त explains as चाण्डालादयः (with whom no social inter-

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he could beg food from anybody except *apapātras* (persons like cāṇḍālas) and abhiśastas (i. e. those who are guilty of or suspected of grave sins). Gaut. II. 41 expressly says that a brahmacārī may beg food from all the varṇas except from those who are *abhiśasta* and *patita*. Manu (II. 183 and 185) says a brahmacārī should beg for food at the houses of those who study the Veda and perform sacrifices, who are devoted to their duties and are virtuous in their conduct; if from such persons food cannot be had he may go about the whole village, but should avoid those who are *abhiśasta*. Yāj. I. 29 says 'for his own maintenance a brahmacārī should beg food from brāhmaṇas who are blameless' and the ancient commentator Viśvarūpa says that the best way is to beg at brāhmaṇa houses, the next best is to beg of kṣatriya and vaiśya houses and to beg of śūdras is allowed only in *āpad* (time of distress or difficulty). Auśanasa (Jiv. ed I. p. 505) says that a brahmacārī should beg only from houses of his own caste (as the best way probably) or he may beg at the houses of all varṇas, while Aṅgiras quoted in the Par. M. (I. 2, p. 41) says that even in a season of distress a brahmacārī should not beg for cooked food from śūdras. The Madanapārijāta p. 33 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that a brahmacārī may beg food from anybody except a śūdra.

Food obtained by begging was supposed to be pure as said by Manu II. 189, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 56 and Yāj. I. 187. It was further said that a brahmacārī who subsists on food obtained by begging is like one observing a fast (Manu II. 188 and Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 130). The brahmacārī was to eat food collected from several houses and was not to take food at a single person's house, except that when he was requested to dinner in honour of gods or the Manes he might do so by partak-

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course was possible), while on आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 25 he explains अपपात्र as प्रतिलोमाः रजकादयः'. The word literally means those who cannot be allowed to use the vessels out of which members of other castes are to take food (i. e. those vessels when used by them have to be broken or thrown away). अपरार्क p. 720 explains अपपात्र as पतितत्वात् ज्ञातिभिर्बहिष्कृतः (i. e. one who has lost caste through the commission of some mortal sin). According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 7–9 an abhiśasta is one that kills any brāhmaṇa or kills a brāhmaṇa woman who is Ātreyī. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 'abhiśastya' is one of the grave sins and is explained by हरदत्त as ब्रह्महत्या, but हरदत्त explains अभिशस्ताः as उपपातकिनः on गौ. II. 41.

ing of such food at such dinners as would not violate his vows. Vide Manu II. 188–189 and Yāj. I. 32.

Corresponding to the duty of the student to beg was the obligation cast on householders to serve food according to their ability to *brahmacārins* and *yatis* (ascetics). Gautama V. 16 prescribes that after performing the daily yajñas to gods (vaiśvadeva) and offering *bali* to bhūtas, the householder should offer alms (of food) preceded by the word 'svasti' and by water. Manu III. 94, Yāj. I. 108 and others say that alms should be given to ascetics and brahmacārins with honour and welcome. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 108 says that alms should be ordinarily one morsel of food as large as the egg of a pea-hen and quotes a verse of Śātātapa[735] saying that 'bhikṣā is as much as one morsel, that *puṣkala* is equal to four morsels, hanta is equal to four puṣkalas and agra is equal to three *hantas*.'

The idea that a brahmacārī must beg for his food and offer fuel-sticks every day was so ingrained in ancient times that the Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 54 and Manu II. 187 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribe that if for seven days continuously a brahmacārī who was not ill failed to offer fuel-sticks and to beg for food he violated his vow and had to undergo the same penance as was prescribed for a brahmacārī having sexual intercourse.[736] Even in modern times many brāhmaṇa students (not only those who study the Veda from orthodox teachers but even those learning English) begged for their daily food and by dint of hard discipline, patient industry and integrity rose to high positions in public life. However the practice of poor begging students attending English schools in this way is dying out, since English education does not now ensure for the poor brāhmaṇa students even a bare maintenance.

Other important rules about the begging of food are that the student should not beg for his sake alone, should announce

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735. भिक्षा च ग्राससंमिता । ग्रासश्च मयूराण्डपरिमाणः । ग्रासमात्रा भवेद्भिक्षा पुष्कलं तच्चतुर्गुणम् । हन्तस्तु तैश्चतुर्भिः स्यादग्रं तत् त्रिगुणं भवेत् ॥ इति शातातपस्मरणात् । मिता० on याज्ञ I. 108. अपरार्क p. 153 quotes a verse from the मार्कण्डेयपुराण where अग्र and हन्त are defined differently 'ग्रासप्रमाणा भिक्षा स्यादग्रं ग्रासचतुष्टयम् । अग्रं चतुर्गुणं तत्तु हन्तकारं विदुर्बुधाः । भोजनं हन्तकारं वा अग्रं भिक्षामथापि वा । अदत्त्वा तु न भोक्तव्यं यथाविभवमात्मनः ॥'. लघुशातातप 57 is very similar to the verse quoted by the मिता०

736. भैक्षस्याचरणे दोषः पावकस्यासमिन्धने । सप्तरात्रमकृत्वैतदवकीर्णिव्रतं चरेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 54. Manu (XI. 118–123) explains who is avakīrṇin and states the penance for him.

to the teacher all that he has brought and eat only that which the teacher directs him to take; if the teacher is gone on a journey then he should announce it to the teacher's family (wife, son); if even these are absent, then to other learned brāhmaṇas and eat with their permission. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 31-35, Manu II. 51. He should leave no residue in his dish and wash it after taking his meal therein. If he is not able to eat the whole that he has brought he should bury it underground or consign it to water or place that which is more than he can eat near an *ārya* or give it to a śūdra who works for his teacher (Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 37-41). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 43-44) says that alms are held to be equal to sacrificial food, the teacher holds the place of the deity and of the āhavanīya fire.[737]

Other miscellaneous acts that the students had to do were bringing[738] water for the ācārya in pots, collecting flowers, cowdung, earth, kuśa grass &c. (vide Manu II. 182).

Saṁdhyā :—On the day of upanayana there is no morning *saṁdhyā*. Jaimini[739] says 'as long as there is no imparting of the Gāyatrī there is no saṁdhyā.' So the student begins his saṁdhyā in the noon of the day of upanayana. As however on that day he knows no Vedic text except the Gāyatrī, his whole saṁdhyā worship consists of the Gāyatrī.

The word 'saṁdhyā' literally means 'twilight', but also indicates the action of prayer performed in the morning and evening twilight. This act is generally styled 'saṁdhyopāsana' or 'saṁdhyāvandana' or simply 'saṁdhyā.'[740] This act of adoration is sometimes prescribed as necessary thrice a day viz. at day-break, in the noon and at sun-set e.g. Atri[741] says 'a twice-born person possessed of the knowledge of the Self should perform three saṁdhyā adorations.' These are respectively named Gāyatrī (morning one), Sāvitrī (noon) and Sarasvatī

737. मनु II. 231 also calls the guru āhavanīya fire.

738. आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 13 सायं प्रातरुदकुम्भमाहरेत्।

739. यावद् ब्रह्मोपदेशो न तावत्संध्यादिकं न च । ततो मध्याह्नसंध्यादि सर्वं कर्म समाचरेत् ॥ जैमिनि quoted by सं. प्र. p. 439.

740. विश्वरूप on या. I. 25 says 'संध्येति चोपस्थानकर्मणो नामधेयं कालस्य चान्यतः प्राप्तत्वात्' and the मिता. (on the same verse) says 'अहोरात्रयोः संधौ या क्रिया विधीयते सा संध्या'. मेधा. on मनु II. 101 says 'न सर्वं तमः क्षीणं नापि परिपूर्णः प्रकाश एषा संध्या।' and on IV.94 'सहचरिते जपादिविधौ संध्याशब्दो वर्तते ।'.

741. संध्यात्रयं तु कर्तव्यं द्विजेनात्मविदा सदा । उभे संध्ये च कर्तव्ये ब्राह्मणैश्च गृहेष्वपि ॥ अत्रि quoted by अपरार्क p.49; पूर्वा संध्या तु गायत्री सावित्री मध्यमा स्मृता । या भवेत्पश्चिमा संध्या सा विज्ञेया सरस्वती ॥ योगया. (in अपरार्क p.49). Aparārka says that मध्याह्नसंध्या should not be performed in the house.

(evening one) by Yoga-yājñavalkya. Generally however the saṁdhyā prayer is prescribed twice (Āśv. gṛ. III. 7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 17, Manu II. 101, Yāj. I. 24-25 &c).

All prescribe that the morning[742] prayer is to be begun before sunrise and should be carried on till the disc of the sun is seen on the horizon and the evening prayer begins when the disc of the sun is about to set and goes on up to the appearance of stars. This is the most proper time; but a secondary time was allowed up to three *ghaṭikās* after sunrise and sun-set. The duration of the prayer each time was to be one muhūrta (i. e. two ghaṭikās, according to Yoga-yājñavalkya) whatever the length of the day may be.[743] Manu (IV. 93-94) however recommends the prayer to extend as long as one could afford, since the ancient sages secured long life, intelligence, glory, fame and spiritual eminence by long saṁdhyā prayers.[744]

According to most writers *japa* of Gāyatrī and other sacred mantras is the principal thing in saṁdhyā and other things such as mārjana are merely subsidiary, but Medhātithi on Manu II. 101 (where the words are 'japaṁstiṣṭhet' and not 'tiṣṭhan japet') says that japa is subsidiary or secondary and the place of the prayer and the posture of the praying person are the principal items. When it is said 'one should perform the saṁdhyā' what is meant is that one should contemplate the deity called Āditya represented by the orb of the sun and should also contemplate on the fact that the same Intelligence dwells in his heart. The proper place for saṁdhyā prayer is outside the village (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 16, Mānava gṛ. I. 2. 2), in a lonely place (Śāṅ. gṛ. II 9. 1 'araṇye') or on a river or other sacred spot (Baud. gṛ. II. 4. 1). But this does not apply to the agnihotrin,[745] who has to perform vedic rites and repeat homa

742. तिष्ठेत्पूर्वामासीतोत्तरां सज्योतिष्या ज्योतिषो दर्शनाद्वाग्यतः । गौ. II. 17; सायमुत्तरापराभिमुखोऽन्वष्टमदेशं सावित्रीं जपेदर्धास्तमिते मण्डल आ नक्षत्रदर्शनात् । एवं प्रातः । प्राङ्मुखस्तिष्ठन्ना मण्डलदर्शनात् । आश्व. गृ. III. 7. 4-6; vide also मनु II. 101.

743. ह्रासवृद्धी तु सततं दिवसानां यथाक्रमम् । संध्या मुहूर्तमात्रं तु ह्रासे वृद्धौ तु सा स्मृता ॥ योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 49 (on या. I. 25) and by कुल्लूक on मनु II. 101.

744. ऋषयो दीर्घसंध्यत्वाद्दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयुः । प्रज्ञां यशश्च कीर्तिं च ब्रह्मवर्चसमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 94. This is the same as अनुशासनपर्व 104. 18 (नित्यसंध्य° for दीर्घसंध्य°) and शङ्खस्मृति X. 20.

745. Vide मेधा. on मनु. II. 101 and हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 8 about अग्निहोत्रिन्. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 136 quotes Vyāsa 'ते तथैव महाराज दंशिता रणमूर्धनि । संध्यागतं सहस्रांशुमादित्यमुपतस्थिरे' to show that warriors, when engaged in battle, performed only the *upasthāna* and omitted all else.

mantras at sun-rise and who therefore may perform saṁdhyā adoration in his house. Vasiṣṭha quoted by Aparārka says that saṁdhyā performed in a cowpen or on a river or near the shrine of Viṣṇu (or other deity) respectively is ten times, 100000 of times or numberless times better than saṁdhyāvandana in the house.[746] All prescribe that the morning saṁdhyā is to be performed standing and the evening one in a sitting posture (Āśv. gr. III. 7. 6, Śāṅ. gr. II. 9. 1 and 3, Manu II. 102) and the morning saṁdhyā is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest (Āśv. gr. III. 7. 4, Śāṅ. gr. II. 9. 1). He is to bathe, to sit in a pure spot on a seat of kuśa grass, should have the sacred cord in the usual position and restrain his speech (i. e. should be silent and not talk in the midst of saṁdhyā).

The principal constituents of saṁdhyopāsana are these: ācamanas (sipping of water), prāṇāyāma, mārjana thrice (sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras), aghamarṣaṇa, offering of water to the sun (arghya), japa of Gāyatrī, and upasthāna (reciting mantras by way of worship of the sun in the morning and generally of Varuṇa in the evening). Among the earliest references to Saṁdhyopāsana is the one in the Tai. Ār. II. 2,[747] where it is said that when brahmavādins facing the east throw up water consecrated by the Gāyatrī, the evil spirits that fight with the sun are sent tumbling into the country (called) Mandeha Aruṇa (of the evil spirits). This shows that in ancient times saṁdhyā consisted principally of offering water (arghya) to the sun in worship and *japa* of Gāyatrī. Āśv. gr. III. 7. 3-6, Śāṅ. gr. II. 9. 1-3 and others refer only to the japa of the Gāyatrī mantra in

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746. गृहे त्वेकगुणा संध्या गोष्ठे दशगुणा स्मृता। शतसाहस्रिका नद्यामनन्ता विष्णुसंनिधौ ॥ वसिष्ठ quoted in अपरार्क p. 50, while गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 224 quotes शातातप 'गृहेषु प्राकृती संध्या गोष्ठे शतगुणा भवेत्। नदीषु शतसाहस्री अनन्ता शिवसंनिधौ ॥' (प्राकृती एकगुणफलका).

747. तानि ह वा एतानि रक्षांसि गायत्रियाभिमन्त्रितेनाम्भसा शाम्यन्ति तदु ह वा एते ब्रह्मवादिनः पूर्वाभिमुखाः संध्यायां गायत्रियाभिमन्त्रिता अप ऊर्ध्वं विक्षिपन्ति ता एता आपो वज्रीभूत्वा तानि रक्षांसि मन्देहारुणे द्वीपे प्रक्षिपन्ति। तै. आ. II. 2 . The स्मृतिच० I. p. 134 quotes some verses from योगयाज्ञवल्क्य (which are almost the same as वायुपुराण vol. I. 50. 163-65) 'त्रिंशत्कोट्यस्तु विख्याता मन्देहा नाम राक्षसाः। प्राद्रवन्ति सहस्रांशुमुदयन्तं दिने दिने ॥ अहन्यहनि ते सर्वे सूर्यमिच्छन्ति खादितुम्। अतः सूर्यस्य तेषां तु युद्धमासीत्सुदारुणम् ॥ ततो देवगणाः सर्वे ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः। संध्यां तु समुपासीना प्रक्षिपन्ति महज्जलम्। ब्रह्मव्याहृतिसंयुक्तं गायत्र्या चाभिमन्त्रितम्। तेन दह्यन्ति ते दैत्या वज्रभूतेन वारिणा ॥'. Similar verses occur in लघुहारीत IV (Jiv. part I. p. 183), बृहत्पराशर p. 64, वृद्धगौतम p. 560.

Saṁdhyopāsana. Mānava gṛ. (I. 2. 1–5) refers only to the *arghya* offering to the sun and *japa* of Gāyatrī. It is in the Baud. Dh. S. II. 4 that we find an elaboration of saṁdhyopāsana into various components such as ācamana, mārjana, japa of Gāyatrī and upasthāna (worship) of Mitra and Varuṇa (respectively in the morning and evening with only two verses in each case).[748] Modern writers went on adding details e. g. it is now the practice in the Deccan to repeat the 24 names of Viṣṇu at the very beginning of the saṁdhyopāsana, but this is hardly anywhere prescribed by any smṛti or early commentator. Similarly elaborate rules are laid down about mystic *nyāsas* with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (vide Aparārka p. 140), of the nyāsa of the Nārāyaṇamantra of 25 letters on 25 parts of the body (Vṛddha-Hārīta VI. 16–19) and of the letters of the Gāyatrī Bṛhatparāśara chap. V. p. 83). In modern times ācamana is performed with the three names of Viṣṇu, viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava in the form 'om Keśavāya namaḥ.' The 24 names are given below.[748a]

A few words on each of the principal components of *saṁdhyā* may be said here. Elaborate rules about ācamana are laid down in several smṛtis; vide Gaut. I. 35–40, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2–11 and 16. 1–16, Manu II. 58–62, Yāj. I. 18–21. Such rules must have been elaborated from very ancient times. The Tai. Br. (I. 5. 10) prescribes that one should not perform ācamana with water that is in a cleft of the earth. Āp. Dh. S. (1. 5. 15. 5) says the same thing.[749] One should perform

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748. वारुणीभ्यां रात्रिमुपातिष्ठते । इमं मे वरुण तत्त्वायामीति द्वाभ्याम् । एवमेव प्रातः प्राङ्मुखस्तिष्ठन् ॥ मैत्रीभ्यामहरुपतिष्ठते मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो मित्रो जनान्यातयतीति द्वाभ्याम् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 11–14. The verses इमं मे वरुण and तत्त्वा यामि are respectively Ṛg. I. 25. 19 and I. 24. 11; and मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो and मित्रो जनान् are respectively Ṛg. III. 59. 6 and 1. Gobhila-smṛti II. 11–12 prescribes the two verses 'udu tyam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1 and in other Vedas also) and 'citram devānām' (Ṛg. I. 115. 1 and in other Vedas also) as the upasthāna in both saṁdhyās. In modern times the usages vary, many recite the whole of Ṛg. III. 59 in the morning adoration and Ṛg. I. 25. 1–10 (addressed to Varuṇa) in the evening. The Sm. C. (I. p. 139) says that the worship of the Sun should be done by the mantras from that śākhā of the Veda to which one belongs.

748a. केशव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूदन, त्रिविक्रम, वामन. श्रीधर, हृषीकेश, पद्मनाभ, दामोदर, संकर्षण, वासुदेव, प्रद्युम्न, अनिरुद्ध, पुरुषोत्तम, अधोक्षज, नारसिंह, अच्युत, जनार्दन, उपेन्द्र, हरि, श्रीकृष्ण. They are enumerated in the अग्निपुराण chap. 48. Vide note 567 for the first twelve names.

749. तस्मात्प्रदरादुदकं नाचामेत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 10; compare आप. ध. सू. I. 5, 15. 4–5. न वर्षधारास्वाचामेत् । न प्रदरोदके ।

ācamana in a sitting posture (and not standing nor bent) in a pure spot, facing the north or east, one should sip water thrice with water that is not hot and that is free from foam or bubbles, one should after sipping water wipe the lips twice (thrice according to Āp.) and should touch with the wet right hand one's eyes, ears, nose, heart and head. The water for ācamana should be as much as would penetrate (or reach) to the heart in the case of brāhmaṇas, to the throat in the case of kṣatriyas, to the palate in the case of vaiśyas ; women and śūdras should sip on occasions of ācamana only once as much water as would reach the palate. Manu (II. 18) and Yāj. (I. 18) say that water should be sipped by the brāhmatīrtha (i. e. from the root of the thumb).[750] The further elaborate rules laid down in such smṛtis as Gobhila gṛ. (I. 2. 5–6), Śaṅkhasmṛti 10 are not set out here. The occasions for ācamana are many. According to Gobhila [751] gṛ. I. 1. 2 one must do every gṛhya rite with yajñopavīta worn in the usual way and after ācamana. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 says that ācamana is a subsidiary matter in all religious acts. There are several occasions when the sipping of water twice is necessary, the principal being before and after *bhojana* (meals) ; vide Gautama I. 40, Vas. 3. 38, Yāj. I. 196, Sm. C. I. p. 100, Madanapārijāta p. 57, Par. M. I. part 1. pp. 241–243. Both the Bṛ. Up. (VI. 1. 14) and Chān. Up. V. 2. 2 refer to the practice of sipping water before and after bhojana and the Vedāntasūtra III. 3. 18 is based on these upaniṣad passages and says that water is looked upon as the garment of prāṇa.[752] Numerous occasions when ācamana is necessary are stated in Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 15–16, Manu V. 138 and 145, Yāj. I. 196, Kūrmapurāṇa I. 2. 13. 1–8 &c.

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750. The roots of the smallest finger, the index finger and of the thumb and the tips of the fingers of the hand are respectively called the प्राजापत्य (or काय), पित्र्य, ब्राह्म and दैव तीर्थs. Vide Yāj. 1. 19. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 62. 1–4, Vas. Dh. S. III. 64–68, Baud. Dh. I. 5. 14–18. As everywhere, there are differences here also. Vas. holds that pitrya is between the forefinger and the thumb, and that mānuṣa tīrtha is at the tips of the fingers. Others say that the roots of the four fingers constitute ārṣa tīrtha (Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 18).—Vaik I. 5. and Pār. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa mention five *tīrthas* (the 5th being in the palm is called āgneya). Āgneya is also styled Saumya by others.

751. यज्ञोपवीतिना आचान्तोदकेन कृत्यम्। गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 2.

752. तद्विद्वांसः श्रोत्रिया अशिष्यन्त आचामन्त्यशित्वा चाचामन्ति एतमेव तदनमनग्नं कुर्वन्तो मन्यन्ते। बृह. उप. VI. 1. 14; तस्माद्वा एतदशिष्यन्तः पुरस्ताच्चोपरिष्टाच्चाद्भिः परिदधति लम्भुको ह वासो भवत्यनग्नो ह भवति। छान्दोग्य V. 2. 2.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of breath) is defined by the Yoga-sūtra[753] (II. 49) as the regulation of inhalation and exhalation of air. Gaut. I. 50 prescribes three prāṇāyāmas, each of which lasts for 15 mātrās (moras). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 30 (= Vas. Dh. S. 25. 13 = Śaṅkhasmṛti VII. 14) and Yāj. I. 23 say that the *śiras* of Gāyatrī, the three vyāhṛtis each preceded by 'om' and the Gāyatrī verse are to be rehearsed mentally during the time of prāṇāyāma. According to Yoga-yājñavalkya, one should first revolve in the mind the seven vyāhṛtis, each preceded by 'om,' then the Gāyatrī and then the śiras of Gāyatrī.[754] Prāṇāyāma has three components, pūraka (inhaling the outside air), kumbhaka (keeping in the inhaled air i. e. neither taking in air nor giving it out) and recaka (exhaling air from the lungs). Manu VI. 70-71 highly praises the utility of prāṇāyāma in purifying the mind of sin.

Mārjana is performed by means of kuśa grass dipped in water kept in a vessel of copper or udumbara wood or earthenware and while doing so one is to repeat 'om,' the vyāhṛtis, Gāyatrī and the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3). Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 2 adds more Vedic mantras for mārjana.[755] Mānava gṛ. I. 1. 24, Yāj. I. 22 and others prescribe mārjana only with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3).

Aghamarṣaṇa (driving out sin) consists in taking water in the right hand formed in the shape of a cow's ear, holding it near one's nose, breathing out from the nose on the water (with the idea of driving away sin from oneself) to the accompaniment of the three verses 'ṛtam ca' (Ṛg. X. 190. 1-3) and then casting the water away to one's left on the ground.

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753. तस्मिन्सति (आसनजये सति) श्वासप्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेदः प्राणायामः । योगसूत्र II. 49.

754. भूर्भुवःस्वर्महर्जनस्तपः सत्यं तथैव च । प्रत्योंकारसमायुक्तस्तथा तत्सवितुर्वरम् । ओमापोज्योतिरित्येव शिरः पश्चात्प्रयोजयेत् । त्रिरावर्तनयोगात्तु प्राणायामस्तु शब्दितः । योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 141.

755. सुरभिमत्या अब्लिङ्गाभिर्वारुणीभिर्हिरण्यवर्णाभिः पावमानीभिर्व्याहृतिभिरन्यैश्च पवित्रैरात्मानं प्रोक्ष्य प्रयतो भवति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 2. सुरभिमती is the verse दधिक्राव्णो &c. (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6), अब्लिङ्ग verses are Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3, वारुणी verses are इमं मे वरुण (Ṛg. I. 25. 19), तत्त्वा यामि (Ṛg. I. 24. 11), अव ते हेळो (Ṛg. I. 24. 14) and यत्किंचेदं (Ṛg. VII. 89. 5). पावमान्यः are all verses like स्वादिष्ठया मदिष्ठया (Ṛg. IX. 1. 1) of the IX maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda or according to some Ṛg. IX. 67. 21-27. शिरसो मार्जनं कुर्यात्कुशैः सोदकबिन्दुभिः । प्रणवो भूर्भुवः स्वश्च सावित्री च तृतीयका । अब्दैवतस्तृचश्चैव चतुर्थ इति मार्जनम् । गोभिलस्मृति. II. 4-5, अब्दैवततृच is ऋग्वेद X. 9. 1-3. The तै. आ. III. 9. 7 has आपो हि ष्ठा मयोभुव इत्यद्भिर्मार्जयन्ते । आपो वै सर्वा देवताः ।.

Arghya[756] (offering water out of respect to the sun) consists in taking water in one's joined hands, repeating the Gāyatrī verse over it and standing facing the sun and casting it up thrice. If a man cannot have water (being at the time of Saṁdhyā on a road or in jail &c.) he could use dust for water. The Tai. Ār. II. 2 says that a brāhmaṇa contemplating the rising and setting sun and doing obeisance to it by going from left to right attains all bliss, since this Āditya is *Brahma*.

As to *japa* of Gāyatrī, vide above under Sāvitryupadeśa (p. 304). There is an extensive literature about the greatness of the japa of Gāyatrī and of other holy vedic mantras which are passed over here and for which reference may be made to Aparārka pp. 46–48, Sm. C. I. pp. 143–152, Gṛ. R. pp. 241–250, Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 311–316. A few details will be given under āhnika.

As to *upasthāna* vide above (p. 315, note 748). According to Baud. the worship[757] of the sun is done with the verses 'udvayam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 10), 'Udu tyam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1), 'citram' (Ṛg. I. 115. 1), 'tac-cakṣur' (Ṛg. VII. 66. 16), 'ya udagāt' (Tai. Ār. IV. 42. 5). Manu II. 103 prescribes that he who does not perform the Saṁdhyopāsana in the morning and evening should be excluded from all actions meant for the benefit or honour of dvijas. Gobhila[758] smṛti II. 1 says the same and adds that *brāhmaṇya* resides in the three saṁdhyās and that he who has no concern for saṁdhyopāsana is not a brāhmaṇa. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 20 calls upon the religious king to make brāhmaṇas, who do not engage in saṁdhyopāsana thrice a day, perform the work peculiar to śūdras. The Kūrma-purāṇa[759] goes so far as to say that even if a person engages in other actions which are religious but gives up the performance of saṁdhyopāsana, in so doing he falls into numerous hells. Manu declares (II. 102) that sins committed at night through ignorance (or oversight) are removed by the performance of

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756. उद्यन्तमस्तं यन्तमादित्यमभिध्यायन् कुर्वन् ब्राह्मणो विद्वान् सकलं भद्रमश्नुतेऽसावादित्यो ब्रह्मेति । तै. आ. II. 2.

757. अथादित्यमुपतिष्ठतोद्वयं तमसस्परि उदुत्यं चित्रं तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं य उदगादिति । बौ. quoted in संस्काररत्नमाला p. 237 which adds एतदेव तैत्तिरीयैः स्वीकार्यम् । इतरशाखापेक्षया बौधायनोक्तस्याभ्यर्हितत्वात् ।

758. अनर्हः कर्मणां विप्रः संध्याहीनो यतः स्मृतः । गोभिलस्मृति II.1.; एतत्संध्यात्रयं प्रोक्तं ब्राह्मण्यं यत्र तिष्ठति । यस्य नास्त्यादरस्तत्र न स ब्राह्मण उच्यते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 15–16 ; बौ. ध. सू. II.4.19 is similar 'संध्यां नोपासते विप्राः कथं ते ब्राह्मणाः स्मृताः'. Vide note 741 above.

759. योऽन्यत्र कुरुते यत्नं धर्मकार्ये द्विजोत्तमः । विहाय संध्याप्रणतिं स याति नरकायुतम् ॥ कूर्मपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 139.

morning saṁdhyā and the sins committed in the day are removed by the evening saṁdhyā. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 25–28, Yāj. III. 307 are to the same effect. When a person is impure owing to mourning or birth in the family, he is to perform saṁdhyā only up to arghya to the sun but not *japa* nor *upasthāna*.

In modern times the saṁdhyopāsana has become a lengthy business by the addition of materials from purāṇas and the *tantras*. But as observed by the Saṁskāraratnamālā rituals like nyāsa are non-Vedic[760] and many do not perform them. For various *nyāsas* and *mudrās* (postures of the fingers, hands etc.) one may consult the Smṛti-muktāphala (āhnika pp. 328–333), Sm. C. I. pp. 146–148.[761]

Nyāsa means 'mentally invoking god and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body to render it a pure and fit receptacle for worship and contemplation.' The sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) are respectively invoked to reside in the left and right hands, the left foot, the right foot, the left and right knees, the left and right sides, the navel, the heart, the throat, the left and right arms, the mouth, the eyes and the head (vide Aparārka p. 140). The Bhāgavata (VI. 8. 4–5) recommends that one should perform *nyāsa* on the hands and limbs of one's own body with the two mantras of Nārāyaṇa and thus make Nārāyaṇa one's armour when some danger arises and that one should perform nyāsa with 'om' and other syllables on one's feet, knees, thighs, belly, heart, chest, mouth and head.[762] The Sm. C. I. p. 144 quotes verses from Vyāsa and Brahmā as to the nyāsa of the letters of the Gāyatrī with 'om' and 'namaḥ' on the several parts of the

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760. एषोऽङ्गन्यासः । एतमेके नेच्छन्ति । स ह्यविधिरवैदिक इति । संस्काररत्नमाला p 229.

761. For the influence of tantra rites on the smṛtis and Indian practice, the following may be consulted : The Introduction to Sādhanamālā, vol. 2 (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 6. p. 114, vol. 9. p. 678, vol. 10 pp. 486–492, Sylvain Levi's Introduction to 'Sanskrit texts from Bali', Modern Review for August 1934 pp. 150–156.

762. कृतस्वाङ्गकरन्यासो मन्त्राभ्यां वाग्यतः शुचिः । नारायणमयं वर्म संनह्येद्भय आगते ॥ पादयोर्जानुनोरूर्वोरुदरे हृद्यथोरसि । मुखे शिरस्यानुपूर्व्या ओंकारादीनि विन्यसेत् ॥ भागवत VI. 8. 4–5. अङ्गुष्ठाग्रे तु गोविन्दं तर्जन्यां तु महीधरम् । मध्यमायां हृषीकेशमनामिकायां त्रिविक्रमम् ॥ कनिष्ठिकायां न्यसेद्विष्णुं करमध्ये तु माधवम् । एवं च करविन्यासं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥. Vide स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 331) for these latter verses.

body. Vṛddha-Hārīta VI. 16–19 speaks of the nyāsa of the twenty-five letters of the mantra about Nārāyaṇa on the twenty-five parts of the body. The Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 578–579) describes the nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet (51 in all) from 'Om Keśavāya namaḥ' to 'kṣam Nṛsiṁhāya namaḥ.' One well-known mode is to assign Govinda, Mahīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Trivikrama, Viṣṇu, Mādhava respectively on the tips of the thumb, the index finger, the middle finger, the ring-finger, the small finger and the middle of the palm. Manu II. 60 enjoining the touching of the limbs and head with water appears to contain the germ of this practice of nyāsa.

The Sm. C. I. (pp. 146–148) quotes long passages about the *mudrās* (hand poses) to be made in the saṁdhyā adoration. The Saṁgraha[763] quoted in the Pūjāprakāśa (p. 123) states that the *mudrās* are to be made in worship, at the time of japa, dhyāna (contemplation) and when starting on kāmya rites (performed for securing some desired object) and that they tend to bring the deity worshipped near to the worshipper. The names and number of mudrās differ considerably. For example, the Sm. C. and Smṛ. Mu. (āhnika pp. 331–332) quote passages defining the following mudrās viz. sammukha, saṁpuṭa, vitata, vistīrṇa, dvimukha, trimukha, adhomukha, vyāpakāñjalika, yamapāśa, grathita, sammukhonmukha, vilamba, muṣṭika, mīna, kūrma, varāha, siṁhākrānta, mahākrānta, mudgara and pallava. The Nityācārapaddhati p. 533 derives the word *mudrā* from 'mud' (joy) and the root 'rā' (to give) or 'drāvay' (causal of dru, to put to flight) and says that "mudrā" is so called because it gives delight to the gods and also puts to flight asuras (evil beings). That work and the Pūjā-prakāśa (pp. 123–126) give the names of mudrās. They are āvāhanī, sthāpinī, saṁnidhāpanī, saṁrodhinī, prasādamudrā, avaguṇṭhana-mudrā, sammukha, prārthana, śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, abja, (or padma), musala, khaḍga, dhanus, bāṇa, nārāca, kumbha, vighna (for Vighneśvara), saura, pustaka, lakṣmī, saptajihva (for Agni Vaiśvānara), durgā, namaskāra (bringing together both hands from the wrist to the tips of the fingers), añjali, saṁhāra (in all 32). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 536) says that śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, padma, musala, khaḍga, śrīvatsa and kaustubha are the eight mudrās of Viṣṇu. The Sm. C. quotes a

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763. संग्रहे । अर्चने जपकाले तु ध्याने काम्ये च कर्मणि । तत्तन्मुद्राः प्रयोक्तव्या देवतासंनिधापकाः ॥ पूजाप्रकाश p. 123.

work called[764] Mahāsaṁhitā that the mudrās are not to be performed in the presence of a crowd and if so performed the deities become angry and the mudrās become fruitless. The Śāradātilaka (23. 106) states that all deities are gladdened by the mudrās and in verses 107-114 describes the following mudrās, viz. āvāhanī, sthāpanī, saṁnidhāpanī, saṁrodhinī, sammukha, sakala, avaguṇṭhana, dhenu, mahāmudrā. The Ācāra-dinakara of Vardhamāna-sūri composed in *saṁvat* 1468 (1411-12 A. D.) for Jainas enumerates 42 mudrās and defines them (1923, part II. pp. 385-386).

The influence of these mudrās spread outside India and they are still practised in the island of Bali. Miss Tyra de Kleen has brought out a very interesting book on the 'mudrās (the hand poses) practised by Buddhist and Śaiva priests' (called *pedandas*) in Bali, with 60 full page drawings (1924, New York).

Study af the Veda:—A detailed examination of the educational system from ancient times onwards, together with its methods, courses of study and kindred topics will require a volume by itself. The works[765] mentioned in the note below may be read for that purpose. Here a few salient features alone can be set out.

The pivot of the whole educational system of ancient India was the teacher (variously called ācārya, guru, upādhyāya). The instruction was oral. Ṛg. VII. 103. 5 (speaking of frogs) says 'when one of these frogs follows another in making noise just as a learner repeats the words of the teacher'. Vide the quotations from the Atharvaveda and the Śat. Br. cited above (*f. n.* 622 and 625). In the beginning the father alone may have taught his son. The story narrated in the Bṛ. Up. V. 2. 1 and the story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya who was taught by his father everything he knew (Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1 and 4) illustrate this (vide *f. n.* 633). But even from very ancient times the practice

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764. अत्र महासंहितोक्तो विशेषः। न जातु दर्शयेन्मुद्रा महाजनसमागते। क्षुभ्यन्ति देवतास्तस्य विफलं च कृतं भवेत्॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 148.

765. Vide Rev. F. E. Keay's 'Ancient Indian Education' (1918), Dr. A. S. Altekar's 'Education in Ancient India' (1934), S. K. Das on 'Educational system of the ancient Hindus' (1930) and Dr. S. C. Sarkar's 'Educational ideas and institutions in ancient India' (1928). The last work is based entirely on the Atharvaveda and the Rāmāyaṇa.

of sending[766] boys to learn from an ācārya had become usual. The Chān. Up. itself says in one passage (VI. 1) that Śvetaketus Āruṇeya was placed by his father for twelve years as a student with a teacher. The same upaniṣad (III. 11. 5) says that the father should impart the 'madhuvidyā' to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil only. As the boy stayed with the teacher in the latter's house and all instruction was oral, the teacher's position assumed the greatest importance. Satyakāma Jābāla[767] says to his teacher (in Chān. IV. 9. 3) 'I have heard from persons like your revered self that knowledge when learnt from an ācārya reaches the highest excellence'. The Śvetāśvataropaniṣad[768] (VI. 23) places the guru almost on a level with God and inculcates the highest devotion to him. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 13 says 'the pupil should wait upon the ācārya as if he were[769] God.' The story of Ekalavya, whom Droṇa refused to take as a pupil because he was a niṣāda and who by worshipping the image of Droṇa is alleged to have become an adept in archery, illustrates two points viz. the prevailing notion of the greatness of a guru and the necessity of single-minded devotion to him for attaining proficiency (vide Ādiparva 132 for the story and also Droṇaparva 181. 17). The Mahābhārata condemns him who learns the Vedas at home and says that Raibhya became superior to Yavakrīta[770] because the former learnt from a *guru*, while the other did not do so. In Manu and other smṛtis there is some divergence about the

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766. अनुशिष्टो न्वसि पित्रेत्योमिति होवाच । बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1; यदहं किंच वेद सर्वमहं तत्तुभ्यमवोचम् । बृह. उ. VI. 2. 4 ; कुमारानु त्वाशिपात्पितेति । छान्दोग्य V. 3. 1. मेधा० on मनु III.3. says 'यस्य पिता विद्यते स एव तस्याचार्यः। अभावे पितुरशक्तौ वान्यस्याधिकारः । आचार्यान्तरोपादानेन पितुरधिकारो निवर्तत एव ।'. मनु II. 142 and याज्ञ I. 34 show that *guru* primarily means the father ; but मनु II. 69 and 149 show that the word guru was also applied to the ācārya and upādhyāya. Vide मिता. on या. III. 259.

767. श्रुतं ह्येव मे भगवद्दृशेभ्य आचार्याद्धैव विद्या विदिता साधिष्ठं प्रापयतीति छान्दोग्य IV. 9. 3; आचार्यवान्पुरुषो वेद । छान्दोग्य VI. 14. 2 ; vide कठोप. II. 9, मुण्डकोप० I.2.3 for the importance of guru in brahmavidyā. Also छान्दोग्य III. 11. 5 'इदं वा तज्ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात्प्रणाय्याय वान्तेवासिने ।'.

768. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ । तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः॥ श्वेताश्व. उप. VI. 23.

769. देवमिवाचार्यमुपासीत । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 13.

770. Vide अनुशासनपर्व 36. 15 'अपि च ज्ञानसंपन्नः सर्वान् वेदान् पितुर्गृहे । श्लाघमान इवाधीयाद् ग्राम्य इत्येव तं विदुः ॥'; वनपर्व 138. 25–26 'ऋते गुरुमधीता हि सुखं वेदास्त्वया पुरा । अनेन तु गुरून् दुःखात् तोषयित्वात्मकर्मणा । कालेन महता क्लेशाद् ब्रह्माधिगतमुत्तमम् ॥

greatness of the ācārya. Manu II. 146 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 44) says that both the father (*janaka*) and the teacher are called father (*pitā*) but the father (i. e. ācārya) who imparts the sacred Veda is superior to the father that gives (physical) birth, since the birth in spiritual learning is for a brāhmaṇa of eternal benefit here and hereafter. But in II. 145 Manu[771] says that an ācārya is ten times superior to an upādhyāya, the father is superior to a hundred ācāryas, while the mother is thousand-fold superior to the father. Gaut. II. 56 declares that the ācārya is the highest among all *gurus* while according to some the mother is the highest. Yāj. I. 35 also places the mother higher than the ācārya. Gaut. I. 10–11, Vas. Dh. S. III. 21, Manu II. 140, Yāj. I. 34 define[772] the ācārya as one who performs the upanayana of the student and imparts the whole Veda to him. The Nirukta[773] (I. 4) derives ācārya as follows: 'he makes the student understand the proper course of conduct, or he collects wealth (i. e. fee) from the student (or gathers together the meanings of words), or he increases the intelligence (of the student)'. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 14 says 'The ācārya is so called since the student gathers his duties from him.' Manu II. 69 says that the teacher, after performing upanayana, teaches his pupil the rules about śauca (bodily purity), ācāra (rules of conduct in every day life), the offering (of fuel-stick) in fire and saṁdhyā adoration. Yāj. I. 15 is to the same effect. Though the words *ācārya*, *guru*[774] and *upādhyāya* are very often used as synonyms, ancient writers made a distinction between them. According to Manu II. 141 and 142, an upādhyāya is one who teaches to a student a portion of the Veda or the Vedāṅgas[775] (subsidiary lores of the

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771. वसिष्ठ 13. 48 quotes मनु II. 145 (but the 3rd पाद in वसिष्ठ is पितुर्दशशतं माता); शान्तिपर्व (108. 18–19) says 'गुरुर्गरीयान् पितृतो मातृतश्चेति मे मतिः। उभौ हि मातापितरौ जन्मन्येवोपयुज्यतः। आचार्यशिष्टा या जातिः सा दिव्या साजरामरा॥'; तद्यस्मात्स आचार्यः। वेदानुवचनाच्च। गौ. I. 10–11.

772. स गुरुर्यः क्रियाः कृत्वा वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति। उपनीय ददद्वेदमाचार्यः स उदाहृतः॥ या. I. 34.

773. आचार्यः कस्मादाचारं ग्राहयत्याचिनोत्यर्थानाचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा। निरुक्त I. 4; यस्माद्धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 14; vide वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 30.

774. Vide मिता० on या III. 259 for a discussion of the meaning of the word *guru*.

775. The वेदाङ्गs have been six from very ancient times, viz. शिक्षा (phonetics), कल्प (ritual of solemn Vedic and domestic sacrifices), व्याकरण (grammar), निरुक्त (etymology), छन्दः or छन्दोविचिति (metrics), ज्योतिष (astronomy). The मुण्डकोपनिषद् I. 1. 5 names these six; आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 8. 10–11 षडङ्गो वेदः। छन्दः कल्पो व्याकरणं ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शीक्षा छन्दोविचितिरिति।.

Veda) as a means of his own livelihood and a *guru* is one who performs the saṁskāras and who maintains the child. This latter definition shows that *guru* means the father here. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 22–23), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 2, and Yāj. I. 35 define upādhyāya in the same way as Manu. According to Yāj. I. 34 the guru is one who performs the saṁskāras and imparts the Veda. This corroborates the statement made above that originally the father himself taught the Veda to his son. The word guru is often used in the sense of any elderly person, male or female, who is entitled to respect. Viṣṇu Dh.[776] S. (32. 1–2) says that the father, the mother and the ācārya are the three highest gurus of a person and Manu II. 227–237 contain the most sublime glorification of these three. Devala[777] says that 'among gurus five deserve special honour, viz. father, mother, ācārya, eldest brother and husband (in the case of women)'. Manu (II. 149) says that whoever confers on another the benefit of knowledge, whether great or small, is the latter's *guru*.

A great deal is said about the qualifications of the ācārya who is to perform the upanayana of a person and to teach him the Veda. Āp. Dh. S.[778] I. 1. 1. 11 refers to a Brāhmaṇa text to the effect 'he whom a teacher devoid of learning initiates enters from darkness into darkness and he also (i. e. an ācārya) who is himself unlearned (enters into darkness).' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 12–13) further provides that one should desire a performer of one's upanayana who is endowed with learning and whose family is hereditarily learned and who is serene in mind and that one should study Vedic lore under him up to the end (of brahmacarya) as long as the teacher does not fall off from the path of dharma. Vyāsa (quoted in Saṁ. P. p. 408) says[779] that the ācārya should be a brāhmaṇa who is solely

776. त्रयः पुरुषस्यातिगुरवो भवन्ति। पिता माताचार्यश्च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 32. 1–2; मनु II. 225–232 are the same as मत्स्यपुराण 211. 20–27; मनु 230, 231, 234 are the same as शान्तिपर्व 108. 6, 7, 12; मनु 11. 230, 233, 234 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 31. 7, 9, 10.

777. गुरूणामपि सर्वेषां पूज्याः पञ्च विशेषतः। यो भावयति या सूते येन विद्योपदिश्यते॥ ज्येष्ठो भ्राता च भर्ता च पञ्चैते गुरवः स्मृताः। तेषामाद्यास्त्रयः श्रेष्ठास्तेषां माता सुपूजिता॥ देवल in स्मृतिच० I. p. 35; वनपर्व (214. 28-29) speaks of five gurus, but they are पिता, माता, अग्नि, आत्मा and गुरु. Vide अपरार्क pp. 398–401 for a long quotation from नन्दिपुराण on the greatness of *guru*.

778. तमसो वा एष तमः प्रविशति यमविद्वानुपनयते यश्चाविद्वानिति हि ब्राह्मणम्। तस्मिन्नभिजनविद्यासमुदेतं समाहितं संस्कर्तारमीप्सेत्। तस्मिंश्चैव विद्याकर्मान्तमविप्रतिपन्ने धर्मेभ्यः। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 11–13.

779. वेदैकनिष्ठं धर्मज्ञं कुलीनं श्रोत्रियं शुचिम्। स्वशाखाज्ञमनालस्यं विप्रं कर्तारमीप्सितम्॥ व्यास in सं. प्र. p. 408.

devoted to the Veda, who knows dharma, is born of a good family, who is pure, is a *śrotriya* that has studied his Vedic śākhā and who is not lazy. Śrotriya has been defined above (*f. n.* 290). Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 4 and Baud. gṛ. I. 7. 3 define a śrotriya as one who has studied one *śākhā* of a Veda. Vide Vāyupurāṇa vol. I. 59. 29 also.[780] The ācārya in upanayana must be a brāhmaṇa; as to the study of veda one should ordinarily learn the Veda from a brāhmaṇa teacher; in times of difficulty (i. e. when a brāhmaṇa is not available) one may learn the Veda from a kṣatriya or vaiśya teacher; but in such circumstances the only service that a brāhmaṇa student rendered to the *guru* would be following after the non-brāhmaṇa teacher; he had not to render bodily service (such as shampooing or washing the feet &c). Vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 25–28 (quoted above in note 229), Gaut. 7. 1–3, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 40–42, Manu II. 241. Manu II. 238 allows even a brāhmaṇa to learn śubhā vidyā (visibly beneficial knowledge) even from a śūdra. Śāntiparva 165. 31 does the same.[781] The Mit. on Yāj. I. 118 remarks that a kṣatriya or vaiśya should teach a brāhmaṇa only when urged by him and not at his sweet will. Aparārka (p. 160) says that Manu II. 241 allows only teaching to a kṣatriya, but does not allow him to make it a means of his livelihood.[782]

We saw above (p. 321) that the instruction was entirely oral. The first thing that was taught to the boy was the praṇava and the vyāhṛtis and the Gāyatrī. Then the boy was to be taught other parts of the Veda. It is desirable to set out briefly the method of teaching the Veda followed in ancient times. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (IV. 8) describes the method as follows: the teacher sits facing the east or north, while the other (i. e. the student) sits to his right facing the north or two students may sit in that way; but if there are more than two they should sit as the available space will allow.[783] The student should not sit on a high seat

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780. धर्मेण वेदानामेकैकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियो भवति । आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 6. 4; एकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियः । बौ. गृ. I. 7. 3; वृद्धा ह्यलोलुपाश्चैव आत्मवन्तो ह्यदम्भकाः । सम्यग्विनीता ऋजवस्तानाचार्यान् प्रचक्षते ॥ वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 29.

781. श्रद्दधानः शुभां विद्यां हीनादपि समाप्नुयात् । सुवर्णमपि चामेध्यादाददीताविचारयन् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 165. 31.

782. अध्यापनं तु क्षत्रियवैश्ययोर्ब्राह्मणप्रेरितयोर्भवति न स्वेच्छया । मिता॰ on या. I. 118; तदध्यापनमात्रकर्तृत्वमब्राह्मणस्याभ्यनुजानाति न तु वृत्तित्वमपि । अपरार्क p. 160.

783. Compare आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 24–25 एकाध्यायी दक्षिणं बाहुं प्रत्युपसीदेत्। यथावकाशं बहवः ।. Vide also मनु II. 193.

before the teacher nor on the same seat with him; he should not stretch out his feet, nor should he sit seizing his knees with his arm, nor should he lean against a support, nor should he place his feet on his lap nor should he hold his feet like an axe. After the student utters 'Recite, Sir,'[784] the teacher should urge him to pronounce 'om'; the other (i. e. the student) should reply 'om'. Thereafter he (the student) should recite continuously. After reciting he should clasp the teacher's feet and say 'we have finished, Sir' and go away to his business. Some teachers say that the teacher should say 'Leave, let us stop'. In the Ṛk Prātiśākhya,[785] 15th paṭala, there is a description of the method of teaching the Veda, which closely agrees with the above quotation from the Śāṅ. gṛ. It adds that the teacher may also sit facing the north-east. When the teacher recites two words or more, the first pupil (to the right of the teacher) repeats the first of the two or more words and the other pupils repeat the rest afterwards. The teacher recites one word if it is a compound, two words if they are un-compounded; the teacher also clearly explains how to recite the words if there is any difficulty; in this way the whole *praśna* is finished and all the pupils repeat again the whole of it. A praśna generally has three mantras and each adhyāya has about sixty praśnas. Manu (II. 70–74) also prescribes certain rules: the student should sip water (ācamana) when about to begin Vedic study, should face the north, should fold both hands[786] together (and place them on his knee), should wear light (pure) clothes, should at the beginning and end of Vedic study clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands

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784. According to the com. नारायण on Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 5. 10–11 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 67 *f. n.*) the words 'अधीहि भोः' are uttered by the teacher. But this does not seem to be correct. In तै. उ. III. 1 we read 'भृगुर्वै वारुणिः । वरुणं पितरमुपससार । अधीहि भगवो ब्रह्मेति ।' and in छान्दोग्य VII. 1. 1 we have 'अधीहि भगव इति होपससाद सनत्कुमारं नारदः'. The ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य supports the above translation.

785. अभिक्रान्ते द्वैपदे वाधिके वा पूर्वं पदं प्रथमः प्राह शिष्यः । ...गुरुः शिष्यस्य पदमाह ह्रुस्वं समासश्चेदसमासो यदि द्वे । एतेन कल्पेन समाप्य प्रश्नं प्रत्याम्नायुस्तत्पुनरेव सर्वे ॥. ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य, 15th पटल. Vide Max Muller's History of A. S. L. p. 503 ff. for further details.

786. ब्रह्माञ्जलि is explained differently from Manu by आपस्तम्बस्मृति (in verse) quoted in सं. प्र. p. 524 viz. the left hand should be turned upwards, the right hand should be placed on it with the palm turned downwards, and the fingers of the two hands should firmly hold the backs of the hands. संवर्त quoted in स्मृतिच. (I. p. 51) reads 'हस्तौ तु संहतौ कार्यौ जानुभ्यामुपरि स्थितौ ॥'

and should touch the right foot of the teacher with his own right hand and left foot with the left hand, should repeat 'om' at the beginning and at the end of Vedic study. The teacher should say to the pupil 'repeat' and should stop from teaching with the words 'let there be a pause'. Gaut. (I. 49-58) gives similar rules. The Gopatha Br. I. 31 uses the expression 'sarve vedā mukhato gṛhītāḥ', which is current even in modern times (it means all Vedas were committed to memory by word of mouth).

The study of the Veda was the first duty of every twice—born person (dvijāti). Vedic Literature had grown to vast proportions even in the times of the Tai. Br. (III. 10. 11), as the story of Indra and Bharadvāja cited above (p. 271) shows. The ideal was set up by Manu II. 165, viz. that the whole Veda together with secret doctrines (Upaniṣads) was to be learnt by every dvijāti. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 7 contains a eulogy of Veda study (svādhyāya) and the injunction 'svādhyāyoऽdhyetavyaḥ' (one must study the Veda) occurs there very frequently. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 1 and 3) quotes[787] the Tai. Ā. II. 14. 3 that the study of the Veda (svādhyāya) is austerities and also the Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 8. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 1) quotes a Vedic text 'a brāhmaṇa should study and understand without any purpose (or desire of reward) dharma and the Veda with its six aṅgas.'[788] The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmaṇa may be deemed to have completely accomplished his duty by the study of the Veda.[789] Yāj. I. 40 says that it is Veda alone that confers the highest bliss upon dvijātis by enabling them to understand and perform sacrifices, austerities and auspicious acts (like saṁskāras). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 9) contains the traditional extent of the four Vedas, viz. that there were 101 śākhās of the Yajurveda, 1000 of the Sāmaveda, 21 of the Ṛgveda and nine of the Atharvaveda.[790] Concessions had to be

787. तपः स्वाध्याय इति ब्राह्मणम् । ... अथापि वाजसनेयिब्राह्मणम् । ब्रह्मयज्ञो ह वा एष यत्स्वाध्यायः । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 1 and 3; compare मनु II. 166 वेदाभ्यासो हि विप्रस्य तपः परमिहोच्यते ॥ ; दक्ष II. 33 is to the same effect; अधीयत इत्यध्यायः वेदः । स्वस्याध्यायः स्वाध्यायः स्वपरंपरागता शाखेत्यर्थः । सं. प्र. p. 504.

788. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 1. मेधा॰ on मनु III. 1 explains निष्कारण as कारणं प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य नित्यकर्मवत् कर्तव्यम् ।.'

789. परिनिष्ठितकार्यो हि स्वाध्यायेन द्विजो भवेत् । कुर्यादन्यन्न वा कुर्यान्मैत्रो ब्राह्मण उच्यते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 239. 13 ; the latter half is मनु II. 87.

790. एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं नवधाथर्वणो वेदः । महाभाष्य I. p. 9.

made to the shortness of human life and the weakness of the human mind. Therefore Gaut. II. 51, Vas. Dh. S. VII. 3, Manu III. 2, Yāj. I. 52 and others allowed a person to study only one Veda. After a man studied his own Veda, he could if so minded study another śākhā of another Veda or other Vedas. The rule laid down by many smṛtis is that one should study the śākhā of the Veda which his ancestors studied and should perform religious rites with mantras derived from that śākhā. Vide Medhātithi on Manu III. 2 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 51.[791] That person who does not study a Vedic Śākhā studied by his ancestors and studies another śākhā altogether was called 'śākhāraṇḍa'. Whatever religious rites a man did with the procedure and mantras of another śākhā giving up his own śākhā becomes fruitless. But an exception was made to the effect that if some[792] religious rite was omitted in one's śākhā, but was dealt with in another śākhā and was not opposed to the teaching of one's śākhā, it may be performed as in the case of Agnihotra (which is not dealt with in all śākhās, but is to be performed by all).

Teachers mostly confined themselves to one place. But we find that even in ancient times there were teachers who wandered from one country to another. In the Kauṣ. Br. Up. IV. 1 we find that the famous Bālāki Gārgya moved about in the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kuru-Pañcāla and Kāśivideha. In the Bṛ. Up. III. 3. 1 Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tells Yājñavalkya that he and others wandered about in the country of Madra for study. Students generally stuck to one teacher; but it appears that they sometimes flocked to renowned teachers as waters flow down a slope[793] (Tai. Up. I. 4. 3). There were also students who wandered from teacher to teacher and were

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791. पित्रादयस्त्रयः पूर्वे संस्कृताः शाखया यया । सा स्वशाखेति विज्ञेया तया कर्माणि कारयेत् ॥ quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 49. या एव पित्रादिभिः शाखा अधीता सा न त्याज्येति । मेधा० on मनु III. 2; वेदमिति चैकवचनं शाखान्तराध्ययनव्यावृत्त्यर्थम् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 57. हित्वा स्वस्य द्विजो वेदं यस्त्वधीते परस्य तु । शाखारण्डः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मबहिष्कृतः ॥ लघ्वाश्वलायन 24. 19; हरदत्त on गौतम IX. 53 quotes a verse which extends the rule to giving up one's सूत्र.

792. Vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 34–35 quoted by Apararka p. 8 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 50 and गृह्यसंग्रह (B. I. ed) II. 91 and 93 आत्मतन्त्रेषु यन्नोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् । विशेषाः खलु सामान्या ये चोक्ता वेदवादिभिः ॥ यः स्वशाखोक्तमुत्सृज्य परशाखोक्तमाचरेत् । अप्रमाणमृषिं कृत्वा सोऽन्धे तमसि मज्जति ॥.

793. यथापः प्रवता यन्ति यथा मासा अहर्जरम् । एवं मां ब्रह्मचारिणो धातरायन्तु सर्वतः ॥ तै. उ. I. 4. 3. अहर्जर means संवत्सर.

therefore derisively called 'tīrthakāka (crows at a sacred place),' as the Mahābhāṣya states.[794]

As the study of the Veda was a duty enjoined upon a brāhmaṇa, so teaching Veda to another was a duty. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 113) quotes a Vedic text[795] 'He who having studied the Veda would not teach one who requests him to do so would be one who destroys his own good acts (i.e. would lose the benefit thereof), would shut the door leading to happiness; therefore he should teach; it leads to great glory'. When Satyakāma Jābāla did not teach his pupil Upakosala anything for twelve years, though the latter served assiduously by attending to the sacred fires of the teacher, the teacher's wife remonstrated with the husband by saying 'this student has worked hard and attended the fires, may the fires not censure you and order you to teach him the vidyā he desires' (Chān. Up. IV. 10. 1-2). The Praśna Up.[796] VI. 1 gives expression to the view that if a teacher keeps back anything he knows he dries up entirely. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 2-3 expressly prescribes 'the teacher whom a student asks for instruction should not refuse him, if he finds no defect in the student.'[797] Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 8. 25-28) lays down certain excellent rules for the teacher 'the teacher, anxious for the welfare of the student as if he were his son, should attentively impart learning to the student without hiding anything from him in all matters of duty; nor should the teacher restrain the student for his own work in such a way as to cause obstacles in his study except in seasons of distress. A teacher becomes no teacher if he avoids giving instruction' (i.e. he may be abandoned). The Droṇaparva (50. 21) says that a pupil comes only after the son according to the idea of those

794. यथा तीर्थे काका न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्ति एवं यो गुरुकुलानि गत्वा न चिरं तिष्ठति स उच्यते तीर्थकाक इति । महाभाष्य I. p. 391 (on पा. II. 1. 41).

795. अध्यापनमप्यधीतवेदेनावश्यं कर्तव्यं न केवलं वृत्त्यर्थम् । ...... तथा च श्रुतिः । यो हि विद्यामधीत्यार्थिने न ब्रूयात्स कार्यहा (कर्महा?) स्यात् श्रेयसो द्वारमपावृणुयात् । अध्यापयेन्महदेतद्यशस्यम् । मेधा॰ on मनु II. 113. The portion 'यो हि...कर्महा स्यात्' is quoted as from वसिष्ठ by the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 53.

796. 'तमहं कुमारमब्रवं नाहमिमं वेद यद्यहमिममवेदिषं कथं ते नावक्ष्यमिति समूलो वा एष परिशुष्यति योऽनृतमभिवदति तस्मान्नार्हाम्यनृतं वक्तुम् । प्रश्नोप. VI. 1.

797. अध्ययनार्थेन यं चोदयेन्न चैनं प्रत्याचक्षीत । न चास्मिन् दोषं पश्येत् । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 2-3; संवत्सरोषिते शिष्ये गुरुर्ज्ञानमनिर्दिशन् । हरते दुष्कृतं तस्य शिष्यस्य वसतो गुरोः ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 39) quoted in परा. मा. I. part 1. p. 146 and as यम's in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 53.

who know dharma. If a teacher does not teach a pupil anything even after his pupil has stayed with him for a year, the former receives all the sins of the pupil. A teacher[798] who did not teach or was sinful was to be abandoned. Similarly a teacher, who became puffed up, did not care for what should or should not be done and took to a sinful path was to be abandoned.[799] Āp. I. 1. 1. 13 lays down that a student must stay with his teacher who performs his upanayana till he completes his study, unless the teacher himself swerved from the path of dharma and became a sinner and (I. 2. 7. 26) that if the teacher cannot teach the subject, the pupil may resort to another teacher.

The smṛtis lay down rules about the qualifications of a student who deserves to be taught. In the Vidyāsūkta quoted in the Nirukta[800] (II. 4) we see that the teacher was not to impart vidyā (knowledge) to one who was jealous (or who treated vidyā with contempt), was crooked and was not self-restrained and that learning was to be imparted to one who was pure, attentive, intelligent and endowed with brahmacarya (celibacy), who would never prove false (to his teacher) and who would guard what he learnt as a treasure. Manu (II. 109 and 112 also) says that ten persons deserve to be taught viz. the son of the teacher, a student who serves his guru, one who gives some knowledge in exchange, one who knows dharma or who is pure (in body and mind), who is truthful, who is able to study and retain it, who gives money (for teaching), who is well-disposed and who is one's near relative (agnate). Yāj. I. 28 mentions all these and adds that the student must be grateful, not inclined to hate or prove false to the teacher, healthy and not disposed to find fault. The student should always be dependent

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798. षडिमान् पुरुषो जह्याद्भिन्नां नावमिवाम्भसि । अप्रवक्तारमाचार्यमनधीयानमृत्विजम् ॥ उद्योगपर्व 33. 79; अज्ञानादनध्यापनादृत्विगाचार्यौ पतनीयसेवायां च हेयौ ॥ गौतम 21. 12 ; vide also वसिष्ठ 13. 50.

799. गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ उद्योगपर्व 178. 48; शान्तिपर्व 57. 7 ; 140. 48 &c. In some places the last पाद is read as कार्यं भवति शासनम्. अपरार्क p. 67 quotes it as यम's. Vide कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 25) for the same.

800. असूयकायानृजवेऽयताय न मा ब्रूया वीर्यवती तथा स्याम् ॥ यमेव विद्याः शुचिमप्रमत्तं मेधाविनं ब्रह्मचर्योपपन्नम् । यस्ते न द्रुह्येत्कतमच्चनाह तस्मै मा ब्रूया निधिपाय ब्रह्मन् ॥ निरुक्त II. 4 (= वसिष्ठ II. 8-9 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 29. 9-10). मनु (II. 114-115) is very similar.

on and under the control of the teacher (as Āp. Dh. S.[801] I. 1. 2. 19 and Nārada say) and should stay with no one but the teacher. We saw above (p. 274) that from ancient times the student had to serve the teacher by tending his cattle (Chāndogya IV. 4. 5), had to beg for food and announce it to the teacher (ibid. IV. 3. 5) and to look after his sacred fires and to learn the Veda only in the time that would be left after doing work for the *guru*[802]. Besides these, the rules concerning his conduct towards the teacher, the teacher's wife and son, concerning the method of salutation and showing respect, the food, drinks, and actions allowed or prohibited to students are too numerous to be set out in detail. A few important ones from Gautama, Āp. Dh. S., Manu II and Yāj. I. 33 are stated below. Gaut. (II. 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25) says that the student should speak the truth, bathe everyday, should not look at the sun; should avoid honey, flesh, perfumes, the wearing of flowers, sleeping by day, rubbing oil on the body, putting collyrium in the eyes, going in a cart,[803] wearing shoes and holding an umbrella, love affairs, anger, covetousness, infatuation, vain discussions, playing on musical instruments, luxurious baths with hot water, meticulous cleansing of the teeth, ecstatic states of mind, dancing, singing, calumny of others, dangerous places, gazing at women or touching young women, gambling, serving a low person (or doing very low work), injury to animals, obscene or harsh talk, wine. Manu (II. 198 and 180–181) prescribes that he should not sleep on a cot and should observe complete celibacy, but if he suffers from night emissions he should bathe, worship the sun and repeat thrice the mantra 'punar mām' (Tai. Ār. I. 30). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 21–30, I. 1. 3. 11–24) contains similar rules of conduct. Āp. says (I. 1. 2. 28–30) that the student should not wash his limbs with hot water (generally), but he may do so if they are smeared with dirty and impure matter provided he does it out of the sight of the teacher and that he should not bathe in water in a sportive manner, but

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801. न ब्रह्मचारिणो विद्यार्थस्य परोपवासोऽस्ति । आचार्याधीनः स्यादन्यत्र पतनीयेभ्यः । हितकारी गुरोरप्रतिलोमयन्वाचा । आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 17, 19–20 ; 'अस्वतन्त्रः स्मृतः शिष्य आचार्ये तु स्वतन्त्रता ।' नारद (ऋणादान verse 33).

802. छा. उप. VIII. 15. 1 'आचार्यकुलाद्वेदमधीत्य यथाविधानं गुरोः कर्मातिशेषेणाभिसमावृत्य.'

803. उपानहौ छत्रं यानमिति वर्जयेत् । आप. I. 2. 7. 5, but when on a journey the student may sit in a cart, if ordered by the teacher 'यानमुक्तोऽध्वन्यन्वारोहेत्' आप. ध. I. 2, 8. 12.

should bathe in it motionless like a stick. Āp. not only prohibits for him sexual intercourse (I. 1. 2. 26) but ordains that he should speak with women only as much as is absolutely necessary. The student was not to[804] laugh, but if he could not help laughing he should do so covering his face with his hands (says Āp.).

Gautama and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 2. 34 and 37) say that the student is to serve his teacher by following after him when he goes anywhere, he should help the teacher in his toilet and bath and should shampoo his body and take food left by him (ucchiṣṭa);[805] he should be diligent in doing work that would be pleasing and beneficial to the teacher ; he was to study when the teacher called him, he was not to cover his throat with a piece of cloth, or was not to sit in the presence of his teacher with his feet on his lap, was not to stretch his feet, he was not to clear loudly his throat, nor to laugh, yawn or crack the knuckles ; he was when called by the teacher to reply at once leaving his seat or bed and was to approach the teacher even when he called from a distance ; he should always occupy a seat lower than that of his teacher and should go to sleep after his teacher and rise before him (Gautama II. 20–21, 30–32). Manu II. 194–198 and Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 26 and I. 2. 6. 1–12 contain similar rules. Manu (II. 199) says that a pupil should

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804. Vide Yāj. I. 33 which contains many of the above. Yāj. forbids the eating of ucchiṣṭa (leavings of food) of anybody (except the teacher). Manu (II. 177–179) practically contains the same rules as those of Gautama set out above. Auśanasa-smṛti III. (ed. by Jiv. pp. 512–513) contains a long list of what the student should eschew. न स्मयेत । यदि स्मयेतापिगृह्य स्मयेतेति ब्राह्मणम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 7–8.

805. The word 'ucchiṣṭa' is used, as exhaustively pointed out by Medhātithi on Manu VI. 80, in several senses. It literally means 'what is left out.' The most usual senses are three, viz. (1) food left in the plate from which one has eaten, (2) food taken out in a vessel for serving to a person but not exhausted by being served in his plate, and (as applied to a person), (3) one who has not washed his hands and mouth after eating food (or as applied to a plate) the plate (not yet cleaned) from which one has taken his meal. Vide मनु IV. 211 for the 2nd meaning. Another meaning is : (4) one who has answered a call of nature and not yet performed the purificatory acts like ācamana is said to be ucchiṣṭa. Vide Manu IV. 142 (for this and the 3rd meaning) and V. 143 (for 3). Sometimes the word is used in its literal sense (vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 2). Vide Manu V. 141 for another application of the word.

not mimic the gait, the manner of speech and the actions of the teacher. Manu (II. 200–201) calls upon the pupil to close his ears (with his hands or fingers) or to leave the place where somebody indulges in calumnies about the teacher or points out the faults in him, and states that if the pupil himself finds fault with his teacher or calumniates him, the pupil (in the next life) is born as an ass or a dog. Viṣṇu Dh. S.[806] 28. 26 says the same.

Some rules are laid down as to how the brahmacārin is to deal with the hair on his head. Even the Ṛg. speaks of boys with several śikhās (topknot). Vide note 598 above. Gaut. I. 26 and Manu II. 219 say that a brahmacārin may either shave his entire head, or may allow all the hair to grow as matted or should keep only a tuft of hair on the head (and shave the rest).[807] Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 31–32, Vas. VII. 11 allow only two alternatives viz. growing all the hair or keeping a tuft of hair, while Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 41 says that a student may either shave the entire head or grow matted hair. One was not to untie one's śikhā, while on the public road.[808]

One of the rules for the student was that he was not to pronounce the name of his teacher even when the teacher was not present without prefixing or affixing an honorific addition (such as śrī, bhaṭṭa, ācārya). Gaut. ordains that the student should not speak of his teacher, the teacher's son or wife or of a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice by their bare names[809] and then says that when it is absolutely necessary

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806. यत्रास्य निन्दापरीवादौ स्यातां न तत्र तिष्ठेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 26. निन्दा is declaring faults that really do not exist and परीवाद is pointing out faults that do exist.

807. मुण्डजटिलशिखाजटाश्च । गौतम I. 26 ; जटिलः शिखाजटो वा वापयेदितरान् आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 31–32.

808. न पथि शिखा विसृजेत् । हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 225.

809. आचार्यतत्पुत्रस्त्रीदीक्षितनामानि ।...... नामगोत्रे गुरोः समानतो निर्दिशेत् । गौतम II. 24 and 28. If the dīkṣita is present he may be addressed as 'भो दीक्षित (or भो यजमान) एवं कुरु' and when absent as 'तत्रभवता दीक्षितेनैवं कृतम्' &c. Of Gaut. II. 28 Haradatta gives two explanations (समानतः either means मानेन सह or सम्यग् आनतः) and he takes 28 to refer to the pupil's name. Vide मेधा. on मनु. II. 128 for explanations. सं. प्र. p. 492 explain समाननाम्नः पुरुषान्तराद्वा. Vide मनु II. 199 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 24.

to refer to these by name the student should not pronounce the name and gotra of his teacher as they are, but by means of a synonym (e. g. if the teacher's name is Haradatta or Deveśvara the pupil should respectively say Devarāta or Sureśvara). Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 15 says that even after returning home a snātaka should avoid touching his former teacher with his fingers (to call his attention), frequent muttering of something in his ears, laughing into his face, calling him out loudly, taking his name, ordering him about. Manu II. 128 and Gaut. VI. 19 say that a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice should not be addressed by his name, even though he be younger than the person addressing, but that one should use the words 'bhoḥ' and 'bhavat' when addressing him or speaking about him and may refer to him by words like dīkṣita &c. There are other rules about addressing or referring by name which may be set out here for the sake of completeness. The Sm. C. (I. p. 45) and Haradatta on Gaut. II. 29 quote a smṛti[810] that one should not mention by name only one's teacher, teacher's son and wife, a dīkṣita, any other guru, father, mother, paternal and maternal uncles, one's benefactor, a learned man, one's father-in-law, one's husband, one's mother's sister. The Mahābhārata says that one should not mention by name or address as 'tvam' (thou) one's elders, but one may speak of one's contemporaries or those who are younger by their names.[811] Another verse says that one should not mention one's own name, the name of one's guru, the name of a mean person, of one's wife and one's eldest child.

Upasaṁgrahaṇa consists in repeating one's gotra and name, saying 'I salute', touching one's ears, clasping the feet (as stated above) and bending one's head while so doing. In *abhivādana* there is no clasping of the feet with the hands; one

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810. आचार्यं चैव तत्पुत्रं तद्भार्यां दीक्षितं गुरुम्। पितरं वा पितृव्यं च मातुलं मातरं तथा॥ हितैषिणं च विद्वांसं श्वशुरं पतिमेव च। न ब्रूयान्नामतो विद्वान्मातुश्च भगिनीं तथा॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 45 and हरदत्त on गौ. II. 29.

811. त्वंकारं नामधेयं च ज्येष्ठानां परिवर्जयेत्। अवराणां समानानामुभयेषां न दुष्यति॥ शान्तिपर्व 193. 25; vide also Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 8; आत्मनाम गुरोर्नाम नामातिकृपणस्य च। श्रेयस्कामो न गृह्णीयाज्ज्येष्ठापत्यकलत्रयोः॥ quoted by the मदनपारिजात p. 27 (but in अभिवादन one has to take one's name) and on p. 119 (1st स्तबक) it quotes from नारद 'गुरोर्ज्येष्ठकलत्रस्य भ्रातुर्ज्येष्ठस्य चात्मनः। आयुष्कामो न गृह्णीयान्नामातिकृपणस्य च।'

may or may not touch the feet of the person to be honoured. *Abhivādana* must always be preceded by pratyutthāna.[812]

Very detailed rules were laid down about *pratyutthāna* (rising from one's seat to receive a person), abhivādana (saluting a man), upasaṁgrahaṇa (saluting by clasping the feet of the teacher or another with one's hands), pratyabhivāda (returning a salutation), and namaskāra (bowing with the word 'namaḥ'). According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 19 and I. 3. 10. 17 the student must, when he meets his teacher after sunrise, clasp his teacher's feet and also before beginning the day's lesson of Vedic study and also after finishing it. Manu II. 71 says the same. Gaut. (I. 52–54) prescribes the clasping of the feet every day in the morning and at the beginning and at the end of a lesson in the Veda. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 20 on other occasions whenever the student meets the teacher only *abhivādana* is sufficient, though according to some teachers (Āp. I. 2. 5. 21) clasping the teacher's feet is necessary on each occasion. Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 22 states that in upasaṁgrahaṇa the teacher's right foot is to be stroked below and above with the student's right hand and the foot and ankle are both to be taken hold of, while according to some teachers, the student must press each foot of the teacher with both hands and clasp them. Manu II. 72, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 15, and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 24 say that the student is to clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands, touching the right foot with the right hand and the left foot with the left hand. Kullūka on Manu II. 72 quotes Paiṭhīnasi that the student should clasp the teacher's feet with his hands turned upwards. Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 28 adds that clasping should not be done when either the teacher or the pupil is seated, or is lying down or impure. According to Gaut. VI. 1–3 one must clasp every day on the first meeting and particularly on his or their return from a journey, the feet of one's parents, of the blood relations of parents (e. g. paternal and maternal uncles), of the elder brother, of the guru (i. e. ācārya, upādhyāya) and of persons venerated by one's gurus. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 7–9) says that even after finishing

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812. उपसंग्रहणं नाम अमुकगोत्रो देवदत्तशर्माहं भो अभिवादये इत्युक्त्वा कर्णौ स्पृष्ट्वा दक्षिणोत्तरपाणिभ्यां दक्षिणेन पाणिना गुरोर्दक्षिणं पादं सव्येन सव्यं गृहीत्वा शिरोवनमनम्। अभिवादने पादसंग्रहणं नास्ति। पादस्पर्शनं कार्यं न वा। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 7; बौ. ध. सू. (I. 2. 26 असावहं भो इति श्रोत्रे संस्पृश्य मनःसमाधानार्थम्) says that the ears are touched for concentrating one's mind; विश्वरूप on या. I. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only. सर्वत्र तु प्रत्युत्थायाभिवादनम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 16.

one's studies and returning home a man must every day clasp the feet of gurus (father, mother, teacher and other venerable persons) and of elder brothers and sisters according to their seniority.

Abhivādana is of three kinds, viz. nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be done only on certain occasions) and kāmya (to be done only if a person has certain rewards in view). As examples of nitya abhivādana one may instance the rules of Āp. Dh. S.[813] (I. 2. 5. 12–13) "every day a student should get up from bed in the last watch of the night and standing near his teacher salute him with the words 'I so and so, ho' (salute thee); and the student should also salute other very aged (and learned brāhmaṇas) who may reside in the same village before his morning meal." Yāj. I. 26 also speaks of the latter. The occasional abhivādana is done on certain occasions such as return from a journey (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 14). A person may salute elderly persons whenever he chooses, if he is desirous of long life or (bliss in) heaven (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 15 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 26). Manu[814] (II. 120 and 121) says 'the prāṇas (vital breaths) of a young man mount upwards when an old man approaches; but by rising to meet him and salutation (to him), he (the young man) recovers them. He who habitually salutes and constantly pays reverence to the aged obtains an increase of four things viz. length of life, knowledge, fame and strength.' Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 11,[815] Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 44, Manu II. 130 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 41 prescribe that a person must honour by rising and mentioning one's name an officiating priest, one's father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles, even though these may be younger than oneself in

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813. सदा महान्तमपररात्रमुत्थाय गुरोस्तिष्ठन्प्रातरभिवादमभिवादयीतासावहं भो इति । समानग्रामे च वसतामन्येषामपि वृद्धतराणां प्राक्प्रातराशात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 12–13 ; compare मनु II. 122, 124.

814. ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति । प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रतिपद्यते ॥ मनु II. 120. This verse occurs in उद्योगपर्व 38. 1 and अनुशासनपर्व 104. 64–65 and also in the महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 58, where we have तथापूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेय इति पूर्ववयसोऽप्रत्युत्थाने दोष उक्तः प्रत्युत्थाने च गुणः। कथम्। ऊर्ध्वं ... पद्यते इति।. Vide धम्मपद 109 (ed. by Fausböll, 1900) for a verse closely parallel to Manu II. 121.

815. ऋत्विक्श्वशुरपितृव्यमातुलानवरवयसः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवदेत् । तूष्णीं वोपसंगृह्णीयात् । आप ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 10–11; बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 44 ऋत्विक्...मातुलानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्थायाभिभाषणम् । (but some mss. read °भिवादनम्), मनु II. 130 says 'असावहमिति ब्रूयात्, while गौतम VI. 9 is ऋत्विक्श्वशुरपितृव्यमातुलानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्थानमनभिवाद्याः ।

years. Gaut. (VI. 9) however says that in the case of these one need only rise from his seat to receive them ; but it is not necessary to salute them (abhivādana is not necessary). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 4 expressly says that in the case of officiating priests and others specified by Āp. and Gaut. and who are younger, rising from one's seat is tantamount to abhivādana. Manu II. 117 says that one must perform abhivādana to a person from whom one learns secular, Vedic or spiritual knowledge of any kind. There is some difference in the words used at the time of abhivādana. Usually the words are 'abhivādaye devadatta-śarmā-ham[816] bhoḥ' (vide Āp. I. 2. 5. 12, Gaut. VI. 5, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 27, Vas. XIII. 44, Manu II. 122 and 124). But this mode is appropriate only if the person addressed knows how to return the salutation. Manu II. 123 and 126 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 45 declare that in the case of those who do not know how to return a salutation (pratyabhivādana, and according to Manu in the case of women also) one should omit the word 'bhoḥ' and simply say 'abhivādaye aham' (omitting one's name). Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 20 similarly says that in saluting women, a kṣatriya or a vaiśya one should use a pronoun and omit one's name.[817]

The manner of abhivādana was as follows :[818] 'A brāhmaṇa shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ear, a kṣatriya holding it on a level with the chest, a vaiśya holding it on a level with the waist and a śūdra holding it low (up to his feet) and that the salutation shall be by joining one's hands' (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 16–17). The Madanapārijāta adds that abhivādana is with both hands when the person to be saluted is learned, but with one hand only if he is not learned (p. 27) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 36) quotes Viṣṇu and Atri to the

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816. That is one has to take one's name in abhivādana; but one does not take the name of the person who is saluted (Gautama VI. 12). The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 7 says that in उपसंग्रहण (and in अभिवादन also) the person saluting says अमुकगोत्रो देवदत्तशर्माहं भो अभिवादये; मेधा. on मनु II.122 says the words are अभिवादये देवदत्तनामाहं भोः; हरदत्त on गौ. VI. 5 states that अभिवादन should be 'अभिवादये हरदत्तशर्मा नामाहमस्मि भोः'; while कुल्लूक on मनु II. 124 says it should be अभिवादये शुभशर्माहमस्मि भोः (i. e. he omits the word नाम, which मनु II. 122 appears to require and which गौ. VI. 5 does not require)

817. सर्वनाम्ना स्त्रियो राजन्यवैश्यौ च । न नाम्ना । मातरमाचार्यदारं चैके । आप. ध सू. I. 4. 14. 20–22.

818. दक्षिणं बाहुं श्रोत्रसमं प्रसार्य ब्राह्मणोऽभिवादयीतोरःसमं राजन्यो मध्यसमं वैश्यो नीचैः शूद्रः । प्राञ्जलि । आप. ध. I. 2. 5. 16–17 ; vide सं. म. p. 454.

same effect. The stretching of the hands up to the ear &c. indicates how far the head is to be bent in each case.

There were also other rules about honouring one's elders in the presence of one's teacher or honouring the teacher's teacher or about one's behaviour when a gentleman comes to see one's ācārya and leaves him, which are here passed over for want of space. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 29–32, Manu II. 205.

A brāhmaṇa who does not know the form of returning a salutation must not be saluted by a learned man; he is like a śūdra (Manu II. 126). Similarly a brāhmaṇa was not to perform abhivādana to a kṣatriya or a vaiśya however learned the latter may be, but one should simply say 'svasti'; those who are of the same caste should do abhivādana.[819] The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 and Aparārka p. 1188 quote sūtras of Hārīta prescribing as prāyaścitta a fast of one, two or three days respectively for a brāhmaṇa saluting a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra and also for saluting when the persons saluted or the man saluting are in such a condition as to make them unfit for abhivādana. One should not salute with the shoes on or when one's head is wrapped up or one's hands are full (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 19); or if one carries a load of fuel-sticks or holds a pot of flowers or food in one's hands one shall not salute, nor shall one salute on occasions similar to the preceding (such as one being engaged in worship of manes, of fire or other gods or when one's teacher is so engaged), nor should one salute a teacher standing very close to him (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 31–32). When one is impure or the person he meets is impure (owing to āśauca or other causes) no salutation is to be made or returned (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 17). Gaut. IX. 45 says that one should not occupy a seat or perform abhivādana and namaskāra with shoes on. One need not salute a person who is not a guru or who stands in a lower or higher place than oneself (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 14). Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 23, Manu II. 135 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 17 say that a brāhmaṇa ten years old is like a father to a kṣatriya even 100 years old and so deserves salutation from the kṣatriya.

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819. नाभिवाद्यास्तु विप्रेण क्षत्रियाद्याः कथंचन। ज्ञानकर्मगुणोपेता यद्यप्येते बहुश्रुताः॥ ब्राह्मणः सर्ववर्णानां स्वस्ति कुर्यादिति श्रुतिः। सवर्णेस्तु सवर्णानां कार्यमेवाभिवादनम्॥ शातातप quoted by अपरार्क p. 52, vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 37 quoting भविष्यपुराण and यम for the meaning of स्वस्ति; समित्पुष्पकुशाज्याम्बुमृदन्नाक्षतपाणिकम्। जपं होमं च कुर्वाणं नाभिवादेत वै द्विजम्॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292; नोदकुम्भहस्तोभिवादयेत भैक्षं चरन् पुष्पाज्यादिहस्तो नाशुचिर्न जपन् देवपितृकार्यं कुर्वन् शयानः। शङ्ख quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 12) gives a special rule that a friendship kept for ten years as fellow citizens, a friendship contracted at school for five years, the fact of a śrotriya being three years older entitles the friend or śrotriya to a salutation. But Gaut. (VI. 14-17) and Manu II. 134 give somewhat different rules viz. contemporaries who are born in the same year are to be addressed with the word 'bhoḥ' or 'bhavat' and a fellow citizen who is ten years older than oneself and an artist who is five years older than oneself and a śrotriya studying the same Vedic school as oneself who is three years older are to be addressed similarly. Manu adds blood relations to the list when the difference in age is very small. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 7 gives a long list of persons whom one should never salute viz. an heretic, a person guilty of grave sins, an atheist, gamblers, thieves, ungrateful persons, drunkards. Vide also Manu IV. 30 and Yāj. I. 130 (as to showing no respect even by words to heretics &c).

In the case of certain persons one was to show honour only by rising from his seat and not by abhivādana. Gaut. (VI. 9) mentions some such persons who are already referred to in note 815. He adds that (VI. 10-11) even a śūdra of eighty years or more must be honoured by rising by one (even though the latter be of a higher varṇa) young enough to be his son (but there will be no abhivādana) and that an ārya (i. e. one belonging to the three higher castes) must be honoured by rising by a śūdra even if the latter be older (and so a vaiśya must honour a kṣatriya though the latter be younger). Haradatta explains that the word śūdra in Gaut. VI. 10 is only illustrative and that an old vaiśya must be honoured by a young kṣatriya or brāhmaṇa by simply rising from his seat and an old kṣatriya by a young brāhmaṇa in the same way. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 16-18) lays down that if a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda comes as a guest one may give him a seat, water and food but one should not rise to receive him, but should rise to receive him if he is entitled to abhivādana on account of age (as stated in Āp. I. 4. 14. 12, and Manu II. 134); similarly a brāhmaṇa need not rise to receive a kṣatriya or vaiśya (except on the same ground of age).

The rules about returning a salutation (about *pratyabhivāda*) are made somewhat intricate and obscure by the varying interpretations of commentators. Pratyabhivāda consists in pronouncing a benediction in the proper form given by a guru

or other person who has been saluted. Among the oldest[820] is the rule in Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 'when returning the salute of one belonging to the first three castes, the (last syllable of the) name (of the person whose salutation is to be returned) shall be lengthened to three moras'. Vasiṣṭha's rule (XIII. 46) is 'when the salute is returned, the last vowel (of the noun standing) in the vocative is protracted to the length of three moras and if it is a diphthong (i. e. e or o but not of the dual number) it becomes 'āy' or 'āv' e. g. 'bho becomes bhāv'. Manu II. 125 prescribes "a brāhmaṇa should be thus saluted in return, 'mayst thou be long-lived, O gentle one!' and the vowel 'a' or any other vowel at the end of the name (of the person addressed) should be made *pluta* (i.e. lengthened to three moras) and if the name ends in a consonant, the preceding vowel is made *pluta*."

That these rules are very ancient follows from Pāṇini's sūtra (VIII. 2. 83) 'when the salutation of a person who is not a śūdra is returned by the person saluted, the final vowel in the name (that occurs at the end of the sentence of pratyabhivāda) becomes '*pluta*.' The Mahābhāṣya comments on this and two vārtikas thereon say that this rule does not apply when it is a woman to whom the salutation is returned and it applies optionally when the person whose salutation is returned is a kṣatriya or vaiśya. All these rules are exemplified in the foot-note below.[821] Āp. Dh. S. agrees with this rule of the ancient grammarians. The verse of Manu (II. 125) also really means the same thing; but there the word '*akāra*' is only

820. प्रत्यभिवादनं चाभिवादितेन गुर्वादिना विहितशब्देनाशीर्वचनम्। सं. प्र. p. 453; प्लावनं च नाम्नोऽभिवादनप्रत्यभिवादने च पूर्वेषां वर्णानाम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 18; प्रत्यभिवादमामन्त्रिते स्वरेऽन्त्यः प्लवते संध्यक्षरमप्रगृह्यमायावभावं चापद्यते यथा भो भाविति। वसिष्ठ XIII. 46; आयुष्मान्भव सौम्येति वाच्यो विप्रोऽभिवादने। अकारश्चास्य नाम्नोऽन्ते वाच्यः पूर्वाक्षरः प्लुतः॥ मनु II. 125. Some MSS. read पूर्वाक्षरप्लुतः as one word.

821. प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे। पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83; if it is a ब्राह्मण who performs अभिवादन (as in अभिवादये देवदत्तोहं भोः) pratyabhivāda is आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्ता ३ (3 indicates that the vowel preceding it is pluta i. e. drawn out to the length of three moras). If the name ends in a consonant the प्रत्यभिवाद will be आयुष्मान्भव सोमशर्म3न्. If a woman salutes (as in अभिवादये गार्ग्यहं भोः) the return is आयुष्मती भव गार्गि (i. e. there is no प्लुत). If a kṣatriya इन्द्रवर्मन् salutes the return is either आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रवर्मा 3 न् or आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रवर्मन्. If a वैश्य इन्द्रपालित salutes, the प्रत्यभिवाद is आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रपालिता 3 or-धीन्द्रपालित. If it is a शूद्र तुषजक who salutes, the प्रत्यभिवाद is आयुष्मानेधि तुषजक (i. e. there is no pluta).

illustrative[822] and stands for all vowels. The ancient commentator Medhātithi interprets Manu so as to agree with Pāṇini and says 'in the realm of the use of words and their senses Pāṇini has higher authority than Manu, that the pratyabhivāda words containing the benediction about long life are not stereotyped, that when a kṣatriya returns the salutation of a kṣatriya or a vaiśya of a vaisya, the same rules hold good'. As a person of a higher varṇa was not to do abhivādana to one of lower varṇa (vide note 819 above) there would be no occasion for pratyabhivāda from the side of the latter. The verse of Manu is interpreted by Haradatta and a few others in a different manner. According to them the last vowel in the name of the person whose salutation is to be returned is pluta and then 'a' is added to it, and that if the vocative ends in e or o, it becomes āya or āva (with 'a' added).[823] This view is opposed to Pāṇini, the Mahābhāṣya, the Kāśikā, Āpastamba and several writers of digests. Aparārka and the Sm. C. condemn the interpretation put upon Manu's verse by commentators like Haradatta.[824]

What great importance was attached to the correct utterance of the return salutation can be seen from the fact that one of the miscellaneous reasons assigned for the necessity of grammatical studies in the Mahābhāṣya is that (as stated in a verse) a person who returns from a journey will perform salutation to ignorant persons (who do not know how to utter pratyabhivāda) as if to women with the words 'abhivādaye

822. अभिवादयिता एवं वाच्य आयुष्मान्भव सौम्येति । इतिशब्दः प्रकारे । आयुष्मानेधि दीर्घायुर्भूयाश्चिरं जीवेरयेवमादिशब्दपरिग्रहः शिष्टाचारप्रसिद्धो भवति । ...... शब्दार्थप्रयोगे च मन्वादिभ्योऽधिकतरः प्रामाण्ये भगवान्पाणिनिः । विप्रग्रहणमविवक्षितम् । क्षत्रियादीनामप्येष एव विधिः स्मृत्यन्तरसमाचारो ह्येवमेव स्थितो न चैषां विध्यन्तरमस्ति। मेधा० on मनु II. 125.

823. The प्रत्यभिवाद according to हरदत्त will be 'आयुष्मान् भव सौम्य देवदत्ता 3 अ'. If the name is चक्रपाणि or विष्णु it will be आयुष्मान् भव सौम्य चक्रपाणा 3 य or विष्णा 3 व. If the name ends in a consonant, the प्रत्यभिवाद will be like आयुष्मान्भव सौम्य अग्निची 3 त (the name is अग्निचित् and so चि is made प्लुत and अ is added to the consonant त्). Vide संस्कारम. pp. 451–454.

824. अतश्च पूर्वाक्षर इति विशेषणोपादानात् व्यञ्जनसहित एव स्वरः प्लावनीयः । न पुनरपूर्वोऽकारो नामान्ते विधीयत इति निश्चीयते । अपरार्क p. 53; स्मृतिच० I. p. 37 repeats the words न पुनर ...... धीयते. अपरार्क reads वसिष्ठ's सूत्र as 'आमन्त्रिते स्वरो ...... प्लुतमायाऽऽभावं च' and gives as examples (आयुष्मान्भव) यज्ञभूता3इ (यज्ञभूते is vocative) or चित्रगा3उ (चित्रगो is vocative).

ayamaham '[825] (*i. e.* grammar is to be learnt by men for fear that they may be treated as women when a person salutes them).

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 27) prescribes that the student shall behave towards his teacher's wife as towards the teacher himself, but he shall not clasp her feet or eat the residue of her food.[826] Gaut. (II. 31–32) also says the same thing and adds that the student shall not assist the wives of the teacher at their toilet or bath nor wash their feet nor shampoo them. Manu II. 211, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 37, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 6 have the same rule. But Gaut. II. 33 states an exception that on return from a journey the student shall clasp the feet of the wives of his teacher (also Manu II. 217 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 15). Manu (II. 210) gives special directions ' the wives of the teacher who belong to the same caste must be treated as respectfully as the teacher but in the case of those who belong to a different caste he need only rise from his seat and salute ' (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 5 also is similar), and ' a student who is full twenty years old shall not honour the young wife of a teacher by clasping her feet (Manu II. 212 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 13); but even a young student may prostrate himself on the ground for honouring the young wife of his teacher without clasping her feet (with the words ' abhivādaye amukaśarmā-ham bhoḥ ').

As regards women who are not wives of the teacher, the following rules deserve attention. The first rule is that married women, whatever their age may be, deserve honour (and so he must salute &c.) according to the ages of their husbands[827] (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 42). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 2 gives the same rule, but restricts it to wives of the same caste. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 6 prescribes that the same honour must be shown to the mother and father as to a teacher i. e. their feet must be clapsed on those occasions on which a teacher's feet are to be clasped and Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 9 extends the rule to elder sisters. Gaut. (VI. 7–8) states that the feet of the wives of (elder) brothers or of one's mother-in-law

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825. अविद्वांसः । अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः । कामं तेषु तु विप्रोष्य स्त्रीष्विवायमहं वदेत् ॥ महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 3. This passage is quoted by मेधा॰ on मनु II. 123.

826. अन्यत्रोपसंग्रहणादुच्छिष्टाशनाच्चाचार्यवदाचार्यदारे वृत्तिः । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 27.

827. पतिवयसः स्त्रियः । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 18 ; ये चैव पादग्राह्यास्तेषां भार्या गुराश्च । मातापितरौ च । वसिष्ठ 13. 42–43.

need not be clasped on any occasion; and the feet of a paternal uncle's wife or of elder sisters need not be clasped except when one returns from a journey. But Manu (II. 131–132) gives different rules. A maternal or poternal aunt, a maternal uncle's wife, a mother-in-law are equal to one's teacher's wife and must be honoured like her; one's elder brother's wife's feet must be clasped every day if she is of the same caste, but the feet of the wives of one's other paternal and maternal relatives need only be clasped on one's return from a journey. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 3 places a maternal or paternal aunt and the eldest sister on an equality with the teacher's wife. As already stated above in the case of all women the salutation is simply 'I salute' (abhivādaye aham)' without mentioning one's name. Devala says 'the mother, mother's mother, teacher's wife and the full brothers and sisters of one's parents, paternal grand-mother, mother-in-law, elder sister and the foster mother are women who are (to be honoured like) *gurus*'.[828]

Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 30, Vas. Dh. S. XIII. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 31, Manu II. 207 require that the student will behave towards the teacher's son as towards his teacher. That this rule is very ancient follows from a passage[829] in the Mahābhāṣya; where it is stated and a proviso is added that the student will not however clasp the son's feet nor eat the leavings of his food. Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 30 only mentions as prohibited the eating of the leavings of food, but Viṣṇu Dh. S. (28. 32–33) prohibits also the washing of the son's feet. Manu (II. 208) gives a restrictive rule that the son of the teacher deserves the same honour as a teacher, if he imparts instruction in place of the teacher (because the latter is otherwise engaged), whether the son be younger or of the same age as the student, but that the student in any case must not shampoo the limbs of the son nor assist him in his bath nor wash his feet nor eat the leavings of his food.

From Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 28 and I. 4. 13. 12[830] it appears that the system of pupil teachers (who were called 'samādiṣṭa')

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828. माता मातामही गुर्वी पितुर्मातुश्च सोदराः । श्वश्रूः पितामही ज्येष्ठा धात्री च गुरवः स्त्रियः ॥ देवल in सं प्र. p. 471; almost the same verse occurs in औशनस (Jiv. ed.) I. p. 503.

829. गुरुवदस्मिन्गुरुपुत्रे वर्तितव्यमन्यत्रोच्छिष्टभोजनात्पादोपसंग्रहणाच्चेति । यदि च गुरुपुत्रोऽपि गुरुर्भवति तदपि कर्तव्यं भवति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 135 (on पाणिनि I. 1. 56, वार्तिक 8)

830. तथा समादिष्टे अध्यापयति । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 28; समादिष्टमध्यापयन्तं यावदध्ययनमुपसंगृह्णीयात् । नित्यमर्हन्तमित्येके । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 12–13.

obtained in ancient times and Āp. prescribes that the student shall behave towards a pupil teacher who teaches him at the teacher's command as towards the teacher and shall honour him also by clasping his feet, as long as he is giving instruction.

Further rules are laid down about showing courtesy to a person who is not a relative or who is not a teacher &c. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 26–29 and Manu II. 127 lay down that one should, on meeting a brāhmaṇa, ask after his health with the word 'kuśala,' a kṣatriya about his health using the word 'anāmaya', a vaiśya by using the word kṣema (or anaṣṭa according to Āp.) and a śūdra by employing the word ārogya. Thus one who is older (according to the rule in Manu II. 134 cited above on p. 339) should be saluted, while one who is of the same age or younger should simply be asked 'kuśala' &c. Gaut. V. 37–38 gives similar directions.[831] Manu (II. 129) enjoins that one should address a woman who is the wife of another man and who is not a blood relation as 'lady' (bhavatī) or 'beloved sister' and (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 30) that one should not pass a learned brāhmaṇa without addressing him nor a woman whom he meets in a forest or other lonely place and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 7 says that in such circumstances he must address her (in order to assure her) as 'sister' (if she is of the same age as himself) or 'daughter' (if she is younger) and 'mother' (if she is older than himself).

It is stated in the Udvāhatattva[832] (p. 144) that the word 'śrī' is to be prefixed when referring by name to a deity or a teacher, to the place of one's teacher, to a holy place or to the presiding deity of a holy place, to one who has secured Yogic *siddhis* or to those who have secured by sacrifices the worlds of bliss; and Raghunandana adds that according to the usage of respectable people 'śrī' is prefixed to names of such persons while they are alive. The same work also tells us that women of the dvijātis were to have the honorific suffix 'devī' added to

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831. According to हरदत्त the questions would be in the case of members of the four varṇas respectively, अपि कुशलं भवतः, अप्यनामयं भवतः, अप्यनष्टपशुधनोसि, अप्यरोगो भवान्. 'कुशलानामयारोग्याणामनुप्रश्नः। अन्त्यं शूद्रस्य'। गा. V. 37–38; हरदत्त on these says 'अपि कुशलमायुष्मन्निति ब्राह्मणः प्रष्टव्यः, अप्यनामयं अत्रभवत इति क्षत्रियः, अप्यरोगो भवानिति वैश्यः, अप्यरोगोसीति शूद्रः'.

832. देवं गुरुं गुरुस्थानं क्षेत्रं क्षेत्राधिदेवताः। सिद्धं सिद्धाधिकारांश्च श्रीपूर्वं समुदीरयेत्॥ इति रापवभट्टधृतप्रयोगसारदर्शनेन स्वर्गकाम्यत्वाद्विना सिद्धोधिकारो येषां तानित्यनेन जीवतां श्रीशब्दादित्वं नाम्नि मृतानां तु न तथेति शिष्टाः। उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 144.

their names and of the śūdra caste the word 'dāsī'. This is still the practice particularly in Bengal and Northern India.

The works on Dharmaśāstra give very interesting rules about the grounds on which respect was to be shown to a person. Honour [833] consists in saluting a person, or rising to meet him or allowing him to walk in front of one or giving him a garland, sandal-wood paste on festive occasions and the like. Manu (II. 136) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (32. 16) say that wealth kindred, age, (performance of) religious rites and sacred knowledge confer title to respect, but each succeeding one out of these five is superior to each preceding one. Gaut. (VI. 18–20) is slightly different; he says 'wealth, relations, occupation, birth, learning and age must be honoured; each later named is more important than each preceding one; but Vedic learning is more important than all (the rest)'. Vas. Dh. S. 13. 56–57 also says that learning, wealth, age, relationship and religious actions are titles to respect, but each preceding one is more important than each succeeding one. Yāj. I. 116 puts the order as vidyā, karma, age, relationship and wealth (i. e. wealth is the least ground for giving honour). Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 35 says that if respect is not paid to *guru* (parents), ācārya, upādhyāya and ṛtvik (they are arranged in descending order) one incurs sin, but if honour is not shown on the ground of learning, wealth &c. there is no sin but one loses happiness and success. Manu II. 137 says that a śūdra who is beyond 90 years is still a child to a learned brāhmaṇa. In order to show that Vedic learning is superior to seniority of age Manu (II. 151–153) narrates the story of a young scion of the Aṅgiras gotra who taught his pitṛs and addressed them as 'little sons' and whose action was supported by the gods with the remark that a man destitute of knowledge was a child and he who taught him the Veda was his father. This story is referred to expressly by Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 47 and tacitly by Gaut. VI. 20. It is borrowed from the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa [834]

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833. पूजा वर्णज्यायसां कार्या । वृद्धतराणां च । आप. ध. I. 4. 13. 2–3; हरदत्त says 'अभ्युत्थानानुगमनादिका उत्सवादिषु च गन्धलेपादिका ।; वित्तबन्धुकर्मजातिविद्यावयांसि मान्यानि परबलीयांसि । श्रुतं तु सर्वेभ्यो गरीयः । तन्मूलत्वाद्धर्मस्य श्रुतेश्च । गौ. VI. 18-20.

834. शिशुर्वा आङ्गिरसो मन्त्रकृतां मन्त्रकृदासीत्स पितॄन् पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयत । तं पितरोऽब्रुवन्नधर्मं करोषि यो नः पितॄन्सतः पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयस इति सोऽब्रवीदहं वाव पितास्मि यो मन्त्रकृदस्मीति । ते देवेष्वपृच्छन्त ते देवा अब्रुवन्नेष वाव पिता यो मन्त्रकृदिति । तद्वै स उदजयदुज्जयति शैशवेन तुष्टुवानः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण 13. 3. 24. शिशु was the name of the sage.

(13. 3. 24). Manu II. 155 clinches the argument by saying 'the seniority of brāhmaṇas springs from (sacred) knowledge, of kṣatriyas from valour, of vaiśyas from (the possession) of corn and other wealth and only among śūdras is age a ground of seniority '.

Kauṭ. says that men deserve honour according to their learning, intelligence, valour, high birth and eminent deeds.[835]

One has to distinguish between abhivādana and namaskāra. In the former one not only bows but utters words like 'abhivādaye &c.', while in the latter one only bows and folds one's hands. The latter is done only to images of gods, brāhmaṇas, saṁnyāsins and the like. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 8 prescribes a fast for one day as a penance for not bowing to images of gods, saṁnyāsins &c. Viṣṇu[836] (quoted in the Sm. C.) says that one should not salute (abhivādana) a brāhmaṇa, but should only perform namaskāra in all public assemblies, in sacrifices or in palaces or royal courts. The posture of the hands in namaskāra is stated as follows : ' One should join the hands in the shape of a shegoat's ear in namaskāra to a learned man, one should fold the hands together in bowing to an ascetic, one should salute an ignorant man with one hand and should not perform abhivādana to one who is younger.[837]

One had to show respect by circumambulating[838] from left to right temples or images of gods, bulls, cowpens, cows, ghee, honey, sacred trees that had brick or stone platforms built round them (like aśvattha) and squares (where four roads meet), a teacher who is very learned, a learned and religious brāhmaṇa, clay from sacred places.

One was not to approach empty-handed one's parents, ācārya, sacred fires, houses and the king, if the latter has not heard of him before.[839]

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835. पूज्या विद्याबुद्धिपौरुषाभिजन-कर्मातिशयतश्च पुरुषाः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

836. विष्णुः । सभासु चैव सर्वासु यज्ञे राजगृहेषु च । नमस्कारं प्रकुर्वीत ब्राह्मणं नाभिवादयेत् । स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 38.

837. विद्याकरवाजपेयिधृतं वचनम् । अजाकर्णेन विद्वांसं यतिं संपुटपाणिना । मूर्खं चैवैकहस्तेन कनिष्ठं नाभिवादयेत् । सं. प्र. p. 468.

838. देवालयं चैत्यतरुं तथैव च चतुष्पथम् । विद्याधिकं गुरुं देवं बुधः कुर्यात्प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 41–42 ; शुचिं देशमनड्वाहं देवं गोष्ठं चतुष्पथम् । ब्राह्मणं धार्मिकं चैत्यं नित्यं कुर्यात्प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 193. 8 ; vide also 163. 37 for a similar verse and ब्रह्मपुराण 113. 40, वामनपुराण 14. 52, गौतम IX. 66, मनु IV. 39, या. I. 133.

839. मातरं पितरमाचार्यमग्नींश्च गृहाणि च रिक्तपाणिर्नोपगच्छेद्राजानं चेन्न श्रुतमिति । आप. ध. I. 2. 8. 23.

A matter closely connected with the showing of respect is that of the rules about the preference to be given on the road. This has already been dealt with in speaking of the privileges of brāhmaṇas above pp. 146–147.

One striking point about the imparting of knowledge (particularly Vedic) in the ancient educational system of India was the great prejudice against learning from books. The greatest importance was attached to handing down the Veda intact and various devices were discovered and employed for securing this end, such as the various modes of repeating the Veda only in padas, in the krama, jaṭā and other formations. Great care was taken to preserve the proper accentuation of the Vedic texts. There is a well known story how Tvaṣṭṛ repeating the words ' Indraśatrur-vardhasva '[840] in wrong accents caused the fire to be extinguished instead of inflaming it against Indra as he intended. This story is alluded to in the Pāṇinīyaśikṣā. The same work (in verse 32) condemns one who learns from a manuscript as among the worst of learners. The Veda was to be recited not only with proper modulation of the voice to convey the accents, but the accents were indicated also by the movements of the fingers (vide verses 43–45 of the Pāṇinīyaśikṣā). All these intricate matters could be learnt only by oral instruction.

Great controversies have raged round the question whether the art of writing was known in India in very ancient times, whether it was used for literary purposes in the times of Pāṇini and whether the Brāhmī alphabet was an indigenous product or whether it was imported into India from some foreign land. Max Muller in his ' History of ancient Sanskrit Literature ' started the astounding and absurd theory that writing for literary purposes was unknown to Pāṇini (p. 507). Later on that position

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840. मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥ verse 52 of the पाणिनीयशिक्षा; गीती शीघ्री शिरःकम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः । अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षडेते पाठकाधमाः । पाणिनीयशिक्षा verse 32. The legend is narrated in the तै. सं. II. 4. 12. 1 and the शतपथ I. 6. 3. 8. त्वष्टृ wanted to pronounce the word इन्द्रशत्रुः (meaning 'destroyer of Indra') as a Tatpuruṣa compound (in which the last syllable of the compound has the udātta accent), while he actually pronounced the word as a Bahuvrīhi (meaning ' whose killer would be Indra'), in which case the first word of the compound has the udātta accent (as in इन्द्रंशत्रुः). Vide पाणिनि VI. 1. 223 and VI. 2. 1.

was given up. Then Bühler wrote his famous work 'on the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet' mainly relying on the resemblances of a few letters of the Aśokan script with an ancient Semitic alphabet and came to the conclusion that the Brāhmī alphabet was derived from a Semitic script sometimes about 800 B. C. It never occurred to that learned scholar to advance and carefully examine the other possible hypotheses which any unbiassed and cautious scholar should have ordinarily advanced viz. that the Semitic script might have been derived from the Brāhmī alphabet and was later on developed or both might have been derived from some unknown ancient script. All these theories are now in the melting pot on account of the seals bearing writing in some undeciphered script found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, some of which are at least 5000 years old. So if the Brāhmī alphabet was at all borrowed, it is clear now that it was not necessary for Indians to travel so far as Westernmost Asia for that purpose.

Oral instruction was the cheapest and most accurate method of imparting learning. In ancient times writing materials were not easily available and written texts could not be handled easily and would have been extremely costly. Therefore the method of oral instruction was resorted to and having been hallowed by the lapse of thousands of years it has been persisted in to the present day. Even in the 20th century after writing has been known for not less than 3000 years according to scholars like Bühler there are hundreds of brāhmaṇas who learn not only the whole of the Ṛgveda (about 10580 verses) by heart, but also commit to memory the pada[841] text of the Ṛgveda, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka and the six Vedāṅgas (which include the 4000 aphorisms of Pāṇini and the extensive Nirukta of Yāska) without caring to understand a word of this enormous material.

Par. M. (I. 1. p. 154) quotes a verse of Nārada to the effect[842] 'what is learnt from reliance on books and is not learnt from

841. The *pada* text of the Ṛgveda is the work of Śākalya and the padapāṭha is supposed to be pauruṣeya (composed by a human author). The Nirukta (VI. 28) criticizes Śākalya's division of the *pada* text. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 242 says that *pada* and *krama* are of human authorship.

842. पुस्तकप्रत्ययाधीतं नाधीतं गुरुसंनिधौ । भ्राजते न सभामध्ये जारगर्भ इव स्त्रियाः ॥ नारद् in परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 154; स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 51 also quotes this verse.

a teacher does not shine in an assembly'. Vṛddha-Gautama[843] condemns to hell those who sell the Veda, who condemn the Veda and those who write it down. Aparārka (p. 1114 on Yāj. III. 267–268) quotes verses from the Caturviṁśatimata which prescribe various prāyaścittas for selling the Vedas, the aṅgas (of the Veda), the smṛtis, itihāsa and purāṇa, the secret pañcarātra (system), gāthās, nītiśāstras &c. The prejudice against using books for learning was carried so far that among the six obstacles in the path of the acquirer of knowledge, reliance on books is mentioned as one.[844] Aparārka (p. 390) quotes a long passage from the Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa about the rewards of gifts of books of the epics and purāṇas to a brāhmaṇa or to a maṭha for the use of the public. A grant of the Valabhi king Guhasena I dated 559 A. D. refers to a collection of books on the true dharma.[845] In the Kādambarī (para 88) the queen Vilāsavatī is described as surrounded by ascetic women who held books in their hands and read itihāsa.[846] Vide under dāna and maṭha-pratiṣṭhā.

The teacher was expected to make the student understand by explanations in Sanskrit or in the prākrits or even by employing the current languages of the various countries.[847]

The Duration of studenthood (brahmacarya):—It appears from certain passages of the Upaniṣads that the usual duration of brahmacarya was 12 years[848]. Śvetaketu Āruṇeya is said to have become a brahmacārī when he was twelve and to have mastered all the Vedas at the age of 24 (vide Chān. Up. VI, 1. 2

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843. वेदविक्रयिणश्चैव वेदानां चैव दूषकाः । वेदानां लेखिनश्चैव ते वै निरयगामिनः ॥ वृद्धगौतम p. 582; the same verse occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 23. 72 (वेदानां लेखकाश्चैव).

844. द्यूतं पुस्तकशुश्रूषा नाटकासक्तिरेव च । स्त्रियस्तन्द्री च निद्रा च विद्याविघ्नकराणि षट् । नारद quoted in the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 52.

845. I. A. vol. VII. p. 67.

846. 'इतिहासान्वाचयन्तीभिः पुस्तकानि दधतीभिः...जरत्प्रव्रजिताभिर्विनोद्यमान ...मातरं ननाम । कादम्बरी para 88.

847. संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाक्यैर्यः शिष्यमनुरूपतः । देशभाषाद्युपायैश्च बोधयेत्स गुरुः स्मृतः ॥ quoted from the विष्णुधर्म by वीरमित्रोदय (व्यवहार, ed. by Jivananda, p 72).

848. उपकोसलो ह वै कामलायनो सत्यकामे जाबाले ब्रह्मचर्यमुवास तस्य ह द्वादश वर्षाण्यग्नीन् परिचचार स ह स्मान्यानन्तेवासिनः समावर्तयंस्तं ह स्मैव न समावर्तयति । छा. उप. IV. 10. 1.

quoted in *f. n.* 634). Similarly Chān. IV. 10.1 appears to suggest that students left their teacher after twelve years of study. But a long period of brahmacarya was not unknown to the sages of the Upaniṣads. Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) declares that Indra remained as a student with Prajāpati for 101 years (three periods of 32 years plus five). The story of Bharadvāja narrated in the Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) states that Bharadvāja studied the Vedas three parts of his life (at least till 75 years). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa [849] (II. 5) states that the period of studenthood for learning all the Vedas is 48 years; that distributing that period in four portions among the vedas student-hood is for 12 years (for mastering one Veda), that period (12 years) is the shortest (for brahmacarya) and that one should learn of the Veda as much as one can before he is about to return from his teacher.

Some of the gṛhya and dharma sūtras contain these very words of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa e. g. Pār. gṛ. II. 5 says 'one should observe brahmacarya forty-eight years for the (four) Vedas, or twelve years for each Veda or until one has learnt one or more Veda'. The Baud. gṛ. (I. 2. 1–5) has a very suggestive passage "the ancient period of studenthood was forty-eight years for (the four Vedas) or 24 years, or 12 years for each Veda or at least one year for each kāṇḍa (section of the Vedic saṁhitās like the Tai. S.) or until the student learnt (one Veda), as life is fleeting and as there is a Vedic text 'one should consecrate (the three) sacred fires, while his hair is still dark". On Jaimini I. 3. 3 Śabara states the objection (among other similar matters) that the smṛtis speaking of brahmacarya for fortyeight years are opposed to the Vedic injunction that 'a man who has a son and whose hair is still dark should consecrate the (three śrauta) fires' (i. e. he must do so in middle life, not when his hair is turning grey). Śabara gives his opinion that such smṛtis being opposed to *śruti* are to

849. तस्मा एतत्प्रोवाचाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं वेदब्रह्मचर्यं तच्चतुर्धा वेदेषु व्युह्य द्वादशवर्षं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशवर्षाण्यवरार्ध्यमपि स्नायंश्चरेद्यथाशक्त्यवेवम् । गोपथब्रा. II. 5 quoted in *f. n.* 628 above; आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 16 has the सूत्र 'द्वादशावरार्ध्यम्'.

850. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं चरेद् द्वादश द्वादश वा प्रतिवेदं यावद्ग्रहणं वा। पारस्कर II. 5; अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पुराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यं संप्रविशन्त्या वेदाध्ययनाविस्येक आहुरा गोदानकर्मण इत्येके । भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 9; vide also हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 8. 14; गौतम II. 51–53; शाङ्खायनगृह्य II. 10; मानवगृह्य I. 2. 6, आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 12–15 अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि। पादूनम् । अर्धेन । त्रिभिर्वा ।.

be disregarded[851] and makes fun of them by saying that some persons desirous of concealing their lack of manhood observed brahmacarya for forty-eight years and the prescriptions in these smṛtis to that effect are due to this fact.[852] The very orthodox Kumārilabhaṭṭa could not tolerate this light-hearted statement of Śabara and rebukes the latter by saying that there is really no contradiction between the *śruti* text and the smṛti passage, since the smṛtis themselves prescribe other lesser and alternative periods, since it is possible to hold that smṛtis speak of brahmacarya for 48 years only with reference to him who wants to become a saṁnyāsin immediately after brahmacarya or who desires to become a perpetual student.[852a]

As the Vedic literature had grown to vast proportions and as it was thought necessary to preserve this ancient heritage, the ancient sages hit upon the plan of enlisting the whole population of the three varṇas in the task of preservation by making it as their duty to devote as much time as they could to the study and conservation of the Vedic literature. Therefore various alternatives were proposed viz. studying all the four Vedas for 48 years, three of them for 36 or if a man was very clever he may finish the study of three Vedas in 18 years or in 9 years or he should devote as much time as he would require for learning one Veda or more. Vide Manu III. 1–2 and Yāj. I. 36 and 52 for the various alternatives. Spending 12 years for Vedic

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851. As upanayana was usually performed in the 8th year from conception or birth, the period of studenthood (if it was to be 48 years) would not end till a man became 56. Only a householder could consecrate the śrauta fires. So if the man was to marry after fifty-six his hair would be turning grey and by following the smṛti rule he would run counter to the Vedic injunction. Thus smṛtis would be opposed to śruti and Jaimini's conclusion in I. 3. 3 is that when that is the case smṛti is to be disregarded.

852. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्। शबर on जै. I. 3. 3. p 169; अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छादयन्तश्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः। तत एषा स्मृतिरित्यवगम्यते। शबर on जै. I. 3. 4. p. 186.

852a. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं वेदब्रह्मचर्याचरणस्यापि स्मृतावेव पक्षान्तरविकल्पोपनिबन्धनादाश्रमान्तरविषयत्वसंभवाद्वा विरोधाभावः। तथाहि—वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् (मनु 3. 2)। सामर्थ्याश्रमयोग्यत्वमङ्गीकृत्यैतदुच्यते। ...तत्रैवं शक्यते वक्तुं येऽन्धपङ्ग्वादयो नराः। गृहस्थत्वं न शक्ष्यन्ति कर्तुं तेषामयं विधिः॥ नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्यं वा परिव्राजकतापि वा। तैरवश्यं ग्रहीतव्या तेनादावेतदुच्यते॥ ...यो वा कश्चिन्मेधावितया शीघ्रमेव वेदचतुष्टयमप्यधीत्य यथोपपत्तिकालं तदर्थज्ञानाभियोगमपरित्यजन् ग्रहणान्तं वेत्स्येतत्पक्षाश्रयेण गृहस्थो भवेत्तं प्रति द्वादशाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षपक्षावनेनैव स्मरणेन पूर्वपक्षीकृताविति नातीव श्रुतिविरुद्धत्वेनोदाहर्तव्यौ। तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 192–193,

study must have been found even in ancient times impossible for many among the brāhmaṇas and therefore the Bhāradvāja gṛhya (quoted above in note 850) allowed the alternative that one should study the Veda till the Godāna ceremony (which as we shall see later on) took place in the 16th year. Āśv. gṛ. sūtra I. 22. 3–4 also prescribes only two alternatives for brahmacarya viz. for 12 years or as long as one could learn the Veda (so Āśv. contemplated brahmacarya for less than 12 years). Haradatta remarks on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 16[853] that reading Āp. I. 1. 2. 12–16, I. 11. 3. 1 and Manu III. 1 together it follows that every one must observe brahmacarya for three years at least for each Veda and when it is said that one may observe brahmacarya till one learns the Veda, that means beyond three years for each Veda. This appears somewhat opposed to the words of Āśv. and Bhāradvāja.

Not only was the study of the Veda made an absolute duty for all persons belonging to the three higher varṇas, but the study of Veda was essential for the performance of the solemn Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini[854] lays down that it is only he who knows the Vedic portion necessary for a Vedic sacrifice, that is entitled to perform that sacrifice.

Subjects of Study:—The study of the Veda means the study of the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa portion of the particular śākhā or śākhās.[855] The Veda was deemed to be eternal and not composed by any human author (i. e. it is apauruṣeya). Jaimini in I. 1. 6–23 establishes that the relation of word and sense is eternal and that (in I. 1. 27–32) the Vedas are apauruṣeya. This is not the place to set out or examine the arguments. All dharmaśāstra writers proceed on this axiom of the eternity of the Veda. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 28–29) says that the Vedas are eternal and the whole universe (including the gods) emanates from the Veda

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853. विद्यया स्नातीत्येतस्मिन् पक्षे नातित्वरितेन स्नातव्यमित्येवमर्थमिदमारभ्यते । एतेन एकस्य वेदस्य त्रीणि वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यमवश्यं भावीत्यर्थात् सिद्धम् । ...... ग्रहणान्तिकमेव वा (मनु 3. 1) इति एकैकस्य त्रिभ्य ऊर्ध्वमनियमो न प्रागित्यर्थो द्रष्टव्यः । हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 16.

854. ज्ञाते च वाचनं न ह्यविद्वान् विहितोऽस्ति । जै. III. 8. 18 on which शबर says ' अनारभ्य कर्माणि वेदाध्ययनं श्रूयते तस्मात् स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्य इति । ...... कियता पुनर्विदितेन विद्वानधिक्रियते । यावता विदितेन शक्तो भवति यथोक्तं क्रतुमभिनिर्वर्तयितुं तावद्यो वेद स तेन क्रतुनाधिक्रियते । '.

855. Vide आप. श्रौ. सू. 24. 1. 31 and बो. गृ. सू. II. 6. 3 ' मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम् ' ; शबर on जै. II. 1, 33 ' मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः '.

and reliance is placed on certain Upaniṣad passages and on Manu I. 21, Śānti-parva 233. 24 and other smṛtis. The Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 11 says that the Vedas are the breath of the great Being (i. e. the Supreme Spirit, God); in Bṛ. Up. I. 2. 5 the Creator (Prajāpati) is said to have evolved all this viz. Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, yajñas and so forth. The Śvetāśvatara Up. VI. 18 says that the Supreme Being evolved Brahmā and imparted the Vedas to him.[856] The Śāntiparva[857] says that speech in the form of Veda is without beginning and without end, from which all activities and creation proceed, and that the Vedas become latent at the periodical dissolution of the world and become manifest to the great sages again when the world is recreated. But the eternity of the Veda and apauruṣeyatva of the Veda were interpreted in various ways e. g. the Mahābhāṣya says that, though the purport of the Veda is eternal, yet the arrangement of words is non-eternal and therefore there are various śākhās (branches or recensions) of the Veda, named Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka &c.[858]

From very ancient times the literature to be studied appears to have been vast. Vide Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) where the Vedas have been declared to be endless. In the Ṛgveda itself (X. 71. 11) reference is made to the verses learnt by the four principal priests (hotā, adhvaryu, udgātā and brahmā), it is also said that persons who studied together showed great disparity in their mental advancement (Ṛg. X. 71. 7) and that co-students feel elation when their friend wins in a debate in an assembly. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 7. 4-8, S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 97-98) enumerates under 'svādhyāya' ṛks, yajus formulae, sāmans, Atharvāṅgirasaḥ (Atharvaveda), itihāsa-purāṇa, gāthās in praise of heroes (called Nārāśaṁsīs)'. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa II. 10 also says 'in this way all these Vedas were created together with kalpa, rahasya (secret doctrines),

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856. यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मै । तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धिप्रकाशं मुमुक्षुर्वै शरणमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ श्वेताश्व. उप. VI. 18 quoted by शंकराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 30.

857. अनादिनिधना नित्या वागुत्सृष्टा स्वयंभुवा । आदौ वेदमयी दिव्या यतः सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 233. 24; युगान्तेन्तर्हितान् वेदान्सेतिहासान् महर्षयः । लेभिरे तपसा पूर्वमनुज्ञाताः स्वयंभुवा ॥ शान्तिपर्व 210. 19. Both these verses are quoted by शंकराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 28 and 29 respectively.

858. ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते नित्यानि छन्दांसीति । यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यो या त्वसौ वर्णानुपूर्वी साऽनित्या । तद्भेदाच्चैतद्भवति काठकं कालापकं मौदकं पैप्पलादकमिति । महाभाष्य on पाणिनि IV. 3. 101, vol. II. p. 315.

Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, itihāsa, anvākhyāna, purāṇa, anuśāsanas, vākovākya &c'. In the Upaniṣads frequent mention is made of the literature studied by persons before they became seekers for the knowledge of *brahma*. For example, in Chān. Up. VII. 1. 2 Nārada tells Sanatkumāra that he had studied the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa as the fifth Veda, the Veda of Vedas (grammar), pitrya (treatise on śrāddhas), rāśi (arithmetic), daiva (portents), nidhi (finding out hidden treasures), vākovākya (dialogue or dialectic), ekāyana (politics), devavidyā (Nirukta), brahmavidyā (metres and phonetics), bhūtavidyā (exorcising ghosts), kṣatravidyā (dhanurveda), nakṣatravidyā (astronomy), sarpavidyā (snake charms), devajanavidyā (arts like dancing, singing, preparing unguents &c.). The same list is repeated in Chān. Up. VII. 1. 4 and VII. 7. 1. In the Bṛ. Up.[859] II. 4. 10 and IV. 5. 11 there is a similar smaller list. In the Muṇḍaka Up. I. 1. 5 it is said that the ācārya Aṅgiras told Śaunaka who was a great householder that the four Vedas and the six aṅgas (mentioned in note 775 above) are inferior knowledge and that the highest knowledge is that by which the Imperishable One is apprehended. Gaut. XI. 19 exhorts the king to rely upon the Veda, dharmaśāstras, the aṅgas, Upavedas and Purāṇa for regulating the conduct of his subjects. Āp. Dh. S. (quoted above in note 775), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 34–38, Vas. III. 19 and 23, VI. 3–4 mention the aṅgas of Veda. Pāṇini shows acquaintance not only with the Veda and Brāhmaṇas but he knew ancient Kalpasūtras, Bhikṣusūtras and Naṭasūtras, secular works on various subjects (IV. 3. 87–88, 105, 110, 111, 116). Patañjali[860] (2nd century B. C.) mentions how vast the field of Sanskrit literature had become. Yāj. I. 44–45 calls upon the student to study every day according to his ability also Vākovākya, Purāṇa, Nārāśaṁsī,[861] gāthās, itihāsa, vidyās if he desired to

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859. एवं वा अरेऽस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानान्यस्यैवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि। बृह. उ. II. 4. 10. This is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र I. 1. 3 (शास्त्रयोनित्वात्). Śaṁkara explains these in such a way as to show that they are parts of मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण. बृह. उप. IV. 1. 2 also contains a similar enumeration of literary works.

860. चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्या बहुधा विभिन्ना एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः...... थर्वणो वेदो वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 9. सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः means 'Sāmaveda that is sung in a thousand (numerous) ways and modifications'.

861. Mit. on Yāj. I. 45 takes गाथिकाः as distinct from नाराशंसीः 'नाराशंसीश्च रुद्रदैवत्यान्मन्त्रान् गाथा यज्ञगाथेन्द्रगाथाद्याः'.

please the gods and manes. Fourteen vidyās are generally enumerated as in Yāj. I. 3 (= Matsya 53. 5–6), Vāyupurāṇa vol. I. 61. 78, Vṛddha-Gautama (p. 632) and other works, viz. four vedas, 6 aṅgas, purāṇas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṁsā and dharmaśāstra. Some added four more to these, viz. the Upavedas of Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra (which were affiliated respectively to the four Vedas) and thus the *vidyās* are also spoken of as 18.[862] Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa (V. 21) expressly says that Varatantu taught his pupil 14 vidyās. In E.I. vol. VIII, p. 287 (in an inscription of 199 Guptasaṁvat i. e. 517–18 A. D.) it is said about Suśarman, an ancestor of Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha, that 'he knew the highest truth because of his proficiency in the 14 vidyā-sthānas'. Kumārila[863] in his Tantravārtika (p. 201) says that vidyā-sthānas that are looked upon as authoritative in knowing dharma are 14 or 18. The Vārāhagṛhya (6) refers to different preparations for different people, viz. a yājñika had to study mantra and Brāhmaṇa, kalpa (vedic ritual) and mīmāṁsā and one could study at his option grammar, the smṛtis and vaktra (?) and the śrotriya only committed to memory the Veda ; the first two were called snātakas. Numerous grants and inscriptions testify to the provision made by kings and well-to-do donors for all branches of study. In E. C. vol. III. T N. 27 there is a grant made by the minister Perumal under the Hoysala king Vīranarasiṁhadeva in 1290 A. D. which provided that each teacher of the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas was to receive a salary of six gadyāṇakas of gold a year and the teacher who taught the boys to read Nāgara, Kannaḍa, Tiguḷa (Tamil) and Ārya (Marathi) was to receive the same salary. The Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. (1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākara's system of Mīmāṁsā at Lakkiguṇḍi (E. I. vol. 15 p. 348). Vide E. I. vol. I. p. 338 (for endowment for teaching an astronomical work of Bhāskara).

Even in early times a very extensive literature on Dharma-śāstra had come into existence. The literature of the epics, of kāvyas, drama, fables and romances, astrology, medicine and several branches of speculation had grown to an

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862. वायुपुराण vol. I. 61. 79, गरुडपुराण 223. 21, विष्णुपुराण (quoted by अपरार्क p. 6) name the 18 विद्याs.

863. परिमितान्येव हि चतुर्दशाष्टादश वा विद्यास्थानानि धर्मप्रमाणत्वेन शिष्टैः परिगृहीतानि वेदोपवेदाङ्गाष्टादशधर्मसंहितापुराणशास्त्रशिक्षादण्डनीतिसंज्ञकानि । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 201 on जै. I. 3. 6 ; vide also p. 195.

enormous extent. On account of this vast literature many portions of which appealed more to the emotions and intellect than the Vedas could, the study of the Veda receded in the background and the study of subsidiary works became more popular. Therefore the smṛtis again and again raise their voice and try to impress it upon all that the first duty of a *dvijāti* is to study the Veda. The Maitrī Up. VII. 10, though comparatively a late work, inveighs against brāhmaṇas studying non-vedic texts.[864] Manu (II. 168) says that the *dvija* who, without studying the Veda, bestows labour upon another lore, is quickly reduced to the status of a śūdra in this very life together with his descendants. Kullūka on this verse cites the aphorism of Śaṅkha-Likhita [865] 'one should not, without studying the Veda first, study another lore, except the Vedāṅgas and smṛtis'. Vas. Dh.S. III. 2 expressly quotes the verse of Manu II. 168 as Mānava śloka. The Tai. Up. I. 9 speaks of svādhyāya (study of the Veda) and pravacana (teaching it or daily repeating it) as *tapas* and joins these two with ṛta, satya, tapas,[866] dama, śama, fires, agnihotra and progeny in order to emphasize that these two are the most important and it also exhorts the student on the eve of his return home not to neglect his study of the Veda.

The study of the Veda did not merely consist in learning the mantras by heart. Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 30 quotes a Brāhmaṇa text to the effect that he who teaches a mantra or officiates at a sacrifice with mantras of which he does not know the seer, the deity or the Brāhmaṇa (i. e. *viniyoga*, employment or use) falls on a stump or in a pit.[867] The Mit. on Yāj. III. 300 quotes a verse of Vyāsa to the same effect. Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory (i. e. not only was there to be pāṭha) but one had also to understand

864. यद्वेदेष्वभिहितं तत्सत्यं यद्वेदेषूक्तं तद्विद्वांस उपजीवन्ति। तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो नावैदिकमधीयीतायमर्थः स्यादिति। मैत्री उप. VII. 10.

865. अत एव शङ्खलिखितौ न वेदमनधीत्यान्यां विद्यामधीयीतान्यत्र वेदाङ्गस्मृतिभ्यः। quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु II. 168; योऽन्यत्र कुरुते यत्नमनधीत्य श्रुतिं द्विजः। स वै मूढो न संभाष्यो वेदबाह्यो द्विजातिभिः॥ औशनस (Jiv. ed. part 1 p. 517).

866. ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च।...... स्वाध्यायप्रवचने एवेति नाको मौद्गल्यः। तद्धि तपः। तै. उप. I. 9.

867. श्रुतिरपि ऋषिज्ञानपूर्वकमेव मन्त्रेणानुष्ठानं दर्शयति। यो ह वा अविदितार्षेयच्छन्दोदैवतब्राह्मणेन मन्त्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्थाणुं वर्च्छति गर्तं वा प्रतिपद्यते इत्युपक्रम्य 'तस्मादेतानि मन्त्रे मन्त्रे विद्यात्' इति। शंकर on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 30.

the meaning. The Nirukta (I. 18) quotes two verses[868] which condemn in very strong language one who only commits to memory the Veda and does not know the meaning 'that man, who having studied the Veda, does not know its meaning, is indeed a tree, a stump, a mere carrier of a load; he alone who knows the meaning secures all happiness; his sins being shaken off by knowledge, he reaches heaven'. Dakṣa[869] II. 34 says that the study of Veda involves five things viz. first committing to memory the Veda, then reflection over its meaning, keeping it fresh by repeating it again and again, japa (inaudibly muttering by way of prayer) and imparting it to pupils. Manu XII. 103 says 'those who have committed to memory the Veda are superior to those who are ignorant of it, those who retain their Veda (i. e. who do not allow it to be forgotten) are superior to those who only studied it (and then forgot it), those who know its meaning are superior to those who simply retain it in memory, those who perform what the meaning of the Veda dictates are superior to those who know its meaning'. Śabara[870] says that the real purpose of the study of the Veda is the knowledge about religious actions that it conveys and that from the mere memorizing of the Veda, no rewards are promised by those who know the lore of the sacrifices. Viśvarūpa[871] on Yāj. I. 51 says that he alone is really vedapāraga who has made the Veda his own as to the spirit (the meaning). Aparārka (p. 74) quotes a long passage from Vyāsa condemning the mere memorizing of the Veda.[872] Vide also Medhātithi on Manu III. 19.

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868. स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योर्थम्। यो अर्थज्ञ इत् सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा॥ यद्गृहीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते। अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित्॥ निरुक्त I. 18.

869. वेदस्वीकरणं पूर्वं विचारोऽभ्यसनं जपः। तद्दानं चैव शिष्येभ्यो वेदाभ्यासो हि पञ्चधा॥ दक्ष II. 34 quoted by the मिता° on या III. 310 and अपरार्क p. 126.

870 दृष्टो हि तस्यार्थः कर्मावबोधनम्। न च तस्याध्ययनमात्रात्तत्रभवन्तो याज्ञिकाः फलं समामनन्ति। शबर p. 6. This passage is quoted by मेधा° on मनु III. 1.

871. वेदस्य पारनयनमर्थतो ग्रन्थतश्च स्वीकरणं न ग्रन्थत एव। तथा च वक्तारो भवन्ति वेदाध्याय्ययं न वेदपारग इति। विश्वरूप on या. I. 51.

872. Two or three verses may be quoted: न वेदपाठमात्रेण संतोषं कारयेद् द्विजः। पाठमात्रावसानो हि पङ्के गौरिव सीदति॥ ...योधीत्य विधिवद्वेदं वेदार्थं न विचारयेत्। स सान्वयः शूद्रसमः पात्रतां न प्रपद्यते॥ पाठमात्राद्विंतान्नित्यं द्विजातींश्चार्थवर्जितान्। पशूनिव च तान्प्राज्ञो वाङ्मात्रेणापि नार्चयेत्। अपरार्क pp. 74–75 quoting व्यास; printed कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 86–87) has the पाद 'यो...चारयेत्'. औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 517) has the first two verses quoted here.

In spite of these excellent precepts it appears that from very ancient times the Veda was only committed to memory and most men learned in the Veda never cared to know its meaning. The Mahābhārata[873] speaks disparagingly of the śrotriya as having an intellect dulled by the constant repetition of the anuvākas of the Veda. Further there was always an undercurrent of the belief that the mere memorizing of the Vedic texts conferred great sanctity on the memorizer and removed all sins. As time went on these ideas became supreme and the neglect of the meaning of the Veda has gone so far that among many modern orthodox brāhmaṇas there is a belief that the meaning of the Veda cannot be known and it is futile to try to find its meaning. The Tai. Br. says that a man's sins are destroyed by the Veda and by svādhyāya. In Vas. Dh. S. 27. 1, Manu XI. 245, Yāj. III. 310 and in numerous other places it is said that sins do not affect a man who studies the Veda and that the study of Veda destroys sin. Vas. Dh. S. 28. 10-15 speaks of about 35 groups of Vedic hymns (like the Aghamarṣaṇa, Ṛg. X. 190) by silently muttering which a man is purified of his sins; but Vas. Dh. S. 27. 4 is careful to add that Veda study only removes such sins as are committed through ignorance or carelessness.[874] Similar provision for removal of sins by the muttering of the Vedic mantras is made in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56. 1-27, Yāj. III. 307-309, Manu XI. 248-260 &c.

Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory, but when learnt it was not allowed to slip from one's mind. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 makes '*brahmojjha*' (i. e. abandoning what is learnt) a grave sin along with drinking wine and others. Similarly Manu XI. 56 and Yāj. III. 228 also treat it as equal to drinking wine or the murder of a brāhmaṇa.

Similarly Manu IV. 163 forbids nāstikya[875] (holding that there is no soul or no Hereafter) and the reviling of the Veda and in

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873. श्रोत्रियस्येव ते राजन्मन्दकस्याविपश्चितः। अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्धर्ममेवैकमीक्षते। उद्योगपर्व 132. 6 and शान्तिपर्व 10. 1.

874. न वेदबलमाश्रित्य पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत्। अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दह्यते कर्म नेतरत्॥ वासिष्ठ 27. 4; this verse is also अङ्गिरस् (Anan. ed.) v. 102.

875. Even in the Ṛgveda reference is made to people who did not look upon Indra as a god 'नेन्द्रं देवममंसत' ऋ. X. 86. 1. We saw above (p. 26) that the dasyus are often spoken of as 'avrata, ayajña and aśraddha' (vide Ṛg. I. 51. 8, I. 75. 3, VII. 6. 3). In the Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 20 Naciketas says that people existed who thought that there was no

(*Continued on next page*)

XI. 56 regards the latter as a grave sin equal to drinking wine, while Yāj. III. 288 treats it as grave as brahmahatyā. Gaut. 21. 1 mentions the nāstika among *patitas* along with brāhmaṇa murderer and drinker of wine. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 4 includes the reviling of Veda among upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu II. 11 says that he who disrespects veda and smṛti by relying on syllogistic reasoning is a reviler of Veda and a nāstika (atheist) and should be excluded from social intercourse by good men. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 41 says 'to hold the vedas as unauthoritative, to carp at the words of the sages, and to be wavering on all points lead to one's destruction'. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 83 and Anuśāsanaparva 37. 11 for the same (in the latter the 2nd pāda is śāstrāṇām cābhilaṅghanam).

Another striking feature of the ancient educational system was the total absence of any prior agreement about fees for teaching students. So early as Bṛ. Up. IV. 1. 2 we find Yājñavalkya

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(*Continued from last page*)

survival of the soul after death and Yama declares that he who does not believe in the world hereafter again and again comes within his grasp (2.6). The word नास्तिक is derived by पाणिनि in 'अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः' IV.4. 60 (the meaning being नास्ति परलोक इति मतिर्यस्य). The बृहती (of प्रभाकर) on the पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र p. 284 (Madras ed.) regards बृहस्पति as the founder of materialism and the com. ऋजुविमला on the same quotes a verse (p. 285) 'अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदास्त्रिदण्डं भस्मगुण्ठनम् । बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविकेति बृहस्पतिः॥.' This verse is quoted in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह (चार्वाकदर्शन) also. मेधा० on मनु IV. 163 says 'वेदप्रमाणकानामर्थानां मिथ्यात्वाध्यवसायो नास्तिक्यम् । शब्देन प्रतिपादनं निन्दा पुनरुक्तो वेदोऽन्योन्यव्याहतो नात्र सत्यमस्तीति', while स्मृतिच० (II. p. 395) explaining Manu III. 150 says 'नास्ति कालान्तरे फलदं कर्म नास्ति देवतेत्यादिमन्तो नास्तिकाः'. Manu IX. 225 prescribes banishment from the capital for heretics (pāṣaṇḍastha). विष्णुपुराण III. 18. 27–28 speaks of the teaching of मायामोह as यज्ञैरनेकैर्देवत्वमवाप्येन्द्रेण भुज्यते । शम्यादि यदि चेत्काष्ठं तद्वरं पत्रभुक्पशुः ॥ निहतस्य पशोर्यज्ञे स्वर्गप्राप्तिर्यदीष्यते । स्वपिता यजमानेन किं नु तस्मान्न हन्यते'. नारद (ऋणादान verse 180) regards a नास्तिक as an unfit witness in general. The Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha gives a synopsis of the views of Cārvāka and the षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय of हरिभद्र composed about 528 (A. D.) also summarises the views of लोकायत (ed. in B. I. series by L. Suali). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. III. pp. 325–326) refers to Lokāyata. The well-known verse 'यावज्जीवं सुखं जीवेदृणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् । भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥' occurs in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह in its summary at the end of the section on चार्वाकदर्शन. The षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय verse 80 succintly expresses the लोकायत view 'लोकायता वदन्त्येवं नास्ति जीवो न निर्वृतिः । धर्माधर्मौ न विद्येते न फलं पुण्यपापयोः ॥'. निर्वृतिः means मोक्ष. A comprehensive history of Indian Materialism would be a very interesting work but it has yet to be written.

saying to king Janaka who offered to give him a thousand cows, an elephant and a bull (or as Śaṁkara explains an elephant-like bull), 'my father was of opinion that without fully teaching a pupil one should not receive any reward from him'.[876] Gaut.[877] (II. 54-55) says that at the end of his studies the student should request the teacher to accept the wealth that he could offer or ask the teacher what should be given and after paying or doing what the teacher wants or if the teacher allowed him to go without demanding anything, the student should take the ceremonial bath (i. e. return home). The Āśv. gṛ. (III. 9. 4) has almost the same words. The Āp. Dh. S.[878] (I. 2. 7. 19-23) requires the student to offer at the end of his studies, whatever their extent may be, a dakṣiṇā obtained from proper sources to his teacher according to his abilities and that if the teacher is in straightened circumstances, to offer him a fee even by begging from a person who is of the *ugra* caste or from a śūdra and that after offering a fee or doing even a very strikingly good turn to his teacher he should not boast of it to others nor should he ever dwell in his mind over it. The ideal was that the dakṣiṇā (fee) offered to the teacher at the end of study was simply for pleasing or propitiating the teacher and was not a complete equivalent of or compensation for the knowledge imparted. Manu (II. 245-246) says that the student need not give anything to the teacher till his snāna; when he is about to return home, he may offer to his guru some wealth; that the gift of a field, gold, a cow, or a horse, of even shoes or an umbrella, of a seat, corn, vegetables and clothes (either singly or together) may engender pleasure in the teacher. The Chān. Up.[879] III. 11. 6 eulogises brahmavidyā by declaring it to be more valuable than the gift of the whole earth together with all its wealth. The smṛtis[880] declare that even if the guru teaches a single

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876. सहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः पिता मेऽमन्यत नाननुशिष्य हरेतेति । बृह. उप. IV.1.2.

877. विद्यान्ते गुरुरर्थेन निमन्त्र्यः । कृत्वानुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । गौ. II.54-55; विद्यान्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमन्त्र्य कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 4.

878. कृत्वा विद्यां यावतीं वेददक्षिणामाहरेद्धर्मतो यथाशक्ति । विषमगते त्वाचार्य उग्रतः शूद्रतो वा हरेत् । सर्वदा शूद्रत उग्रतो वाचार्यार्थस्याहरणं धर्म्यमित्येके । दत्त्वा च नानुकथयेत् । कृत्वा च नानुस्मरेत् । आप. ध. I. 2. 7. 19-23.

879. यद्यप्यस्मा इमामद्भिः परिगृहीतां धनस्य पूर्णां दद्यादेतदेव ततो भूयः । छान्दोग्य III. 11. 6.

880. एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु गुरुः शिष्ये निवेदयेत् । पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद्द्रव्यं यद्दत्त्वा त्वनृणी भवेत् ॥ लघुहारीत according to स्मृतिच० I. p. 66 and हारीत according to परा. मा. I. 2. p. 53.

letter to the pupil, there is nothing in this world by giving which the pupil can get rid of the debt he owes. The Mahābhārata says (Āśvamedhika 56. 21) that the teacher's satisfaction with the student's work and conduct is indeed the proper dakṣiṇā.[881] Yāj. I. 51 says that one should give to his teacher what he chooses to ask as dakṣiṇā and Kātyāyana[882] quoted by Aparārka (p. 76) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa pupil may give a cow, a princely one a village, a vaiśya a horse (if able to do so). It has been shown above (p. 355) how kings and others made gifts of lands or provided for salaries to teachers. One of the earliest record about university scholarships is contained in the Bahur (near Pondichery) plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman in which we find a grant to a Vidyāsthāna (a seat of learning) for promotion of learning (E. I. vol. 18 p. 5). In E. I. vol. 15 p. 83 there is provision of 30 *mattars* of land for professors lecturing to ascetics and of eight *mattars* to teachers giving lessons to the youths in a monastery (in the times of Cālukya Someśvara I at Sūdi in Dharwar District in *śake* 981). The Peshwa distributed to learned brāhmaṇas every year dakṣiṇā which rose to 4 lakhs of rupees a short time before 1818 A. D. It may be stated that even in the 20th century there are numerous brāhmaṇa teachers of the veda and the śāstras who teach pupils for years without stipulating for any fee or even receiving anything from them.

According to Manu II. 141, Śaṅkhasmṛti III. 2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 2 a teacher who teaches the Veda or the Vedāṅgas for money or for his livelihood is called an Upādhyāya. Yāj. III. 235 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 20 and others include teaching for money (and also learning from a paid teacher) among upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu III. 156, Anuśāsana 23. 17 and Yāj. I. 223 say that he who is a hired teacher (bhṛtakādhyāpaka) and he who learns from such a teacher are not fit to be invited at a śrāddha. But Medhātithi (on Manu II. 112 and III. 146), the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 235), the Sm. C. and others say that a person does not become a hired teacher by accepting something from a pupil, but that what is condemned is making a *stipulation* beforehand that one would teach only if a certain sum or if so much

881. दक्षिणा परितोषो वै गुरूणां सद्भिरुच्यते। आश्वमेधिकपर्व 56. 21.

882. गौर्ब्राह्मणस्य वरो ग्रामो राजन्यस्याश्वो वैश्यस्य। कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 76. The same is quoted as पारस्कर's by विश्वरूप on या. I. 51.

were paid or delivered.[883] In distress, Manu X. 116 and Yāj. III. 42 allow even such stipulations for the purpose of securing one's livelihood.

The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 133. 2–3) shows that when Bhīṣma appointed Droṇa as the teacher of the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava princes he bestowed on him wealth and a well-furnished house full of corn ; but there was no stipulation.

It has been shown above (p. 113) that it was the king's duty to support learned men and students and to see that no brāhmaṇa died of hunger in his kingdom (vide Gaut. X. 9–12, Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 79–80, Manu VII. 82–85, Yāj. I. 315, 333). So a student, when the teacher demanded a heavy fee at the end of studies, could theoretically at least approach a king for the fee. Kālidāsa draws in Raghuvaṁsa V a graphic picture how Varatantu demanded a dakṣiṇā of 14 crores from his pupil Kautsa who approached Raghu for the same and would not take more than his requirements. Sometimes the teacher or his wife, according to legends, demanded fanciful dakṣiṇās. For example, Uttaṅka was asked by his teacher's wife, when he urged her to take something, to bring the ear-rings of the queen of the reigning king (vide Ādiparva chap. 3 and Āśvamedhika-parve 56).

It would be interesting to see how far corporal punishment of pupils was allowed in ancient India. Gaut.[884] (II. 48–50) lays down that pupils are to be regulated (ordinarily) without beating ; but if it is not possible to control the pupil (by words &c.) then he may be struck with a slender rope or with a split bamboo ; that if the teacher struck (the pupil) in any other way (e. g. with the hand &c.) the teacher should be punished by the king. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 29–30 calls upon the teacher to censure (by words) a pupil when he commits a fault and to employ according to the gravity of the offence any one or more of the following punishments till the pupil desists, viz. threatening (the pupil), refusing to give him food, drenching him in cold water and not allowing him to come in his presence.[885] The

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883. न चैतन्मन्तव्यम् । अर्थमादाय यदध्यापनं सा भृतिः । न हि पणपरिमाणसंभावणपूर्विका तत्र प्रवृत्तिर्यद्देयद्ददासि तदैतदध्यापयामीति। एतद् भृते रूपं न पुनरर्थोपकारगन्धमात्रेण। मेधा० मनु II. 112.

884. शिष्यशिष्टिरवधेन। अशक्तौ रज्जुवेणुविदलाभ्यां तनुभ्याम्। अन्येन घ्नन् राज्ञा शास्यः। गौतम II. 48–50.

885. अपराधेषु चैनं सततमुपालभेत। अभित्रास उपवास उदकोपस्पर्शनमदर्शनमिति दण्डा यथामात्रमा निवृत्तेः। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 8. 29–30.

Mahābhāṣya[886] (vol. I. p. 41) refers to the fact that when a pupil pronounced a wrong accent (e. g. anudātta in place of udātta) the upādhyāya slapped him (on the back probably). Manu VIII. 299–300, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81–82, Nārada (abhyupetyā-śuśrūṣā, verses 13–14) follow Gautama as to corporal punishment, but add that beating should be on the back only and never on the head nor on the chest, while Nārada further rules that the beating should not be excessive. Manu (VIII. 300) says that the punishment in case of violation of these rules by the teacher is that for a thief and (VIII. 299) extends the same rules to the son and the wife. Manu II. 159 recommends that in imparting instruction about the right path of conduct, one should use sweet persuasive (not high-toned) words.

A few words must now be said about the education of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras. According to Gaut. XI. 3 a king should be well-grounded in the three Vedas and in Ānvīkṣikī (i. e. metaphysics) and in XI. 19 Gaut. says that the king has to rely for carrying out his duties on the veda, the dharmaśāstras, the subsidiary lores of the veda, the upavedas and purāṇas. Manu VII. 43 and Yāj. I. 311 say that a king should be proficient in the three Vedas, in metaphysics, in daṇḍanīti (the art of government and statecraft) and in *vārtā* (economic life and production of wealth). These directions were probably meant to be an ideal and very few kings ever went through all this. If any conclusions are to be drawn from the stories in the Mahābhārata, we may say that princes at least hardly ever went to a guru's home, but teachers were engaged to teach them (as Droṇa was engaged by Bhīṣma) and they became proficient in military skill. Alberuni (tr. by Sachau 1888, vol. I p. 125) says that brāhmaṇas taught the veda to kṣatriyas, but he is probably drawing only on the rules given in the smṛtis. Kings left ecclesiastical matters to their *purohita* and were always to rely on him for advice. Gaut.[887] XI. 12–13 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 16 require that the purohita was to be a learned man of good birth, endowed with polished speech, a fine form, middle age and high character and that he was to be well-versed in dharma and artha. Āśv. gṛ. III. 12 describes how the purohita is to prepare the king for battle. Kauṭ. in his Arthaśāstra after

886. य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटां ददात्यन्यत्त्वं करोषीति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 41.

887. ब्राह्मणं च पुरो दधीत विद्याभिजनवाग्रूपवयःशीलसंपन्नं न्यायवृत्तं तपस्विनम्। तत्प्रसूतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत । गौ. XI. 12–13.

stating several views gives his own opinion that the vidyās for a prince are four (the same as those of Manu and Yāj. above), that after the *caula* is performed the prince should learn the alphabet and arithmetic and when upanayana is performed he should learn the four vidyās till he is 16 years old and may then marry (I. 5), that in the first part of the day he should have instruction in elephant riding and horse riding, riding in chariots and in arms and the latter part of the day he should devote to hearing purāṇas, stories, dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra (politics). In the Hathigumpha Inscription (2nd century B. C.) there is a reference to *rūpa* (currency), *gaṇanā* (finance and treasury accounts), *lekha* (official correspondence) and *vyavahāra* (law and judicial administration) as the subjects which Khāravela mastered as heir-apparent from his 15th year to his 24th (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 71 at p. 81, J. R. A. S. 1918 p. 545, I. H. Q. vol. 14 for 1938 p. 459 ff.). In the Kādambarī also Bāṇa shows that prince Candrāpīḍa did not go to a teacher's house but that a school was built for him outside the capital where he learnt from his 7th to the 16th year.

As to the education of kṣatriyas in general we have hardly any directions in the dharmaśāstra works. But that there were several learned kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who sometimes became teachers cannot be denied. Kumārilabhaṭṭa says (on Jaimini I. 2. 2) that adhyāpana[888] is not a special characteristic for recognising that a man is a brāhmaṇa, since certain kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who have given up the observation of the caste rules also do so.

About the education of vaiśyas there is still less material. Manu X. 1 lays down generally that the three varṇas (including vaiśyas) are to learn the Veda, (X. 79) that trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture are the means of the vaiśya's livelihood and that (IX. 328–332) the vaiśya should never think of giving up cattle rearing, that he should know the prices of jewels, coral and pearls, of metals and clothes, of perfumes and salt, the sowing of seed, the qualities and defects of soils, measures and weights, the different grades of qualities of goods, the profit and loss in trade, the rates of pay for servants, various alphabets and the places where saleable articles are produced or manufactured.

888. अध्यापनाद्यपि भिन्नाचारक्षत्रियवैश्यप्रतियोगित्वादसंदिग्धम् । सर्वं च दुष्टशूद्रेषु संभाव्यमानत्वादनिश्चितम् । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 108.

Yāj. II. 184, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā 16–20) indicate that boys were apprenticed with master artisans to learn several *śilpas* (crafts) like preparing ornaments[889] of gold or for learning dancing, singing &c. An apprentice was to stipulate how long he would stay with the master craftsman, that even if he learnt the craft earlier than the stipulated time he was still to stay with the teacher and work for him till the period was over, that the teacher was to give food and lodging to the apprentice and to appropriate the proceeds from his work, that if the apprentice left the teacher before the time fixed even though the teacher was ready to teach him, he was to be compelled to stay with the teacher and to be imprisoned or sentenced to whipping by the king if he would not stay.

As for the education of the śūdra, there are hardly any rules in the dharmaśāstras. He gradually, as stated above (at pp. 120–121), rose in status and was allowed to engage in crafts and agriculture and so the same rules might have been applied to him as to vaiśya apprentices. The śūdra could listen to the recitation of the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas as shown above (at pp. 155–156).

It appears that in very ancient times the status of Indian women as to education was much higher than in medieval and modern times in India. Several women are stated to have been the composers of Vedic hymns; e. g. Ṛg. V. 28 is ascribed to Viśvavārā of the Atri family; Ṛg. VIII. 91 to Apālā of the same family and Ṛg. X. 39 to Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī. The Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 1. shows that Maitreyī, one of the two wives of Yājñavalkya, the great philosopher of ancient India, was herself a very earnest seeker after true knowledge and she prayed to Yājñavalkya that he should impart to her such knowledge as would make her immortal.[890] In the same Upaniṣad (III. 6 and 8) we find that among the several interlocutors in the court of Janaka, king of Videha, who propounded several questions for solution before Yājñavalkya, Gārgī Vācaknavī occupies a very prominent position. She pursued Yājñavalkya with subtle and searching questions till ultimately he was forced to warn her

889. विज्ञानमुच्यते शिल्पं हेमकुप्यादिसंस्कृतिः । वृत्तादिकं च यत्प्राप्तं कर्म कुर्याद्गुरोर्गृहे ॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० II. p. 195. It is interesting that the मिता० on या. II.184 regards आयुर्वेद as a शिल्प to be learnt under the apprentice system.

890. सा होवाच मैत्रेयी येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यां यदेव भगवान्वेद तदेव मे ब्रूहीति । बृह. उप. II. 4. 3 and IV. 5. 4.

not to probe too much into the nature of the First Principle which was beyond mere human reason and logical questioning or otherwise she might die by the fall of her head. Then she desisted, but her unquenchable thirst for philosophical knowledge again swelled up and she put two questions to Yājñavalkya hoping to confound him. In the same Up. (Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 17) there is a rite prescribed[891] for one who desires to have a learned daughter. As in the very preceding sentence a prescription is given for one desirous of having a son who would master the three Vedas, it naturally follows that the learning of the daughter must refer to the same topic. But Śaṁkara, in whose day women were debarred from learning the Vedas, could not but explain the word 'paṇḍitā' as referring to proficiency in domestic work. It has been shown above (p. 294) that upanayana and veda study were allowed to women by Hārīta. In the daily ṛṣitarpaṇa (Āśv. gṛ. III. 4) among a host of sages water is offered to three women as teachers viz. Gārgī Vācaknavī, Vaḍavā Prātitheyī and Sulabhā Maitreyī. The very fact that the Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV. 1. 59 and III. 3. 21 teaches the formation of ācāryā and upādhyāyā as meaning a woman who is herself a teacher (and not merely the wife of a teacher) establishes that the ancient grammarians were familiar with women teachers. Patañjali teaches[892] how and why a brāhmaṇa woman is called Āpiśalā (one who studies the grammar of Āpiśali) and Kāśakṛtsnā (one who studies the mīmāṁsā work of Kāśakṛtsna). He also states the formation of the appellation 'Audameghāḥ' (meaning the pupils of a woman teacher called Audameghyā). Gobhila[893] gṛ. II. 1. 19–20 prescribes that when the bride pushes forward with her foot a mat the bridegroom should make her repeat the mantra 'may the way which my husband goes by be also assigned to me' and that if she does not repeat this mantra (through bashfulness &c.) he

891. अथ य इच्छेद्दुहिता मे पण्डिता जायेत &c.। बृह. उ. VI. 4. 17; दुहितुः पाण्डित्यं गृहतन्त्रविषयमेव वेदेऽनधिकारात्। शांकरभाष्य.

892. आपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी आपिशला ब्राह्मणी। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 205 (on वार्तिक 3 on पाणिनि IV. 1. 14); काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी। अत्र प्राप्नोति। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 206 on वार्तिक 5 on पा. IV. 1. 14; vide also महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 249; औदमेघ्यायाश्छात्रा औदमेघाः। vol. II. p. 229 (on पा. IV. I.78).

893. पश्चादग्नेः संवेष्टितं कटमेवंजातीयं वान्यत्पदा प्रवर्तयन्तीं वाचयेत् प्र मे पतियानः पन्थाः कल्पतामिति। स्वयं जपेदजपन्त्यां प्रास्या इति। गोभिलगृह्य II. 1. 19–20. The मन्त्र (मन्त्रब्राह्मण I. 1. 8) is 'प्र मे पतियानः पन्थाः कल्पताम्। शिवा अरिष्टा पतिलोकं गमेयम्।'.

should repeat it substituting the words 'to her' for 'to me'. In the Kāṭhaka[894] gṛ. 25. 23 it is said that the Anuvāka beginning with 'sarasvati predam-ava' (of 21 verses) was to be recited both by the bride and the bridegroom according to some teachers. All this shows that women could recite Vedic mantras in the sūtra period. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana,[895] a remarkable though in some places a filthy work, prescribes that women should study the Kāmasūtra and its subsidiary aṅgas (viz. the 64 kalās such as singing, dancing, painting &c.) before they attain youth (i. e. in their father's house) and after marriage with the husband's consent. In the 64 kalās enumerated in that work (I. 3. 16) are included prahelikās (riddles of words), pustakavācana (chanting from books), kāvyasamasyā-pūraṇa (composing a suitable portion of a verse to fit in with a portion given), knowledge of lexicons and metres &c. We read in the epics and the dramas like the Śākuntala of women writing messages to their lovers. In the Mālatīmādhava Bhavabhūti tells his readers that the fathers of the hero and the heroine studied in their youth together with Kāmandakī at the feet of the same master. From anthologies like Rājaśekhara's Sūktimuktāvali we learn that there were poetesses like Vijjā, Sītā &c. All these facts tend to indicate that literary attainments among women were not totally unheard of in ancient India.

But gradually the position of women became worse and worse. In the Dharmasūtras and Manu woman is assigned a position of dependence and even women of higher classes came to be looked upon as equal to śūdras so far as Vedic study and several other matters were concerned. Gaut. 18. 1, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 1, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 45 and Manu IX. 3 say that women have no independence and in all stages depend upon men. We have seen (at p. 265) also that all the saṁskāras (except marriage) were performed in the case of girls without Vedic mantras. Though according to the Pūrvamīmāṁsā the husband and wife were to perform Vedic sacrifices together (Jaimini VI. 1. 17–21) still women[896] were only associated with their husbands and all the

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894. 'ततो गाथा वाचयति सरस्वति प्रेदमवेत्यनुवाकम्'। उभावित्येके। काठकगृह्य 25.23.

895. धर्मार्थाङ्गविद्याकालाननुपरोधयन् कामसूत्रं तदङ्गविद्याश्च पुरुषोऽधीयीत। प्राग्यौवनात्स्त्री। प्रत्ता च पत्युरभिप्रायात्। कामसूत्र I. 2. 1–3.

896. तस्या यावदुक्तमाशीर्ब्रह्मचर्यमतुल्यत्वात्। जै. VI. 1. 24; अतुल्या हि स्त्री पुंसा। यजमानः पुमान् विद्वांश्च पत्नी स्त्री चाविद्या च। ...यास्त्वाशिषो यच्च ब्रह्मचर्यं तत्पुरुषं प्रति गुणभूतम्...अत आशीर्ब्रह्मचर्यं चोभयोरपि स्यात्। यच्चाहत्योच्यते यथा पत्न्याज्यमवेक्षते इति। शबर.

actions to be done by the sacrificer (yajamāna) were to be done only by the husband except where the texts expressly requested the wife to do certain things such as examining the ājya or repeating certain mantras (VI. 1. 24). Jaimini says that the husband and wife were not equal and Śabara explains that the yajamāna is a male and is learned, while the patnī is a woman and has no vidyā. Medhātithi[897] on Manu II. 49 raises the interesting question why brahmacārins when begging for alms used a Sanskrit formula (bhavati bhikṣām dehi) which language ladies do not know. He replies that women can understand that vernacular words which they use being similar to Sanskrit words must be derived from them and that these few well-known Sanskrit words they can easily grasp. Besides even in Vedic times there was a tendency as in many other countries to make sarcastic references to women. The Ṛgveda[898] VIII. 33. 17 says " Even Indra said ' the mind of woman cannot be controlled; and also her intellect (or power) is slight ' "; in Ṛg. X. 95. 15 [899] 'there is no truth in the friendship of women ; they have the hearts of hyaenas'. The Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 1. 3 exhorts a person studying the Madhu-vidyā not to look at ' woman, śūdra, the dog and the black bird that are all untruth'. In Manu II. 213–214, Anuśāsanaparva chap. 19. 91–94, chap. 38 and 39 there is severe condemnation of woman. Such ideas, and ideas about pollution and the early marriage of girls are probably responsible for the great lack of literacy among women in medieval and modern times.

As literary education among women was in a languishing state or almost nil, the question of co-education hardly arises. There are no doubt faint indications that when women could at all devote themselves to learning, they must have been taught with male pupils. Poets like Bhavabhūti (in the Mālatīmādhava) envisage a state of society in which a woman (like Kāmandakī) learnt at the feet of the same master along with male students (like Bhūrivasu and Devarāta, who later on became ministers of states).

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897. कुतः पुनः संस्कृतशब्दार्थलाभो यावता स्त्रियः संबोध्यन्ते ताश्च संस्कृतं नावबुध्यन्ते । ...एवं स्त्रियः साधुशब्दास्साधुभ्योऽसाधूनुत्पन्नसंबन्धान् स्मृत्वा तेभ्योऽर्थं प्रत्येष्यन्ति स्वल्पाक्षरं चैतत्पदत्रयं सर्वप्रसिद्धं स्त्रीभिरपि सुज्ञानम् । मेधा० on मनु. II. 49.

898. इन्द्रश्चिद्घा तदब्रवीत् स्त्रिया अशास्यं मनः । उतो अह क्रतुं रघुम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33. 17.

899. न वै स्त्रैणानि सख्यानि सन्ति सालावृकाणां हृदयान्येता । ऋ. X. 95. 15.

The house of the ācārya where the student learnt was called ācāryakula (vide Chān. Up. II. 23. 2, IV. 5. 1., IV. 9. 1, VIII. 15. 1). The teacher who presided over a large establishment of pupils was called kulapati (e. g. Kaṇva is so referred to in the Śākuntala, vide note 134 above).

It is outside the scope of this work to show from the numerous inscriptions and copper-plate grants that have been published so far, how ancient kings and rich private persons made substantial grants to famous schools, colleges and universities. There were famous universities at Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila), Valabhi, Benares, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā &c. For an account of the university of Nālandā in the 7th century reference may be made to the accounts given by the two Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang (vide Watters vol. II. pp. 109, 246) and Itsing ('Records of the Buddhist Religion' by Dr. Takakusu pp. 154, 177 &c.). Most of those seats of learning were endowed. One of the earliest of such grants is that of the Pallava Nṛpatuṅga-varman (Bahur Plates, E. I. 18 p. 5) whereby three villages were bestowed as a source of revenue (vidyābhoga) for the promotion of learning to the residents of a seat of learning (vidyāsthāna, a college) at Vāgūr. The Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara (in chap. 10) calls upon the king to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to arrange for their examination and to distribute rewards to them in the manner of such ancient kings as Vāsudeva, Sātavāhana, Śūdraka, Sāhasāṅka. It also says that in Ujjayinī such poets as Kālidāsa, Meṇṭha, Bhāravi, Haricandra were examined and in Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) such famous śāstrakāras as Pāṇini, Vyāḍi, Vararuci, Patañjali, Varṣa, Upavarṣa, and Piṅgala were examined.

The salient features of the educational system outlined in the Dharmaśāstra works are the high and honourable position assigned to the teacher, the close personal contact of the pupil with the teacher and individual attention, the pupil's stay with the teacher as a member of his family, oral instruction and the absence of books, stern discipline and control of emotions and the will, cheapness (as no fees were stipulated for). The Indian system compares most favourably with any system of education of the West, whether in Greece or Rome or any other country. It gave to the students a more or less literary education, particularly of the Vedic literature and of philosophy, grammar and other subjects ancillary thereto. The principal

effort was directed towards the conservation of the ancient literature rather than to the creation of fresh literature. In these respects it was similar to the Grammar Schools of England and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as they were till about the middle of the 19th century. The defects of the Indian system were that it was too literary, there was too much memorizing, boys under it had hardly any instruction in useful manual arts and crafts, the studies were not brought in contact with practical life. The discipline was rigorous and joyless. Many of these defects were due to the exigencies of the caste system which assigned particular avocations to particular castes. We cannot and should not compare the system with the systems of education prevalent in the 20th century, when several subjects such as literature, music and the fine arts, handicrafts, mathematics, science, history and geography are taught in the schools to all boys and when it has been recognised that education is a prime concern of the State.

The four Veda-vratas :—Among the saṁskāras enumerated by Gautama there are four Veda-vratas (Gaut. VIII. 15). These four are also included in the 16 saṁskāras by several smṛtis. Their names and procedure differ considerably in the several gṛhyasūtras. Some gṛhyasūtras like Pār. do not describe them. A brief reference will be made to them here. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 20 [900] says in general words that in the vratas all the ceremonies beginning from shaving the head up to paridāna (i. e. Āśv. gṛ. I. 19. 8 to I. 20. 7) that are performed at the upanayana are repeated each time with each vrata. And the four vratas according to the Āśvalāyana smṛti (in verse) were Mahānāmnī vrata, Mahāvrata (Ait. Ār. I. and V), Upaniṣad vrata and Godāna. Each vrata is to be performed for a year. Vide Laghu Āśvalāyana 11th section (Ānan. Ed). The Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 11–12) describes, after the student is instructed in the sacred Gāyatrī, four vratas (observances) called Śukriya (which precedes the study of the main part of the Ṛgveda), the Śākvara, Vrātika and Aupaniṣada vratas (which three precede the study of the different sections of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka). The observance of the first of these (viz. Śukriya) lasted for three days or twelve days or one year or as long as the teacher liked and the observances of the other three were to be kept for one year each (Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 11. 10–12, S. B. E. vol. 29

900. एतेन वापनादि परिदानान्तं व्रतादेशनं व्याख्यातम् । आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 20.

p. 77). At the beginning of each of these three vratas there is a separate upanayana, followed by a ceremony called Uddīkṣaṇikā (giving up the preparatory observances) and then the vrata is to be performed for one year. The Āraṇyaka is to be studied in the forest out of the village. Manu II. 174 prescribes that at the time of the beginning of each of these vratas the student had to put on a new deer skin, a new yajñopavīta and a new girdle. The Gobhila gṛhya III. 1. 26-31 (which is connected with the Sāmaveda) mentions the vratas as Godānika, Vrātika, Āditya, Aupaniṣada, Jyeṣṭha-sāmika, each lasting for one year. It adds that some do not observe the Āditya-vrata. The godāna vrata is connected by the Gobhilīya with the saṁskāra of godāna (to be described below) and it prescribes certain observances for it such as removing all hair on the head, chin and lips; avoiding false-hood, anger, sexual intercourse, perfumes, dancing and singing, collyrium, honey and meat; not wearing shoes in the village. It also prescribes that wearing the girdle, begging for food, carrying a staff, daily bath, offering a fuel-stick, and clasping the teacher's feet in the morning are common to all vratas. The Godānika enabled the student to study the Pūrvārcika of the Sāmaveda (i. e. the collection of verses sacred to Agni, Indra and Soma Pavamāna). The Vrātika was introductory to the study of the Āraṇyaka (excluding Śukriya sections); the Āditya vrata to the study of the Śukriya sections; the Aupaniṣada-vrata to the study of the Upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa; the Jyeṣṭha-sāmika to the study of the Ājya-dohas. The Kh. gṛ. II. 5. 17 ff. speaks of the same vratas as Gobhila. Those who observe the Ādityavrata wore one garment, did not allow anything to come between them and the sun (except trees and the roofs of houses) and did not descend into water more than knee-deep. The Śākvara vrata was kept for one year, or for three or six or nine. Those who observe this vrata study the Śakvarī or Mahānāmnī verses. Vārtika[901] on Pāṇini V. 1. 94. (tadasya brahmacaryam) mentions the Mahānāmnīs and teaches the derivation of Mahānāmnikam (as the period of brahmacarya devoted to the vrata of the Mahānāmnīs). There were certain peculiar observances for

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901. The वार्तिकs 1 and 2 on पा. V. 1. 94 are तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यमिति महानाम्न्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम्। तच्चरतीति च।; पतञ्जलि explains महानाम्नीनां ब्रह्मचर्यं महानाम्निकम्। आदित्यव्रतिकम्।...... महानाम्नीश्चरति माहानाम्निकः। आदित्यव्रतिकः। ...... महानाम्न्यो नामर्चो न च ताश्चर्यन्ते व्रतं तासां चर्यते तत्साहचर्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं भविष्यति। महानाम्नीसहचरितं व्रतं महानाम्न्यो व्रतमिति। महाभाष्य II. p. 360.

this such as bathing thrice a day (Gobhila III. 2. 7–46, Kh. gr. II. 5. 23 ff.), wearing dark clothes, partaking of dark food, standing by day, sitting by night, not seeking shelter when it is raining, not crossing a river without bathing in it (the virtue of the Mahānāmnīs is centred in water). After the student has kept his vow for one-third of the time prescribed, the teacher is to sing to the student the first *stotriya* of the Mahānāmnīs [902] (viz. the three mantras, vidā maghavan, ābhiṣṭvam, evāhi śakro) and in the same way the two other stotriyas (each consisting of three mantras). They are to be sung to the student who has fasted, has closed his eyes, has dipped his hand in a brass vessel full of water in which all sorts of herbs are thrown and whose eyes are veiled with a new piece of cloth, the student is to keep silent and abstain from food for one day and night (or three), to stand in the forest till sunset (and return to the village in the night), should sacrifice with *mahāvyāhṛtis*; look at fire, clarified butter, the sun, a brāhmaṇa, a bull, food, water and curds; then salute the teacher, break his silence and give a fee to the teacher and offer a mess of cooked food to Indra and give a dinner to the teacher and all co-students. The same rules apply to the Jyeṣṭhasāmika vrata (introductory to the study of the three Ājyadohas [903] viz. 'mūrdhānam divaḥ, tvām viśve, nābhim yajñānām). The student who undergoes this has to observe certain rules throughout his life viz. he cannot marry or have sexual intercourse with a śūdra woman, cannot eat bird's flesh, he should not restrict himself to one kind of corn or one country and should always wear two garments, should bathe in water drawn with a vessel and should not eat in an earthen pot or drink water from it.

The Baud. gr. III. 2. 4 ff says that there are vratas of one year each which precede the study of certain brāhmaṇa texts (of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda); they are hotāraḥ [904], śukriyas, upaniṣadaḥ,

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902. महानाम्नीs are verses beginning with विदा मघवन् विदा which occur in ऐतरेय आरण्यक IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद at II. 7 (ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira) and also in several other संहिताs.

903. The mantra मूर्धानं दिवः is at सामवेद I. 67 (and Ṛg. VI. 7. 1), त्वां विश्वे is at सामवेद II. 491 (and Ṛg. VI. 7. 4), नाभिं यज्ञानाम् is सामवेद 2. 492 (Ṛg. VI. 7. 2).

904. The होतारः or चतुर्होतारः are the mantras in Tai. Ār. III. 1–5 beginning with चित्तिः स्रुक् चित्तमाज्यम्.

godānam and sammitam and it describes them in detail. For want of space all these are passed over. The Saṁskāra-kaustubha (pp. 571–580) gives in some detail the procedure of the Mahānāmnī vrata, Mahāvrata, Upaniṣadvrata and Godānavrata. It states that the Mahānāmnīvrata is performed in the 13th year from birth and Godānavrata in the 16th. It appears, however, that these vratas gradually fell into desuetude and medieval writers often pass them over altogether or barely mention them and emphasize only the general observances of brahmacārins viz. celibacy, begging for food, avoiding honey, wine and singing &c. For example, the Smṛtyarthasāra[905] (p. 6) refers to Sāvitrīvrata, then the vrata for Vedic study and then the Āraṇyaka vratas. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 52 (vedaṁ vratāni vā pāraṁ nītvā) explains 'vratam' as simply the duties of the student already enumerated by Yāj. (among which the specific vratas of Mahānāmnī &c. do not figure).

If the student failed in observing the specific vratas, he had to perform prāyaścitta by undergoing the prājāpatya penance thrice or six times or twelve times. If the brahmacārī is guilty of failing in his daily duties of observing śauca and ācamana, of the performance of saṁdhyā prayer, of using darbha, of begging for food, of offering fuel stick to fire, of avoiding the touch of śūdras and the like, of wearing the cloth (for covering his private parts), the loin thread, the yajñopavīta, the girdle and the staff and deerskin, of not sleeping by day, of not holding an umbrella over his head or of not wearing shoes, or not putting on garlands, of avoiding luxurious bath, sandal paste, collyrium, of not sporting in water, of avoiding gambling, and addiction to dancing, singing and music, of not engaging in conversation with heretics, he had to undergo the penance of three kṛcchras (according to Baudhāyana) and to perform a *homa* with the vyāhṛtis separately and together (i. e. four oblations of clarified butter were to be offered).[906] If he was guilty of other more serious lapses he

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905. उपनयनादुपाकर्मान्तं सावित्रीव्रतं तत्संपूर्त्यर्थं विप्रसंबन्धिबान्धवभोजनं शक्त्या कार्यम् । ततो वेदाख्यव्रतं ततश्चारण्यकव्रतानि प्रतिव्रतं वपनं च । व्रतान्ते भोजने भैक्ष्यमाहार्यम् । एतेषु व्रतेषु लोपे तारतम्येन त्रीन् षड् वा द्वादश वा प्राजापत्यांश्चरित्वा पुनश्च व्रतं प्रारभेत । ततोनन्तरं वोदगयने वा शुक्लपक्षे शुभेऽहनि स्वाध्यायं प्रारभेत । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 6.

906. बौधायनः । अत्र शौचाचमन-संध्यावन्दन-दर्भभिक्षाग्निकार्यराहित्य-शूद्रादिस्पर्शनकौपीनकटिसूत्र-यज्ञोपवीतमेखलादण्डाजिनादित्याग-दिवास्वापच्छत्रधारण-पादुकाध्यारोहणवनमालाधारणोद्वर्तनानुलेपनाञ्जन-जलक्रीडाद्यूतनृत्त-गीतवाद्याद्यभिरतिपाषण्डादिसंभाषणब्रह्मचारिव्रतलोपादिसकलदोषपरिहारार्थं ब्रह्मचारी कृच्छ्रत्रयं चरेत् । महाव्याहृतिहोमं च कुर्यात् । सं. प्र. p. 563.

had to undergo heavier penance. The most reprehensible act in a brahmacārin was to have sexual intercourse with a woman. The Tai. Ār. II. 18 speaks of the prāyaścitta for such a brahmacārin who is called *avakīrṇin.* Gaut. 25. 1–2 quotes the Tai. Ār. " they (the sages)[907] say ' in how many (deities) the avakīrṇin enters ; (the answer is) he enters the Maruts with his breath, Indra with his strength, Bṛhaspati with his spiritual eminence and fire with the rest (of his senses) ' " and Gautama further provides that he should kindle fire at midnight on a new moon day and then offer two ājya oblations by way of penance with the two mantras ' kāmāva– ' and ' Kāmāvadrugdhosmi ' &c., place a fuel stick on fire, sprinkle water round the fire, offer the yajñavāstu oblation (for which see Gobhila gṛ. I. 8. 26–29) and standing near the fire should worship fire thrice with the verse ' sam mā siñcantu '. Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 2. 10–13) contains the same rules. Jaimini[908] (VI. 8. 22) prescribes that ordinary (laukika) fire is to be used for the *paśu* to be sacrificed (viz. ass to Nirṛti, which is symbolic of the stupid lapse the student is guilty of) and Śabara quotes a Vedic passage that ' a brahmacārin who has become *avakīrṇin* should sacrifice an ass to Nirṛti '. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 8, Vas. 23. 1–3, Manu XI. 118–121, Yāj. III. 280 contain similar provisions (Vasiṣṭha allowing in the absence of an ass oblations of boiled rice with the mantras mentioned by Gautama). Manu XI. 122–123 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 49–50 prescribe that the brahmacārī so guilty should for one year wear the skin of the ass, should beg for food at seven houses announcing to them his lapse, should take food only once, should bathe thrice and then only he becomes pure. Manu II. 187 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribes similar penance for a brahmacārī who without being ill gives up begging for food and offering fuel to fire continuously for seven days. Prāyaścitta is prescribed for loss of yajñopavīta or its being torn, or its being polluted by impure things

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907. तै. आ. II. 18 is 'कतिधावकीर्णी प्रविशति चतुर्धेत्याहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनो मरुतः प्राणैरिन्द्रं बलेन बृहस्पतिं ब्रह्मवर्चसेनाग्निमेवेतरेण सर्वेण ...... यो ब्रह्मचार्यवाकिरेदमावास्यायां रात्र्यामग्निं प्रणीयोपसमाधाय द्विराज्यस्योपघातं जुहोति कामावकीर्णोऽस्म्यवकीर्णोऽस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहा । कामाभिद्रुग्धोऽस्म्यभिद्रुग्धोऽस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहेति । ...... हुत्वा प्रयताञ्जलिः कवातिर्यङ्ङग्निमभिमन्त्रयते सं मा सिञ्चन्तु मरुतः समिन्द्रः सं बृहस्पतिः । सं मायमग्निः सिञ्चतु प्रजया च धनेन चेति । त्रिरभिमन्त्रयेत । वरो दक्षिणा ...... ।.

908. अवकीर्णिपशुश्च तद्वदाधानस्याप्राप्तकालत्वात् । जै. VI. 8. 22; अस्त्यवकीर्णिपशुः । ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी नैर्ऋतं गर्दभमालभेतेति । तत्र संदेहः । किं तदर्थमाधानं कर्तव्यमुत लौकिकेष्वग्निषु तद्वर्तेतेति । ...तस्मादेवमपि कर्म लौकिकेष्विति । शबर.

like blood &c. It consists in offering homa and wearing a new one. Vide Saṁskāra-ratnamālā pp. 365-367 for details.

Naiṣṭhika brahmacārin (perpetual student).—

Brahmacārins were of two kinds, upakurvāṇa (the student who offered some return to the teacher, vide Manu II. 245, for the word upakurvīta) and the *naiṣṭhika* [909] (the student who remains so till his death). These two names occur in Hārīta Dh. S., Dakṣa I. 7 and in several smṛtis. The word 'naiṣṭhika' occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 46, Yāj. I. 49, Veda-Vyāsa I. 41. The idea of perpetual studenthood is very ancient. In the Chāndogya [910] Up. II. 23. 1 we read that the third branch of dharma is the (status of a) student who stays with his teacher's family and who wears out his body to the end in the family of the teacher. Gaut. III. 4-8, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 29, Hārīta Dh. [911] S., Vas. VII. 4-6, Manu II. 243, 244, 247-249, and Yāj. I. 49-50 say that if the student likes he may stay with his teacher till life lasts and should serve his *guru* and in the rest of the time repeat the Veda; that if the teacher be dead he may stay with and serve the teacher's son if he is worthy or the teacher's wife or he may worship the fire kindled by his deceased guru; he should thus wear out his body; he obtains the highest worlds of bliss and is not born again. He has to perform throughout his life the duties of offering fuel sticks, Veda study, begging for food, sleeping on the ground (not on a cot), and of self-restraint (Bṛhaspati quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 62).

According to Viṣṇu quoted in Aparārka (p. 72) and the Sm. C. [912] (I. p. 63) quoting the Saṁgraha persons who are

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909. निष्ठा means 'end or death' and नैष्ठिक is derived by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 49 as 'आत्मानं निष्ठां उत्क्रान्तिकालं नयतीति नैष्ठिकः'.

910. त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति । छान्दोग्य उप. II. 23. 1. This is quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 49-50. This Up. passage is the basis of Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 18-20; vide also *ibid* III. 4. 49.

911. द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी उपकुर्वाणो नैष्ठिकश्च । तयोरुपकुर्वाणको व्याख्यातः । निष्ठां चेदृच्छेदाशरीरनिपाताद्गुरावासीत । हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 71. ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यं परिचरेदाशरीरविमोक्षणात् । आचार्ये च प्रेते अग्निं परिचरेत् । विज्ञायते ह्यग्निराचार्यस्तवेति । वसिष्ठ VII. 4-6. The words 'अग्निराचार्यस्तव' occur in the उपनयन ritual; vide पारस्कर II. 2.

912. कुब्जवामनजात्यन्धक्लीबपङ्ग्वार्तरोगिणाम् । व्रतचर्या भवेत्तेषां यावज्जीवमनंशतः ॥ विष्णु quoted in अपरार्क p. 72 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 63; पङ्ग्वादीनामनंशत्वाद्सामर्थ्याच्च शाश्वतः । नियतं नैष्ठिकत्वं स्यात्कर्मस्वनधिकारतः ॥ संग्रह quoted by स्मृतिच. I. p. 63.

dwarfs, ill-formed, congenitally blind, impotent, cripples and those suffering from incurable diseases should become perpetual students, as they are not entitled to perform the Vedic rites and are not entitled to inherit. We saw above that Kumārilabhaṭṭa accepted this view (vide note 852a). But this does not mean that the blind and other partially defective people could not marry at all. They could marry if they had sufficient wealth. For example, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, though congenitally blind, married and had sons. Aparārka (p. 72), the Sm. C., the Madanapārijāta (p. 111), the Par. M. (I. 2. p. 51 ff) and others say that perpetual student-hood is not restricted only to the blind and the cripple, but it may be resorted to by even able-bodied men at their choice (vide Manu II. 243–44).

Atri (VIII. 16) says [913] that if a person undertakes to be a perpetual student, but falls from that ideal, there is no prāyaścitta for that lapse. Some interpret this as applying to one who becomes a saṁnyāsin and then gives up that mode of life ; while others like the Saṁskāra-prakāśa (p. 564) interpret it as meaning that the prāyaścitta is double of what the upakurvāṇa would have to undergo.

Patitasāvitrīka (those for whom there has been no upanayana and therefore no instruction in Gāyatrī and who are therefore sinful and outside the pale of Aryan society). The gṛhya and dharma sūtras are agreed that the time for upanayana has not passed till the 16th, 22nd and the 24th year in the case of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas respectively, but that after these years are past without upanayana taking place they become incompetent thereafter for learning the Sāvitrī (the sacred Gāyatrī verse) Vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 19, 5–7, Baud. gṛ, III. 13. 5–6, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22, Vas. XI. 71–75, Manu II. 38–39, Yāj. I. 37–38. Such persons are then called patitasāvitrīka or sāvitrīpatita and also vrātya (Manu II. 39 and Yāj. I. 38 call them so). These works [914] also declare that the consequences of this are that no upanayana is to be thereafter performed for them, they are not to be taught the Veda, nor is any one to officiate at

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913. आरूढो नैष्ठिकं धर्मं यस्तु प्रच्यवते द्विजः। प्रायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन शुध्यति कर्मणा ॥ अत्रि VIII. 16 ; the संस्कारप्रकाश p. 564 ascribes a very similar verse to शातातप.

914. आ षोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः। आ द्वाविंशात्क्षत्रियस्य आ चतुर्विंशाद्वैश्यस्य। अत ऊर्ध्वं पतितसावित्रिका भवन्ति। नैनानुपनयेन्नाध्यापयेन्न याजयेन्नैभिर्व्यवहरेयुः। आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 5–7 ; बौ. गृ. (reads विवहेयुः for व्यवहरेयुः), वसिष्ठ reads विवाहयेयुः for व्यवहरेयुः ; पार. गृ. II. 5 has almost the same words.

their sacrifices and there is to be no social intercourse with them (i. e. no marriage takes place with them). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 24–27) prescribes that after the 16th or 24th year, the person should undergo the rules of student-hood two months just as those who meant to study the three Vedas and whose upanayana has been performed observe (viz. begging for food &c.), then his upanayana should be performed, then for one year he should bathe (thrice if possible) every day and then he should be taught the Veda. This is a somewhat easy penance. But others prescribe heavier penalties. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 76–79 and the Vaik. smārta II. 3 prescribe that one who is *patitasāvitrīka* should either perform the Uddālaka vrata or should take a bath along with the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice or should perform the Vrātyastoma sacrifice. Both Vasiṣṭha[915] and the Vaik. smārta explain that the Uddālaka vrata consists in subsisting on barley gruel for two months, for one month on milk, for half a month on āmikṣā (the whey that arises by pouring curds in hot milk), for eight days on ghee, for six days on alms obtained without begging, for three days on water and in observing a total fast for one whole day. The Sm. C. (I. p. 28) says that this vrata is so called because it was promulgated by Uddālaka. Manu XI. 191 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26 prescribe a mild prāyaścitta for *patitasāvitrīkas*, viz. three prājāpatya[916] penances; while Yāj. I. 38, Baud. gṛ. III. 13. 7, Veda-Vyāsa I. 21 and several others prescribe only the Vrātyastoma for those who are *patitasāvitrīkas*. Viśvarūpa[917] (on Yāj. III. 262) tries to reconcile these contradictions by saying that the easy penance prescribed by Manu applies to a brāhmaṇa whose upanayana is not performed before the 16th year, but whose upanayana is sought to be performed before the 22nd year, while the Vrātyastoma is to be performed for him whose upanayana is not

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915. पतितसावित्रीक उद्दालकव्रतं चरेत् । द्वौ मासौ यावकेन वर्तयेन्मासं पयसार्धमासमामिक्षयाष्टरात्रं घृतेन षड्रात्रमयाचितेन त्रिरात्रमब्भक्षोऽहोरात्रमुपवसेत् । अश्वमेधावभृथं गच्छेत् । व्रात्यस्तोमेन वा यजेत् । वसिष्ठ XI. 76–79.

916. For the प्राजापत्य vide मनु XI. 211 and या. III. 320. It lasts for 12 days and consists in taking only one morning meal for 3 days, only one meal in the evening for three days, subsisting on alms obtained without begging for three days and total fast for three days.

917. परतस्तु षोडशाद्वर्षादानयं येषां द्विजानां ...... येविति । एतद्वा द्वाविंशतेर्वर्षादनुपनीतस्य ब्राह्मणस्य ...... यदि त्वाद्यादुपनयनकालादारभ्याष्टाचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि नोपनीतस्ततोयं व्रात्यस्तोमः । विश्वरूप on या. III. 262.

performed for forty-eight years from the first prescribed period (viz. 8th year, 11th year or 12th). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 also tries to introduce vyavasthā (order) in the contradictory dicta of the smṛtis. According to Gaut. 21. 11, Yāj. III. 234 and others *vrātyatā* (being *patitasāvitrīka*) is only an *upapātaka* and Manu XI. 117 prescribes an easy penance for all *upapātakas*.

Āp. Dh. S.[918] says 'if a person's father and grandfather also had not the upanayana performed for them, then they (i. e. the three generations) are called slayers of *brahma* (holy prayers or lore); people should have no intercourse with them, should not take their food nor should enter into marriage alliances with them; but if they desire then penance should be administered to them'. It then prescribes that they have to perform the penance (observing rules of student-hood) one year for each generation (that had not the upanayana performed), then there is upanayana and then they have to bathe (thrice or once) every day for a year with certain mantras viz. the seven Pāvamānī verses beginning with 'yad anti yacca dūrake' (Ṛg. IX. 67. 21–27), with the Yajuṣ pavitra (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1 = Ṛg. X. 17. 10), with the *sāmapavitra* and with the *mantra* called Āṅgirasa (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5) or one may pour water only with the vyāhṛtis[919]. After all this is done, one may be taught the Veda. Āp. Dh. S. goes further (I. 1. 2. 5–10) and says 'if the generations[920] beginning with the great-grandfather had not the upanayana performed on them, they are called the cemetery and that if there is desire they may observe the rules of student-hood for twelve years, then

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918. अथ यस्य पिता पितामह इत्यनुपेतौ स्यातां ते ब्रह्महसंस्तुताः। तेषामभ्यागमनं भोजनं विवाहमिति वर्जयेत्। तेषामिच्छतां प्रायश्चित्तम्। यथा प्रथमेऽतिक्रमे ऋतुरेवं संवत्सरः। अथोपनयनम्। तत उदकोपस्पर्शनम्। प्रतिपूरुषं संख्याय संवत्सरान्यावन्तोऽनुपेताः स्युः। सप्तभिः पावमानीभिर्यदन्ति यच्च दूरक इत्येताभिर्यजुष्पवित्रेण सामपवित्रेणाङ्गिरसेनेति। अपि वा व्याहृतिभिरेव। अथाध्याप्यः। आप. ध. I. 1. 1. 28–I. 1. 2. 1–4. पावमानी verses are those that are addressed to Soma and according to some they are all the verses of the 9th maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda beginning with 'svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayā' (vide Haradatta on Gaut. 19. 12 and Medhātithi on Manu V. 86). The यजुष्पवित्र is the मन्त्र 'आपोऽस्मान्मातरः शुन्धन्तु'; सामपवित्र is the Sāman beginning with 'kayā naścitra ābhuvat' which is Ṛg. IV. 31. 1 and occurs in all other Saṁhitās and the Āṅgirasa mantra is 'Haṁsaḥ śuciṣad' (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5).

919. Haradatta explains that one is to pour water over one's head with the folded hands after repeating these mantras.

920. The generations will be four प्रपितामह, पितामह, पिता and the man himself.

upanayana may be performed and then the person so desirous of upanayana will have to bathe with the Pāvamānī and other verses (as stated above), then instruction in the duties of the householder may be imparted to him (i. e. to the 4th); he cannot, however, be taught the Veda; but his son may have the saṁskāra performed as in the case of one who is himself *patitasāvitrīka* and then his son will be one like other āryas'. Haradatta[921] remarks that Āp. does not declare the prāyaścitta for him whose great-grandfather's father also was without upanayana, but that those who know the dharmaśāstra should find out a proper prāyaścitta even in such cases. It is clear that Āp. contemplates cases where for three generations there had been no upanayana and the fourth generation also had not the upanayana performed at the right time and desired to have it performed for him. Pār. gives a brief rule 'when three generations are *patitasāvitrīka*, their offspring (i. e. the fourth generation) is excluded from the sacrament of upanayana and he cannot be taught the Veda.'[922] So Pār. is more restrictive than Āpastamba.

There is a famous historical example of the application of these rules. Gāgābhaṭṭa, a profound scholar of Benares, officiated at the coronation of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, in 1674 and performed the upanayana of Shivaji before the coronation, when Shivaji was about 45 years old and had even two sons. Some eminent scholars like the late Mr. Justice Telang[923] have found fault with Gāgābhaṭṭa

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921. यस्य प्रपितामहस्य पितुरारभ्य नानुस्मर्यत उपनयनं तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं नोक्तम्। धर्मज्ञैरूहितव्यम्। एवं ततः पूर्वेष्वपि। हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 10.

922. त्रिपुरुषं पतितसावित्रीकाणामपत्येऽसंस्कारो नाध्यापनं च। पार. गृ. II. 5.

923. In 'Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles' appended to the late Mr. Justice Ranade's 'Rise of the Maratha Power', Mr. Justice Telang observes (p. 286) 'they had also to strain a point, when as a preliminary to the installation, the thread ceremony essential for a kṣatriya was performed on Shivaji at a time when he was forty-six or fifty years old and had already had two sons, an irregularity which also was, we are told, expressly assented to by all the brāhmaṇas and pandits. How the brāhmaṇas and pandits worked their way to this decision, none of our authorities state'; and further on (p. 288) he casts undeserved aspersions 'taking the whole evidence together it looks like a case of a more or less deliberate manipulation of facts and religious rites in aid of a foregone conclusion adopted for a purely political purpose'. Mr. Justice Telang writes rather like a judge than like a scholar or a

(*Continued on next page*)

and the other brāhmaṇas of that time; but these scholars are wrong and Gāgābhaṭṭa had behind him weighty and ancient authorities like Āp., Pāraskara, Viśvarūpa and Haradatta as shown above.

The Vaik. sūtra (II. 37) adds that in the case of the man who is himself *patitasāvitrīka* the saṁskāras (from Garbhādhāna) have to be again performed (with Vedic mantras) and then the upanayana is performed.

One very important question that exercised the minds of some writers in medieval times was whether kṣatriyas and vaiśyas existed in the kali age. In some of the purāṇas it is said in a prophetic vein that Mahāpadma Nanda will destroy the kṣatriyas and thereafter rulers will be of the śūdra caste. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4–5 says 'Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of Mahānandi, born of a śūdra woman would be extremely greedy (of power) and will destroy the whole kṣatriya race as if he were another Paraśurāma; thereafter śūdras will be kings'. The Matsya 272. 18–19 and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 1. 6–9 declare the same prophecies. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 24. 44 remarks that Devāpi, descendant of Pūru, and Manu, descendant of Ikṣvāku, stay in

(*Continued from last page*)

historian. The judge has to give a decision on the evidence adduced by the parties before him; it is no part of his business to collect evidence for himself. But the role of a historian is entirely different. He must not only try to read all evidence available till the time he writes but he must himself ferret out all possible evidence and make searches in places where evidence is likely to be found. Above all he must be cautious in his condemnations of persons long dead on the strength of the meagre evidence read by him. Mr. Telang wrote the paper above referred to in 1892, but long before that Pāraskara (in 1886) and Āpastamba (in 1885) had been translated and published in 'the Sacred Books of the East series.' But he, though a great judge and also a great Sanskrit scholar, nowhere shows that he cared to see whether *śāstric* rules allowed the upanayana of a man himself at any age whatever (after some penance). If he had seen those rules he would not have unjustly taken to task pandits that flourished two hundred years before him and attributed irregular motives to them. It does not appear that he made any search in the archives of the Udaipur Durbar to see how Shivaji traced his descent from the Sisodia clan, nor does it appear that he even went to Mudhol and other places in Mahārāṣṭra where ancient Maratha families have been holding sway for centuries. The papers recently published from the records of the Mudhol State amply establish Shivaji's claim to a Rajput lineage.

Kalāpagrāma, are endowed with great yogic powers, will revive the kṣatriya race when the kṛta age will start again after the present kali age comes to an end and that some kṣatriyas exist on the earth like seed even in the kali age. Vāyu (vol. I. 32. 39–40), Matsya (273. 56–58) have similar verses. Relying on such passages some medieval writers stated that there were no kṣatriyas in their times. The Śuddhitattva[923a] of Raghunandana (p. 268) after quoting the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4 and Manu X. 43 declares that kṣatriyas existed till Mahānandi, that the so-called kṣatriyas of his day were śūdras and that similarly there were no vaiśyas also. In the Śūdra-Kamalākara occurs this verse 'The varṇas are brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, the first three being twice-born; all these exist in the several yugas; but in the kali age only the first and the last remain'. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa (first half of 18th century[923b]) in his Vrātyatāprāyaścittanirṇaya (Chaukhamba Series) examines all the relevant Purāṇa passages and states as his conclusion that real kṣatriyas do not exist and so those, in whose families no upanayana had been performed for ten or twenty generations, are not kṣatriyas even though they rule over kingdoms and no upanayana can be performed for such kings. It must be stated that such views, though held by some rigidly orthodox writers of extreme views, were not shared by most writers. All the smṛtis speak of the duties of the four varṇas even in the kali age. Parāśara-smṛti which is said to be the smṛti *par excellence* for the kali age (as stated in I. 24) does so. Almost all nibandhakāras (authors of digests and commentaries) discuss the privileges and duties of all varṇas. The author of the Mitākṣarā, who is rightly described as the best of all nibandhakāras, nowhere says that kṣatriyas do not exist in the kali age. Numerous kings claimed to be descended from the Sun and the Moon. Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmaṇi states that his patron was a scion of Somavaṁśa (vide H. Dh. vol. I p. 356 for quotations). The princes of Rajputana and Central India claimed to have sprung from the Agnikuṇḍa on Mount Abu, viz. of the

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923 a. इदानीन्तनक्षत्रियाणामपि शूद्रत्वमाह मनुः। शनकैस्तु ... ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च। अत एव विष्णुपुराणम्। महानन्दिसुतः शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मो नन्दः परशुराम इवापरोखिलक्षत्रियान्तकारी भविता ततः प्रभृति शूद्रा भूपाला भविष्यन्ति। इति। तेन महानन्दिपर्यन्तं क्षत्रिय आसीत्। एवं च क्रियालोपाद्वैश्यानामपि तथा। शुद्धितत्त्व p. 268.

923 b. अथ कलावब्राह्मणत्वे सति शस्त्रग्रहणप्रजापालनमात्रेण क्षत्रियसादृश्येन क्षत्रियपदव्यवहार्याणां दशविंशतिपुरुषपर्यन्तमस्मर्यमाणोपनयनानां तद्वंश्येपि तादृशानामुपनयनसंस्कारो भवति न वेति संदेहे निर्णयः क्रियते। तत्र नैव भवतीति निर्णयः। क्षत्रियसादृश्येन तथा व्यवहारेपि मुख्यक्षत्रियत्वाभावात्। व्रात्यताप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय p. 1.

four clans of Chohan, Parmar (or Paramāra), Solanki (or Cālukya), Paḍihar (or Pratīhāra). Vide Tod's Rajasthan (Madras ed. of 1873) vol. I chap. VII pp. 82 ff.. This theory of the Agnikulas is at least as old as 1000 A. D., since it is referred to in several inscriptions of the 11th century A. D. Vide the Vasantagadh Inscription of Paramāra Pūrṇapāla dated *saṁ.* 1099 (1042–43 A. D.) in E. I. vol. IX p. 10 and the inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja dated *saṁ.* 1136 (1079–1080 A. D.) in E. I. vol. XIV. p. 295.

This question is now largely of academic interest. Whether a person is a śūdra or a member of the regenerate classes assumes great importance in adoption, inheritance and succession. Therefore the question, whether kṣatriyas exist in modern times, came before the British Indian courts over a hundred years ago. In *Chouturya Run Murdun Syn* v. *Sahub Purhulad Syn* 7 Moore's Indian Appeals 18 this question was argued and the Privy Council citing the authorities on both sides set the question at rest by remarking (p. 46) 'Their Lordships have nevertheless no doubt that the existence of the Khatri caste as one of the regenerate tribes is fully recognised throughout India and also that Rajputs in central India......are considered to be of that class......The courts in all cases assume that the four great classes remain'. The only question that is now permissible is whether a particular caste belongs to the regenerate classes or to the śūdra class. On this the courts often differ. Vide p. 75 under *Kāyastha.* In *Maharaja of Kolhapur* v. *Sundaram Ayyar* 48 Mad. 1 it was held (in an exhaustive judgment extending over 229 pages) that the Tanjore Maratha princes descended from Venkaji, the step-brother of the founder of the Maratha Empire, were śūdras and not kṣatriyas. The learned judges (at p. 51) quote Telang's *dictum* criticized by me above (note 923), but refrain from expressing any decided opinion about the claim of Shivaji to be of kṣatriya descent. In *Subrao* v *Radha* 52 Bom. 497 it was held after a careful examination of authorities that the Marathas of Mahārāṣṭra are sub-divided into three groups, viz. (1) the five families, (2) the ninety-six families and (3) the rest and that the first two groups are kṣatriyas. It was further held that the tests to be applied in determining the class (varṇa) of a particular caste are three viz. the consciousness of the caste itself, the acceptance of that consciousness by other castes, and lastly its customs and usages.

We have already seen (in note 118) how even in the Vedic age there were non-Aryan tribes like the Kirātas, Andhras, Pulin-

das, Mūtibas, that were described as *dasyus* by the Ait. Br.. One word that is of striking importance is mleccha. The Śat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 23-24, S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 32) states that the asuras were defeated because they spoke an incorrect and corrupt dialect and that a brāhmaṇa should not, therefore, utter such a corrupt[923c] speech and so should not become a mleccha and an asura. Gaut. IX. 17 enjoins that one should not speak with mlecchas, impure or irreligious persons and Haradatta explains that mlecchas are the inhabitants of Ceylon and similar countries where there is no system of varṇas and āśramas. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 15 is to the same effect. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 84. 1-2 and Śaṅkha 14. 30 prescribe that one should not perform śrāddha in a mleccha country nor should one visit such a country (except on a pilgrimage). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 84. 4 states that that country where the system of the four varṇas is not in vogue is mleccha territory and Āryāvarta is beyond it, while Manu II. 23 states that the mleccha country is beyond Āryāvarta which land is fit for sacrifices and in which the black deer wanders naturally. Viśva-rūpa on Yāj. I. 15 quotes Bharadvāja to the effect 'one should not study the language of the mlecchas, for it is declared (in the Brāhmaṇas) that a corrupt word is indeed mleccha'. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 41 also enjoins that one should not learn the mleccha dialect. Manu X. 43-44 knew that many of the tribes called Puṇḍrakas, Yavanas, Śakas spoke mleccha languages and also the language of the Āryas (mlecchavācaś-cāryavācaḥ sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛtāḥ). In Parāśara IX. 36 mlecchas are referred to as eaters of cow's flesh. That the mlecchas had affected the Sanskrit language by lending to it certain words follows from the discussion in Jaimini I. 3. 10 whether words like pika (a cuckoo), nema (half), sata (a wooden vessel), tāmarasa (a red lotus) are to be understood in the sense in which mlecchas use them or certain meanings are to be assigned to them by deriving them from some root according to the rules of grammar, Nirukta and Nighaṇṭu and Jaimini's conclusion is that they are to be understood in the same sense in which mlecchas employ them[923d]. Pāṇini derives the word yavanānī

923c. तेऽसुरा आत्तवचसो हेऽलवो हेऽलव इति वदन्तः पराबभूवुः । तत्रैतामपि वाचमूदुः । उपजिज्ञास्यां स म्लेच्छस्तस्मान्न ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेदसुर्या हैषा वाक् । शतपथे III. 2. 1. 23-24.

923d. अथ यान्छब्दानार्या न कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे आचरन्ति म्लेच्छास्तु कस्मिंश्चित्प्रयुञ्जते यथा पिकनेमसततामरसादिशब्दास्तेषु संदेहः । किं निगमनिरुक्तव्याकरणवशेन धातुतोऽर्थः कल्पयितव्य उत यत्र म्लेच्छा आचरन्ति स शब्दार्थ इति । शबर on जै. I. 3. 10.

and Patañjali speaks of the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana by whom scholars generally understand Menander. Aśoka in his Rock Edict No. 13 refers to Yona kings and it appears from his reference that brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas were not found in the Yona country. A Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha is mentioned as the governor of Kathiawar under Aśoka in the inscription of Rudradāman at Junagadh (E. I. vol. VIII. at p. 43). In the Prakrit Inscriptions the Yavanas are referred to as Yavana (vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 53–55 at Karle No. 7 and 10) or Yona or Yoṇaka (E. I. VIII. 90 Nasik cave No. 18). In Kharavela's inscription also the form is Yavana (E. I. 20 p. 79). In the Mahābhārata the words Yavana and Śaka occur very frequently. Vide notes above on these words. In the Droṇaparva 119. 45–46 Yavana, Kamboja, Śaka, Śabara, Kirāta and Barbara are mentioned as one group fighting against Sātyaki. In Droṇa 119. 47–48 they are referred to as dasyus and as having long and flowing beards. In the Strīparva 22. 11 Jayadratha is said to have had Kamboja and Yavana women in his harem. The word Yavana is generally taken as referring to the Greeks. But there are dissenting voices also. Dr. Otto Stein in ' Indian Culture ' denies that the word ever means Greeks and Dr. Tarn in his recent work on ' Greeks in Bactria and India ' p. 254 argues that the Yavanas in the Nasik inscriptions were not Greeks but only Indian citizens of a Greek *polis.* The Śāntiparva 65. 17–22 prescribes for Yavanas, Śakas and similar tribes only the duties of obedience to parents and attendance on teachers and tending cattle and looking after agriculture, dedication of wells and making gifts to dvijas, *ahiṁsā, satya,* absence of fury, *śauca, adroha,* maintenance of wife and child. Atri VII. 2 puts the receiving of gifts from or eating the food of or having sexual intercourse with the women of Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Bāhlīkas, Khaśas, Draviḍas on the same level with doing the same things with reference to naṭa, nartaka, śvapāka &c. Aparārka p. 923 quotes Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya to the effect that the touch of Mlecchas is on the same level with that of cāṇḍāla, Bhilla and Pārasīka.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in a very learned and scholarly paper in Indian Antiquary vol. 40 pp. 7–37 endeavours to establish that many non-Aryan persons belonging to tribes like the Yavanas, the Śakas became absorbed in the general mass of Hindu society, that even several of the princely families such as those of the Guhilots were not of pure Aryan descent and that the pride of

the purity of caste shown by many castes is not justified by history. He, therefore, appeals to modern Indians to forget all caste-exclusiveness and pride. But this appeal will be in vain. Merely showing that non-Aryan elements were absorbed in the body of the Aryan community several thousands or hundreds of years ago will not probably lessen that pride. Such people may retort that, whatever may have happened centuries ago, for about a thousand years there has been no such fusion. Therefore the appeal should rather be based on the futility of caste exclusiveness in the 20th century when owing to the exigencies of the times any one can pursue any occupation, when a sense of one nation and one people is absolutely necessary for securing to Indians their proper place in the society of nations.

The question of the re-conversion or re-entry of people converted to other faiths willingly or against their wishes will be briefly dealt with immediately below.

A few words may first be said about the Vrātyastoma. The Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa (or the Pañca-viṁśa, as it is called from the number of Adhyāyas) describes four vrātyastomas in chap. 17. 1–4 (khaṇḍas). The meaning of many words and passages in that chapter of the brāhmaṇa is uncertain and somewhat cryptic. The four vrātyastomas were *ekāhas* (*i. e.* sacrifices taking one day only). Tāṇḍya 17. 1. 1 begins with the story that when the gods went to the heavenly world some dependents of theirs who lived the *vrātya* life were left behind on the earth. Then through the favour of the gods the dependents got at the hands of Maruts the Ṣoḍaśastoma (containing 16 stotras) and the metre (viz. anuṣṭubh) and then the dependents secured heaven. The Ṣoḍaśastoma is employed in each of the four vrātyastomas, the first of which (17. 1) is meant for all vrātyas, the 2nd is meant for those who are *abhiśasta* (who are wicked or guilty of heavy sins and so censured) and lead a vrātya life, the third for those who are youngest and lead a vrātya life, and the fourth who are very old and yet lead a vrātya life. Some of the passages convey a tolerably clear idea of what the vrātyas were like. Those who[924] lead the vrātya life are base and are reduced to a baser state, since they do not observe student-hood (brahmacarya) nor do they till the soil nor engage in trade. It is by the Ṣoḍaśastoma that they

924. हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यां प्रवसन्ति न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वणिज्यां षोडशो वा एतत्स्तोमः समाप्तुमर्हति ॥ ताण्ड्य 17. 1. 2.

can attain this (superior status). This shows that the vrātyas did not perform upanayana and did not study the Veda, nor did they do even what vaiśyas do. Another passage says ' those swallow poison who eat food of the common people as food fit for brāhmaṇas, who call good words bad, who strike with a stick him who does not deserve to be beaten (or punished), who, though not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated. The Ṣoḍaśastoma has the power to remove the guilt of these. That (in this rite) there are four Ṣoḍaśastomas, thereby they are freed from guilt.'[925] This passage indicates that the vrātyas spoke the same language as the orthodox people, but were rough in their ways and lax as regards the food they partook of. They were thus outside the pale of orthodox Aryan society and they were brought within it by the Vrātyastoma described in the Tāṇḍya. The origin of the word vrātya is lost in the mists of antiquity. The 15th Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda glorifies the vrātya and identifies him with the Creator and Supreme Being. The word is probably derived from *vrāta* (group) and means 'he who belongs to or moves in a group.' It is possible to derive the word from *vrata*. Originally vrātyas appear to have been groups of people who spoke the same language as orthodox āryas, but did not follow their discipline and habits. The word *vrāta* occurs in Ṛg. I. 163. 8, III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11. Sāyaṇa also perceived the difficulty raised by the glorification of the vrātya in the Atharvaveda 15. 1. 1 and his note is interesting, since he says that the description does not apply to all vrātyas, but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy vrātya who was, however, not in the good books of the brāhmaṇas that were solely devoted to their own rites and sacrifices. Kātyāyanaśrauta XXII. 4. 1-28 and Āp. Śrauta XXII. 5. 4-14 also deal with Vrātyastoma. Kātyāyana describes the four vrātyastomas and adds[926] ' by performing the vrātyastoma sacrifice, they should cease to be vrātyas and become eligible for social intercourse with the orthodox āryas.' The Pār. gṛ. II. 5 quotes the last sūtra of Kātyāyana with the

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925. गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यमन्नमदन्त्यदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्त्यदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति षोडशो वा एतेषां स्तोमः पाप्मानं निर्हन्तुमर्हति यदेते चत्वारः षोडशा भवन्ति तेन पाप्मनोऽधिनिर्मुच्यन्ते । ताण्ड्य० 17. 1. 9. सायण explains ब्राह्मणैर्भोज्यं जन्यं जनपदसंबन्धि अन्नमदन्ति ब्राह्मणार्थपरिकल्पितमन्नं बलात्कारेण भुञ्जत इत्यर्थः ॥.

926. व्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा व्रात्यभावाद्विरमेयुः । व्यवहार्या भवन्ति । कात्या० श्रौतसूत्र XXII. 4. 27-28.

remark "for such persons he who desires to have the sacrament (saṁskāra of upanayana) performed on them should perform the sacrifice of vrātyastoma and then may indeed study the Veda for a text says 'they become eligible for (social) intercourse'."[927]

In the Vrātyatā-śuddhisaṁgraha provision is made[928] for the purification of vrātyas even after twelve generations (vide pp. 7 and 22–24) and that work adds (p. 42) that the Vrātyastoma like the penance for an avakīrṇin is to be performed in the ordinary fire (laukika agni). It also suggests easy substitutes for the lengthy and trying penance of twelve years prescribed by Āp.

Hinduism has not been an avowedly proselytizing religion. In theory it could not be so. For about two thousand years the caste system has reigned supreme and no one can in theory be admitted to the Hindu fold who is not born in it. A Hindu may lose caste, be excommunicated and driven out of the fold of Hinduism, if he be guilty of very serious lapses and refuses to undergo the prāyaścittas prescribed by the smṛtis. Gaut. 20. 15 states that he who was guilty of a misdeed for which death was prescribed as a penance became purified only by dying. But Gaut. himself prescribed death (21. 7) as penance only for the sins of brāhmaṇa-murder, drinking spirituous liquor and incest. Even as regards these three, lesser penances were prescribed by some smṛtis as alternatives (e. g. vide Manu XI. 72, 74–8, 92, 108). When the sinner performed the prāyaścitta prescribed by the śāstras, he was to be welcomed by his relatives, who took a bath along with him in a holy river or the like and threw therein an unused jar filled with water; they were not to find fault with him and were to completely associate with him in all ways (Manu XI. 186–187, Yāj. III. 295, Vas. 15, 20, Gaut. 20. 10–14). Vas. 15. 17 says that those who were *patita* were to be re-admitted to all social

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927. तेषां संस्कारेप्सुर्व्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा काममधीयीरन् व्यवहार्या भवन्तीति वचनात्। पारस्कर गृ. II. 5.

928. एवं लौकिकाग्निष्वेवावकीर्णिनिषादस्थपतिवद् व्रात्यस्तोमस्य स्मार्तस्य सावित्रीपतने प्रवर्तनमुचितम्। व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह p. 42 (Chaukhamba series); द्वादशवर्षब्रह्मचर्यव्रतादिनातिक्लेशाद्बालस्यादिना वा सकृदेवैकस्मिन्दिने पावमान्यादिभिः स्नानं करोति चेत्तर्हि तद्दिनमारभ्यैव स्मार्तधर्मपरिग्रहाधिकारः। ...कालातिक्रमे बहुकालरूपे बाधकप्रत्याम्नायश्चतुर्दशप्राजापत्यानि ग्राह्याणि। पितृपितामहव्रात्यतायां चतुर्दश प्राजापत्यान्येव भवेयुः कालदैर्घ्येनैतस्यादित्यनुसंधेयम्। व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह p. 23.

intercourse when they performed the prescribed penances (patitānām tu caritavratānām pratyuddhāraḥ). But if the sinner refused to undergo the prescribed prāyaścitta, then a peculiar procedure called ghaṭasphoṭa (breaking a jar) was prescribed. In such a case the sinner's relatives (sapiṇḍas) made a slave girl whose face was turned to the south thrust aside with her foot an earthen jar full of water so that all water flowed out of it, then the relatives were to observe mourning for one day and night (as he was deemed to be dead to them) and from that day they were to stop speaking or sitting with him, and all other social intercourse and he was to be given no inheritance (vide Manu XI. 183–185, Yāj. III. 294, Gaut. 20. 2–7). In this way the obstinate sinner went out of the Hindu fold. The ancient smṛtis do not expressly prescribe any rites for bringing into the brahmanic or Hindu fold a person who or whose ancestors did not belong to it. But as Hinduism has been extremely tolerant[928a] (barring a few exceptional instances) it had a wonderful power of quiet and unobtrusive absorption. If a person, though of foreign ancestry, conformed to Hindu social usages in outward behaviour, in course of time his descendants became absorbed into the vast Hindu community.

928a. A few striking instances of religious tolerance among kings and common people may be cited with advantage. The Pāla king Mahīpāla I granted a village to a brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyaśākhā in honour of Lord Buddha (E. I. vol. 14 p. 324). Similarly the king Subhakaradeva who was a great devotee of Buddha (paramasaugata) granted two villages to 200 brāhmaṇas (Neulpur grant in E. I. vol. 15 p. 1); vide also E. I. vol. 15 p. 293. The famous Emperor Harṣa, whose father was a great devotee of the Sun, and who was himself a great devotee of Śiva, pays the highest honour to his elder brother Rājyavardhana who was a very devout Buddhist (paramasaugata). Vide the Madhuban copperplate Inscription in E. I. vol. I. p. 67 and E. I. vol. VII. p. 155. Uṣavadāta makes large gifts to brāhmaṇas as well as to communities of Buddhist monks (vide Nasik Inscriptions No. 10 and No. 12 in E.I. vol. VIII p. 78 and p. 82). The Valabhi king Guhasena who was himself a Māheśvara (a Śaiva) made a grant of four villages to a bhikṣu–saṅgha. From the Paharpur plate of the Gupta year 159 (478–79 A. D.) it appears that a brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited three dīnāras with a city council for the maintenance of the worship of *arhats* at a vihāra (E. I. Vol. XX. p. 59). The Mulgund inscription of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. (of 902–3 A. D.) shows that to a temple of Jina at Mulgund a field was given by a brāhmaṇa of the Bellāḷa family (E. I. vol. XIII. p. 190). Vide Rice's 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions' pp. 113 and 207 for an account how a Vijayanagar king settled the dispute between Jainas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas in 1368 A. D.

This process has gone on for at least two thousand years. The beginnings of it are found in the Śāntiparva chap. 65 where Indra tells the Emperor Māndhātṛ to bring all foreign people like the Yavanas under brahmanical influence. The Besnagar column inscription shows that the Yona (yavana) Heliodora (Heliodorus) son of Diya (Dion) was a bhāgavata (devotee of Vāsudeva). Vide J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 1053 and 1087 and J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 23 p. 104. In the caves at Nasik, Karle and other places' many of the donors are said to have been yavanas (vide E. I. vol. VII, pp. 53–54, 55, E. I. vol. VIII, p. 90, E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 325). Several inscriptions state that Indian kings married Hūṇa princesses, e. g. Allaṭa of the Guhila dynasty married a Hūṇa princess named Hariyadevi (I. A. vol. 39 p. 191), king Yaśaḥkarṇadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty is said to have been the son of Karṇadeva and Āvalladevī, a Hūṇa princess. These and similar examples show that persons of foreign descent and their children were absorbed into the Hindu community from time to time. This absorption is illustrated in modern times by the case of *Fanindra Deb* v. *Rajeshwar* (L. R. 12 I. A. 72) in which it was found that a family in Kooch Behar not originally Hindu had adopted certain Hindu usages and it was held that it had not taken over the practice of adoption. How Hindu customs and incidents persist even after conversion to Islam is strikingly shown by the Khojas and Kutchi Memons of the Bombay Presidency, who though made converts to Islam several centuries ago, were held by the courts in India to have retained the ancient Hindu Law of succession and inheritance.[928b]

The problem of taking back into the Hindu fold persons who were forcibly converted to other faiths has engaged the attention of smṛtis. Moslems first attacked India in the 8th century from the direction of the province of Sindh. This invasion led to the enslavement and forcible conversion of many people. It appears that Devala and other smṛtikāras tackled with the problem of taking back such people. The Devala smṛti opens with a question by the sages put to Devala who was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu at ease as to how

928 b. The Cutchi Memons Act (XLVI of 1920) as amended by Act XXIV of 1923 now enables Cutchi Memons by observing certain formalities prescribed by the Act to become free from the application of Hindu Law. By Act XXVI of 1937 it is declared that the personal law will apply to all Muslims instead of customary law on going through certain procedure prescribed by the Act.

brāhmaṇas and members of the other varṇas when carried off by Mlecchas were to be purified and restored to caste. The following verses of the Devala-smṛti are very instructive on this point. Verses 7–10 declare that when a brāhmaṇa is carried off by Mlecchas and he eats or drinks forbidden food or drink or has sexual intercourse with women he should not have approached, he becomes purified by doing the penance of *cāndrāyaṇa* and *parāka*, that a kṣatriya becomes pure by undergoing *parāka* and *pādakṛcchra*, a vaiśya by half of *parāka* and a śūdra by the penance of *parāka* for five days. Then verses 17–22 are most important [928c]. 'When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, cāṇḍālas and robbers, are compelled to do dirty acts, such as killing cows and other animals or sweeping the leavings of the food (of Mlecchas) or eating the leavings of the food of Mlecchas or partaking of the flesh of asses, camels and village pigs, or having intercourse with their women, or are forced to dine with them, then the penance for purifying a dvijāti that has stayed for a month in this way is prājāpatya, for one who had consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is cāndrāyaṇa or parāka; for one who stays a year (with Mlecchas in this condition of things) it is both cāndrāyaṇa and parāka ; a śūdra who stays (in this condition) for a month becomes pure by kṛcchrapāda; a śūdra who stays a year should drink yāvaka for half a month. The appropriate prāyaścitta should be determined by learned brāhmaṇas when a person has stayed (in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) for over a year; in four years the person (who stays in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) is reduced to their condition (i. e. becomes a mleccha and there

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928 c. बलाद्दासीकृता ये च म्लेच्छचाण्डालदस्युभिः । अशुभं कारिताः कर्म गवादिप्राणिहिंसनम् । उच्छिष्टमार्जनं चैव तथा तस्यैव भोजनम् । खरोष्ट्रविड्वराहाणामामिषस्य च भक्षणम् । तत्स्त्रीणां च तथा सङ्गं ताभिश्च सह भोजनम् । मासोषिते द्विजातौ तु प्राजापत्यं विशोधनम् । चान्द्रायणं त्वाहिताग्नेः पराकस्त्वथवा भवेत् । चान्द्रायणं पराकं च चरेत्संवत्सरोषितः । संवत्सरोषितः शूद्रो मासार्धं यावकं पिबेत् । मासमात्रोषितः शूद्रः कृच्छ्रपादेन शुध्यति । ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कल्प्यं प्रायश्चित्तं द्विजोत्तमैः । संवत्सरैश्चतुर्भिश्च तद्भावमधिगच्छति ॥ देवल 17–22. These six verses are quoted as आपस्तम्ब's by the मिता० on या. III.290 and by अपरार्क p. 1200 (who reads त्रिभिः संवत्सरैश्चापि in v. 22). These six verses are quoted as देवल's in the प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि (Jiv. ed.) p. 455. सर्वज्ञनारायण on मनु. II. 180 appears to regard them as Devala's as he says चतुर्वत्सरनियमश्च बलाद् गृहीतो म्लेच्छाद्यैरित्यादिदेवलस्मृतिदर्शनाद्बोध्यः । The first verse occurs in बृहद्यम V. 5 (Ānan. ed.) after which we read प्रायश्चित्तं च दातव्यं तारतम्येन वा द्विजैः ॥ So these verses are certainly older than 1000 A. D.

is no prāyaścitta for him).' The Prāyaścittaviveka states that after four years death is the only purifier for him.[928d] Three more verses of Devala (53-55) also deserve consideration 'One who was forcibly seized by Mlecchas for five, six or seven years or from ten to twenty years, is purified by undergoing two Prājāpatyas. Beyond this there is no purification; these penances are meant only for him who has simply stayed among Mlecchas. He who had stayed with Mlecchas from five to twenty years is purified by undergoing two Cāndrāyaṇas'. These verses are apparently inconsistent with the verses cited above (17-22), but they most probably mean this that if a man only stayed among Mlecchas for 5 to 20 years, but has not done any of the forbidden things such as eating ucchiṣṭa or the flesh of asses &c., then he can be taken back even after so many years. This would be an exception to the rule contained in verse 22. There is no reason why the reasoning of Devala should not be extended to persons who have been in the condition stated in verses 17-22 for over four years. In the Pañcadaśī (Tṛptidīpa v. 239) we have the following very significant passage[928e] 'just as a brāhmaṇa seized by Mlecchas and afterwards undergoing the appropriate prāyaścitta does not become confounded with Mlecchas (but returns to his original status of being a brāhmaṇa) so the Intelligent Soul is not really to be confounded with the body and other material adjuncts.' This establishes that the great Vidyāraṇya, who after Śaṁkarācārya, is the greatest figure among ācāryas, approved of the view that a brāhmaṇa even though enslaved by Mlecchas could be restored to his original status.

Under Shivaji and the Peshwas it appears that several persons that had been forcibly made Moslems were restored to caste after under-going prāyaścitta (*vide* notes 2321-2 below for examples). But this was done in only a few instances.

In modern times there is a movement among Hindus called *śuddhi* or *patitaparāvartana* (purification or bringing back into the Hindu fold those who had fallen away from it). In a very few cases persons born in western countries have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of vrātyastoma

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928 d. वत्सरादूर्ध्वं वत्सरचतुष्टयं यावत्तावज्ज्ञागहारेण प्रायश्चित्तमूहनीयम्। तदूर्ध्वं तत्समत्वेन पतितत्वात् प्रायश्चित्ताभावाद् मरणम्। प्रायश्चित्तविवेक p. 456.

928 e. गृहीतो ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छैः प्रायश्चित्तं चरन्पुनः। म्लेच्छैः संकीर्यते नैव तथाभासः शरीरकैः॥ पञ्चदशी (तृप्तिदीप v. 239).

and other rites. But such instances are very rare and are not yet supported by the vast majority of Hindus. It has been shown above that for taking back a man who was once a Hindu but had left Hinduism, there is smṛti authority in Devala and others and the authority of the Nibandhakāras.

Punarupanayana (performing upanayana again).

In certain cases an upanayana has to be performed again. The Āśv.[929] gṛ. (I. 22. 22–26) prescribes that in punarupanayana the cutting of the hair and production of intelligence (medhājanana) are optional, there are no rules about paridāna (giving in charge of deities) and about the time (i.e. it may be performed at any time and no paridāna is necessary) and instead of the usual Gāyatrī, he should recite 'tat savitur vṛṇīmahe' (Ṛg. V. 82. 1.). When a person in whose family one Veda is studied (e. g. the Ṛgveda) wants to study another Veda (e. g. Yajurveda), he had to undergo a fresh upanayana. The Āśv. gṛ. sūtra is interpreted in this way by some. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 says that as the Sāvitrī (i. e. Gāyatrī, Ṛg. III. 62. 10) is recited for all Vedas according to the Brāhmaṇa passage quoted by Āp. one upanayana is sufficient for the study of the three Vedas in succession, but if a person wants to study the Atharvaveda after studying another Veda, then a fresh upanayana is necessary. This is one kind of punarupanayana. Another kind of punarupanayana takes place when in the first upanayana the principal rite viz. placing his hands on the boy's shoulders and bringing the student near the teacher is left off through oversight or the first upanayana takes place in a season other than vasanta (spring) or in the dark half of a month or on a day which was *anadhyāya*[930] (unfit for Vedic study) or on a galagraha (vide note 642 above) or in the latter part of the day. A third kind of punarupanayana is one which is by way of prāyaścitta for certain sins or lapses from good conduct.[931] Gaut. 23. 2–5

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929. अथोपेतपूर्वस्य। कृताकृतं केशवपनं मेधाजननं च। अनिरुक्तं परिदानम्। कालश्च। तत्सवितुर्वृणीमह इति सावित्रीम्। आश्व. गृ. सू. I. 22. 22–26.

930. विनर्तुना वसन्तेन कृष्णपक्षे गलग्रहे। उपनीतस्त्वनध्याये पुनःसंस्कारमर्हति। अपराह्णे चोपनीतः पुनः संस्कारमर्हति। भरद्वाज quoted in the संस्कारमयूख, संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 541 and संस्काररत्नमाला p. 282; सं. प्र. p. 547 quotes a similar verse from दैवज्ञवल्लभ.

931. The संस्कारकौस्तुभ (p. 536 with Marathi tr.) पुनःसंस्कारः पुनरुपनयनम्। तच्च त्रिविधम्। प्रत्यवायनिमित्ते प्रायश्चित्तत्वेन विहितम्। निमित्तविशेषेण कृतोपनयनस्य वृथात्वेऽशात्वापत्तौ तत्फलार्थत्वेन विहितम्। वेदान्तराध्ययनाचिकीर्षायां तदर्थत्वेन विहितमिति। The संस्कारकौस्तुभ (pp. 536–558) contains the most elaborate treatment of पुनरुपनयन.

prescribes the penance called Taptakṛcchra and punarupanayana for one guilty of drinking wine (surā) in ignorance or partaking of human urine, fæces and semen and the flesh of wild beasts, camels, asses, village cocks, and village hogs. Vas. (23. 30) also has a similar sūtra. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 25 quotes a verse ' if a person belonging to the three varṇas unknowingly drinks surā (wine) or fæces, he has to undergo punarupanayana ' and says (II. 1. 29) that if a brahmacārī carries a corpse (other than that of his parents or teacher) he has to undergo punarupanayana. Manu V. 91 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 86 prescribe the same. In the Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣāsūtra (I. 12. 4-6) it is said that on partaking of honey, or flesh, śrāddha food or food from those in impurity on birth, or the milk of a cow before the lapse of ten days or the milk of a sandhinī cow, mushrooms or the resin exuded from trees, *vilayana* (a product of milk ?), the food prepared for a number of people in common or the food of prostitutes, a man has to undergo punarupanayana and, according to some, also if he goes to a forbidden country,[932] viz. Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Sindhu, and Sauvīra (Sind and the territory to its south and east), Avantī (Ujjain), Dakṣiṇāpatha (Deccan), a brāhmaṇa has to undergo punarupanayana (except when he goes on a pilgrimage). It then sets out the procedure (such as a homa, putting a fuel stick of palāśa on the fire and oblations of cooked food and ājya) and adds that in punarupanayana shaving, dakṣiṇā, girdle, staff, deer-skin, begging for food and vratas do not take place.

The Vaik. smārta (VI. 9-10) contains similar rules for punarupanayana.[933] Aparārka (p. 1160) quotes Paiṭhīnasi to the effect that if a grown-up person drinks the milk of sheep or of a she-ass, she-camel or of a woman, he has to undergo punarupanayana and also the penance called prājāpatya.

Anadhyāya :—(cessation from Vedic study ; holiday).

932. प्रतिषिद्धदेशगमनमित्येकेषाम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । सौराष्ट्रं सिन्धुसौवीरमवन्तीं दक्षिणापथम् । एतानि ब्राह्मणो गत्वा पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ बौ. गृ. परिभाषासूत्र I. 12. 5-6.

933. पितृज्येष्ठयोरन्येषामुच्छिष्टभोजने मधुमत्स्यमांससूतकप्रेतकाद्यभोज्यभोजने च पुनरुपनयनं करोति । वै. स्मा. VI. 9.

It appears that from very early times Vedic studies were stopped on various grounds. The Tai. Ār.[934] II. 15 has a very important statement on this subject. 'Indeed as to this yajña (brahmayajña) there are two cases in which the study of the Veda ceases, namely, when the man himself is impure or when the place is impure'. The Śat. Br.[935] has a passage in which several occasions when Vedic study was ordinarily stopped are mentioned and it is added that those occasions do not prevent the repetition of Vedic texts as Brahmayajña. 'Therefore one knowing this should certainly repeat the Veda as Brahmayajña, when the wind blows, when lightning flashes, when it thunders or when there is a fall of thunderbolt, in order that *vaṣaṭkāras* may not be fruitless'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 3.) quotes the Vājasaneyi Brāhmaṇa (the Śatapatha) to the effect that "Vedic study is Brahmayajña; when it thunders, when lightning flashes, when there is a fall of the thunderbolt, when the wind blows, these are its vaṣaṭkāras;[936] therefore when......fruitless". The Ait. Ār. (V. 3. 3) notes that if there be rain when it is not the season of rainfall, he should make a break by observing cessation of Vedic study for three nights.[937]

The subject of anadhyāya is discussed in the gṛhya and dharmasūtras and in almost all smṛtis. It is not possible to give for want of space the differences between the several works. Among sūtras and smṛtis the most exhaustive and lengthy treatment is found in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 9. 4. to I. 3. 11), Gaut. 16. 5-49, Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. IV. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 115-118), Manu IV. 102-128, Yāj. I. 144-151. The subject is also treated

934. तस्य वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य द्वावनध्यायौ यदात्माशुचिर्यद्देशः । तै. आ. II. 15. This is quoted by आश्व. गृ. III. 4. 7 'विज्ञायते तस्य द्वावनध्यायौ यदात्माशुचिर्यद्देशः'. Manu IV. 127 conveys the same sense in almost the same words. A man may be impure on account of births or deaths in his family or on account of *mala* (dirt on his body) and a place may be so because it is in contact with some impure thing (such as उच्छिष्ट).

935. तस्य वा एतस्य ब्रह्मयज्ञस्य चत्वारो वषट्कारा यद्वातो वाति विद्योतते स्तनयति अवस्फूर्जति । तस्मादेवंविद्वाते वाति विद्योतमाने स्तनयति अवस्फूर्जत्यधीयीतैव वषट्काराणामच्छंबट्काराय । शतपथब्राह्मण XI. 5. 6. 9. The words तस्मादेवं &c. are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 145.

936. The word 'vaṣaṭ' or svāhā is uttered when making an offering to a deity. Thunder and lightning are said to be the vaṣaṭkāras of brahmayajña. Just as when the word vaṣaṭ is uttered some offering follows, so, when it thunders some Vedic text by way of brahmayajña should be repeated.

937. अपर्तौ वर्षे त्रिरात्रं वैदिकेनाध्यायेनान्तरियात् । ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3.

at length in the Sm. C., Smṛtyarthasāra, the Saṁskāra-kaustubha (pp. 564–570), the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā (pp. 327–339) and other Nibandha works. In the following an attempt is made to present a tolerably exhaustive list of anadhyāyas together with a few references to the original sources.

Among *tithis* the following are anadhyāyas. On the first, the 8th, the 14th, 15th tithis (Paurṇamāsī and Amāvāsyā) there was to be cessation of Vedic Study for the whole day; vide Manu IV. 113–114, Yāj I. 146 (in both *pratipad* is not expressly mentioned) and Hārīta. Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 386) refers to anadhyāya on amāvāsyā and 14th tithi. There is a famous verse of the Rāmāyaṇa [938] which shows that *pratipad* also was a holiday. Gaut. says that there was no holiday on the full moon days of the twelve months, but only on the full moon days of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and Phālguna. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 42–43 quotes a verse [939] '(Vedic study on) the eighth tithi kills the teacher, 14th kills the pupil, 15th kills learning'. Manu (IV. 114) has a similar verse. Aparārka [940] (p. 189) quotes from the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa verses to the effect that there is to be no teaching (of the Veda) on Mahānavamī (9th of Āśvina, bright half), on Bharaṇī (i. e. the tithi when the moon is in Bharaṇī nakṣatra after Bhādrapada full moon), Akṣatatṛtīyā (3rd of Vaiśākha, bright half) and Rathasaptamī (7th of Māgha, bright half). Similarly there is to be anadhyāya on what are called *Yugādi* and *Manvantarādi tithis.* Yugādi tithis according to Viṣṇupurāṇa [941] and Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 425) are Vaiśākha-śukla tṛtīyā, Kārtika śukla navamī, Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa trayodaśī and Māgha Pūrṇimā (they are respectively the beginnings of the four yugas, kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali). The Sm. C. (I. p. 58) quotes the Nāradīyapurāṇa 'on the day when uttarāyaṇa and dakṣiṇāyana first take place, on Viṣuva (the two

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938. सा प्रकृत्यैव तन्वङ्गी तद्वियोगाच्च कर्शिता। प्रतिपत्पाठशीलस्य विद्येव तनुतां गता॥ सुन्दरकाण्ड 59. 32. प्रतिपत्सु चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां पर्वणोर्द्वयोः। श्वोऽनध्यायेऽद्य शर्वर्यां नाधीयीत कदाचन॥ हारीत in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 57.

939. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। हन्त्यष्टमी ह्युपाध्यायं हन्ति शिष्यं चतुर्दशी। हन्ति पञ्चदशी विद्यां तस्मात्पर्वणि वर्जयेत्॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 42–43.

940. नृसिंहपुराणात्। महानवम्यां द्वादश्यां भरण्यामपि चैव हि। तथाक्षततृतीयायां शिष्यान्नाध्यापयेद् द्विजः॥ माघमासे तु सप्तम्यां रथाख्यायां तु वर्जयेत्। अपरार्क p. 189 and स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 58. These occur in नृसिंहपुराण 58. 109–110.

941. The verses on युगादितिथिs are विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 13. ff. The मत्स्यपुराण (17. 4–5) gives similar verses. Vide स्मृतिच॰ I. p 59 *for these verses.* According to some Māgha Amāvāsyā is कलियुगादितिथि.

days in the year when the day and night are equal), on the tithis when Viṣṇu sleeps and awakes from sleep (i. e. Āṣāḍha-śukla-ekādaśī and Kārtika-śukla-ekādaśī), on Yugādi and Manvādi tithis there is *anadhyāya*. The tithis on which the fourteen manvantaras are supposed to begin are quoted below.[942] According to a purāṇa passage quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 58) there is anadhyāya on *Sopapadā* tithis[943] (viz. Jyeṣṭha śukla 2, Āśvina śukla 10, and Māgha śukla 4 and 12). Sometimes on the same day there are two tithis; hence the rule laid down is that if on any day a particular tithi (which is declared to be anadhyāya) is shown in the calendar as extending for three muhūrtas at sunrise or at sunset, then the whole of that day is anadhyāya.[944]

Yāj. (I. 148–151) speaks of 37 *tātkālika anadhyāyas* (i. e. where Veda study is suspended only as long as the occasion or disturbance stated lasts). They are: when there is noise created by a dog, jackal, ass, owl, singing of *sāman*, playing on a flute and the cries of the distressed (these are 7); in the vicinity or presence of impure things, of a corpse, or a śūdra or antya (i. e. one of the untouchables), cemetery, a patita (one guilty of mahāpātaka); when the place (of study) has become impure or when the man himself is impure; when there is continuous flashing of lightning or continuous peals of thunder; while one's hands are wet after taking one's meals; in the midst of water; at midnight; when a violent wind is blowing; when there is a rainfall of dust, when the quarters are lit up by sudden (and strange) lights; at the two twilights; when there is fog; when there is a fright (caused by robbers &c.); when one is running; when the smell of something rotten or impure spreads; when a distinguished visitor comes to the house; when one rides an ass, a camel, a conveyance (like a chariot), an elephant, a horse, a boat, or climbs a tree or is in a desert (or barren) place. A few explanatory words may

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942. आश्वयुक्शुक्लनवमी कार्तिकस्य द्वादशी सिता। तृतीया चैत्रमासस्य तथा भाद्रपदस्य च ॥ फाल्गुनस्य त्वमावास्या पुष्यस्यैकादशी सिता। आषाढस्यापि दशमी माघमासस्य सप्तमी॥ श्रावणस्याष्टमी कृष्णा आषाढस्यापि पौर्णिमा। कार्तिकी फाल्गुनी चैत्री ज्यैष्ठी पञ्चदशी सिता ॥ मन्वन्तरादयश्चैते दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 17. 6–8 quoted in the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 58; vide also स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 9.

943. ज्येष्ठे शुक्लद्वितीया तु आश्विने दशमी सिता। चतुर्थी द्वादशी माघे एताः सोपपदाः स्मृताः॥ quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8; संस्कारमयूख quotes it as from कालादर्श.

944. उदयास्तमये वापि मुहूर्तत्रयगामि यत्। तद्दिनं तद्वदोरात्रमनध्यायविदो विदुः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8.

be added. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 19 when wolves howl, or when there is the sound of any musical instrument, or of weeping, singing or of the recitation of a Sāman there is anadhyāya. Gaut. 16. 7 mentions the sound of bāṇa (a kind of vīṇā), bherī (a drum), mṛdaṅga, *garta* (a chariot) and the distressed. Manu (IV. 123-124) explains that when a sāman is heard, one should not study any portion of the Ṛgveda or Yajurveda, because the gods are the devatās of Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda deals with men (it enjoins actions to be done by men), Sāmaveda has the pitṛs as its deities; hence its sound has something of the impure or uncanny about it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 27 prescribes[945] that there should be no Vedic study as long as there are clouds when it is not the season for clouds, when there is a halo round the sun or moon, when there is a rainbow, or when there is parhelion or a star with a tail (like a fish). Gaut. 16. 19, Āp. Dh. I. 3. 9. 14-15, Vas. 13. 11 say that there is anadhyāya as long as a corpse or a cāṇḍāla is in the village or town. Gaut. 16. 45 states the view of some that the Veda can never be studied in a city; there is no Veda study as long as there is an assembly of people (Manu IV. 108) or while the student is lying down or has stretched his feet or placed them on a cot or stool, or while he sits on his haunches winding round his knees and hips a piece of cloth (Manu IV. 112., Vas. Dh. S. 13. 23, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 17). There is to be anadhyāya when one is answering the calls of nature (Manu IV. 109), or when one has not yet sipped water (ācamana) after taking food, or after partaking of meat (Manu IV. 112), when there is wordy argument or there is an affray or a fight or when one is wounded or when blood flows from the body (Manu IV. 122) or when one suffers from indigestion or vomits or has sour eructations (Manu IV. 121).

In certain cases anadhyāya lasts only for a portion of the day. When the wind blows by day strong enough to carry off clouds of dust (Gaut. 16. 5) there is anadhyāya during the day (but not at night even if the wind is still strong) or when on a festive occasion like upanayana there is anadhyāya after dinner that day (Gaut. 16. 43); when in the morning twilight fire has been kindled for homa and there are

945. अभ्रं चापर्तौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसोः परिवेष इन्द्रधनुः प्रतिसूर्यमत्स्यश्च वाते पूतिगन्धे नीहारे च सर्वेष्वेतेषु तावत्कालम् । आप. ध. सू. 1. 3. 11. 27; रोहितेन्द्रधनुर्नीहारेषु । अभ्रदर्शने चापर्तौ । गौ. 16. 9-10 ; 'प्रतिसूर्यमत्स्यश्च' is explained by हरदत्त as सूर्यसमीपे तदाकृतिः प्रतिसूर्यः मत्स्यः पुच्छयक्षत्रम् । समाहारद्वन्द्वे छान्दसो लिङ्गव्यत्ययः ।

flashes of lightning and thunder (not accompanied by rain) there is anadhyāya till the sun sets. Gaut. (16. 32) prescribes anadhyāya for the rest of the day when the king in whose country a man dwells dies; when a strong wind that was blowing stops, there is anadhyāya for a muhūrta i. e. two ghaṭikās (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3.-11. 28) or when there is the howling of sālāvṛka (hyaena ?) or a jackal moving about alone there is anadhyāya till one gets up from sleep (ibid I. 3. 11. 29).

In some cases there is anadhyāya for the whole day and night. According to Yāj. I. 145-147 there is such an anadhyāya when there is thunder at the twilight time, there is a fall of the thunderbolt or earth-quake or the fall of a meteor, when one finishes Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa (of the śākhā one is studying) or when one finishes the study of the Āraṇyaka portion of one's Veda; when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, or when it is the first day after the season changes or when a person partakes of śrāddha food or accepts a gift on śrāddha (except in Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha); when a beast, frog, mongoose, dog, snake, cat or mouse passes between the teacher and pupil (Manu IV. 126 also) or when the banner of Indra is raised or taken down. Manu IV. 110 lays down anadhyāya for three days when one accepts invitation for an Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha or when the king dies or when there is an eclipse. This last refers to an eclipse where the sun or the moon sets while still eclipsed. Gaut. I. 60 prescribes cessation for three days when dogs and others come between. This is explained as referring to the first lesson in Veda, while the words of Manu and Yāj. are held to refer to repetition. Raising the banner in honour of Indra was a festival prescribed for kings in the Kauśika sūtra 140 and other works. The banner was raised usually in Bhādrapada (or sometimes in Āśvina) on the 12th of the bright half when the moon was in conjunction with uttarāṣāḍhā, śravaṇa or dhaniṣṭhā constellation and it was taken down in the same month on the bharaṇī constellation (vide Sm. C. I. p. 59). According to the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā (chap. 43) of Varāha this festival lasted from the 8th to the 12th day of Bhādrapada śukla. Manu (IV. 119) prescribes anadhyāya for a day and night on the Aṣṭakā days [946] and on the last day of each of the six ṛtus (seasons).

946. The aṣṭakā homa was performed on the 8th of the dark half of the four months from Mārgaśīrṣa (according to Āśv. gṛ. II. 4. 1) or (according to others) of three months of Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. Gaut. 16. 38–39 prescribed three days' anadhyāya on each of the three Aṣṭakās or according to some only on the last Aṣṭakā.

In a few cases the anadhyāya was ākālika [947] i. e. lasted for one day (60 ghaṭikās) from the time when the cause began to operate up to the same hour next day. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 11. 25-26) lays down this kind of anadhyāya if out of three viz. flashing of lightning, thunder and rain, one or two occur at a time when it is no season for rain; there is this anadhyāya for all vidyās at all times, when there is an eclipse of the sun or the moon or there is an earthquake or a whirlwind or fall of meteors. Manu IV. 103-105 and Gautama 16. 22-23 are similar to Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 25-26 and Manu IV. 118 prescribes ākālika anadhyāya when a village is thrown into confusion by thieves or there is a commotion due to a conflagration and in the case of all portentous phenomena (such as rain of blood or stones; vide Vas. 13. 35). Gaut. (16. 47-48) adds that the performer of a śrāddha (whether he actually serves cooked food to brāhmaṇas or only makes gifts of money and corn &c.) has to observe this anadhyāya (vide Manu IV. 117 also).

Anadhyāya for three days was prescribed in a few cases. If lightning, thunder and rain all appear together when it is not the proper season for them, there is anadhyāya for three days (Āp. Dh. I. 3. 11. 23). Vide note 937 above. In the utsarga and upākaraṇa of the Vedas, on the death of gurus (persons worthy of respect like the father-in-law), on the Aṣṭakās and on the death of near agnates (like brother, nephew &c.) there is anadhyāya for three days [948] (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 2-3). Gaut. (6. 38-41) is similar to Āp. The Hārīta dharmasūtra [949] prescribes anadhyāya for three days on the death of one's upādhyāya, or of the king or of a śrotriya or fellow pupil, on eclipses of the sun and the moon, on the taking down of the banner of Indra and on the death of one's ācārya.

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947. The मिता॰ on या. I. 147 derives the word as follows 'निमित्तकालादारभ्यापरेद्युर्यावत्स एव कालस्तावत्कालः आकालः तत्र भव आकालिकोऽनध्यायः'.

948. वैरमणे गुरुष्वष्टाक्य औपाकरण इति त्र्यहाः । तथा संबन्धेषु ज्ञातिषु । आप. ध. I. 3. 10. 2-3. उपाकरण (उपाकर्म) and उत्सर्ग (वैरमण) will be explained later. The sūtra तथा......ज्ञातिषु applies to a ब्रह्मचारी since others have to observe अनध्याय on the death of agnates till āśauca lasts. In this last case अनध्याय begins on the day of death. In उपाकरण or उत्सर्ग the three days are the day previous to them, the day following them and the one on which that rite is performed.

949. अत एव हारीतः । उपाध्याये राजनि च मृते श्रोत्रिये सब्रह्मचारिणि च चन्द्रार्कयो राहुदर्शने शक्रध्वजपतन आचार्ये च मृते त्रिरात्रम् । इति । अपरार्क p. 190. The श्रोत्रिय, as या. I. 144 says, must be one who has studied the same śākhā.

Manu (IV. 110 and 119) prescribes anadhyāya for three days on accepting invitation for *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*, on the death of the king, on eclipses and on upākarma or utsarga. Yaj. I. 144 contains similar rules.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 10. 4) prescribes 12 days' anadhyāya on the death of one's parents and ācārya. Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 32 prescribes[950] three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's father. This rule must be taken as referring only to a brahmacārī. Vas. (13. 39–40) prescribes three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's ācārya and one day's on the death of the son or wife of the ācārya.

The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 10) mentions some occasions when anadhyāya may extend to a month, to six months, or a year. Āp. D. S. I. 3. 9. 1. prescribes that, when upākarma is performed on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa, for a month thereafter one should not study Veda in the first part of the night (he may do so after that at night or in the day).

Aparārka (p. 192) quotes a verse from Yama[951] that there can be no Vedic study under the shade of certain trees like Śleṣmātaka, Śālmali (silk-cotton), Madhuka, Kovidāra and Kapitthaka.

Both Gaut. (16. 49) and Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 34 state that besides the anadhyāyas expressly mentioned by them there are others which may be learnt from the several smṛtis and from the assemblies of learned men.[952]

It would be noticed how the number of anadhyāyas is rather too numerous for rapid and effective study. Therefore certain rules are laid down to explain what is that is forbidden on those days.

In the first place anadhyāya may be vācika (concerned with the loud utterance of Vedic words), mānasa (revolving

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950. पितर्युपरते त्रिरात्रम् । बौ. ध. I. 11. 3–2 ; आचार्ये प्रेते त्रिरात्रम् । आचार्यपुत्रशिष्यभार्यास्वहोरात्रम् । वसिष्ठ 13. 39–40.

951. श्लेष्मातकस्य छायायां शाल्मलेर्मधुकस्य च । कदाचिदपि नाध्येयं कोविदारकपित्थयोः ॥ यम quoted by अपरार्क p. 192. In the परा. मा. I. 1. p. 158 this is quoted as from the कूर्मपुराण.

952. प्रतिविद्यं च यान्स्मरन्ति । गौ. 16. 49 ; यथोक्तमन्यदतः परिषत्सु । आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 34.

the Veda in the mind). Baud. Dh. S. I.[953] 11. 40–41 says that the rule about anadhyāya on portentous happenings for a day and night does not apply to mānasa study; but even mānasa study is forbidden when there is impurity due to birth or death. Gaut. 16. 46 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 20 allows (in general) mental study (not vocal) on anadhyāya days. Vide also Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 12–13.

The Āp. Śrautasūtra[954] (24. 1. 37) says that the rules about anadhyāya apply only to the learning of Vedic mantras, but have no application to their employment in various rites. Jaimini[955] (XII. 3. 18–19) establishes the proposition that the rules about anadhyāya being prescribed for acquisition of the Vedic mantras have no application to their employment in sacrifices. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 9 has a sūtra which shows remarkable agreement with the words of Jaimini.

We saw above that according to the Tai. Ār. the rules of anadhyāya do not apply to the daily performance of Brahmayajña (i. e. to the repetition of the Vedic texts already learnt). Manu II. 105 says that there is no concern about anadhyāya as to the lores (the aṅgas like grammar, Nirukta &c.) helpful to (understanding of) the Veda, the obligatory svādhyāya (i. e. brahmayajña) and the mantras to be used in homa. Śaunaka[956] quoted in the Sm. C. says there is no anadhyāya as to repeating the Vedic texts in the obligatory rites and in japa nor in kāmya rites, in sacrifices or in the pārāyaṇa (repeating the Veda already learnt); the anadhyāya rules apply only to the first learning of Vedic mantras and to their teaching. The Smṛtyarthasāra[957] (p. 10) says that those who have a slippery memory or those who have to commit to memory extensive Vedic texts

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953. अन्येषु चाद्भुतोत्पातेषु अहोरात्रमनध्यायोऽन्यत्र मानसात् ।: मानसेपि जननमरणयोरनध्यायः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 40–41 ; मानसमप्यशुचिः । गौ. 16. 46 ; मनसा चानध्याये । आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 20.

954. स्वाध्यायेऽनध्यायो मन्त्राणां न कर्मण्यर्थान्तरत्वात् । आप. श्रौ. 24. 1. 37.

955. मन्त्राणां कर्मसंयोगात्स्वधर्मेण प्रयोगः स्याद्धर्मस्य तन्निमित्तत्वात् । विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य । जै. XII. 3. 18–19. The first sūtra contains the पूर्वपक्ष view; compare विद्यां प्रत्यनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम् । आप. ध. I. 4. 12. 9.

956. नित्ये जपे च काम्ये च क्रतौ पारायणेपि च । नानध्यायोस्ति वेदानां ग्रहणे ग्राहणे स्मृतः । शौनक in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 61; vide similar verses in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 11.

957. तथा विस्मृतिशीलानां बहुवेदप्रपाठिनाम् । चतुर्दश्यष्टमी-पर्वप्रतिपद्वर्जितेषु तु । वेदाङ्गन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राणि चाभ्यसेत् । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 10

should study the Vedāṅgas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṁsā and dharmaśāstras on all anadhyāyas except on 1st, 8th, 14th and full moon and new moon days. Some digests quote a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa[958] that there is no anadhyāya for the study of Vedāṅgas, of itihāsa, purāṇas, dharmaśāstras and other śāstras; but on *parva* days the study of even these should be dropped. This shows that these *tithis* were the only close holidays on which there was complete cessation of all study, whether Vedic or non-Vedic. That is, these were what are called *nitya* holidays while the rest are naimittika anadhyāyas. Even now these nitya anadhyāyas are observed by vaidikas and by Pandits in their Sanskrit schools (particularly amāvāsyā).

It will be seen that though some of the occasions for anadhyāya are somewhat strange and bizarre, underlying most of them there are reasonable and understandable principles. Vedic study depended in the first place on memorizing. Committing sacred texts to memory (without in most cases understanding their meaning) required close attention and concentration. Therefore, all occasions which caused disturbance or distraction of mind were held to be anadhyāyas. But the same concentration was not necessary for reciting in sacrifices or japa or brahma-yajña what had already been committed to memory. Hence such occasions were not anadhyāyas for those purposes.

It was believed that[959] if a person taught the Vedic lore or studied it on anadhyāya days, he incurred loss as to (long) life, offspring, cattle, intelligence and the merit accumulated by him.

Keśānta or *godāna*:—This saṁskāra consists in shaving the head and also the hair on the other parts of the body (such as arm-pits, chin). Pār. gṛ., Yāj. (I. 36) and Manu (II. 65) employ the word keśānta, while Āśv. gṛ., Śāṅ. gṛ., Gobhila and other gṛhyasūtras employ the word godāna. In the Śat.[960] Br. while speaking of the dīkṣā (consecration of the performer

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958. अनध्यायस्तु नाङ्गेषु नेतिहासपुराणयोः। न धर्मशास्त्रेष्वन्येषु पर्वण्येतानि वर्जयेत्॥ quoted from कूर्मपुराण by निर्णयसिन्धु. This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 14. 82–83 and औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. ed. I. p. 517)

959. यमोपि। आयुः प्रजां पशून् मेधां कृतं हि सुकृतं च यत्। अनध्यायेष्वभ्यसतो ब्रह्म व्याहरतस्तथा॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 61. Vide two similar verses quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8.

960. स दक्षिणमेवाग्रे गोदानमभ्युनत्ति। शतपथ III. 1. 2. 4.

of a sacrifice) the word godāna is used in the sense of a portion of the hair (on the head) near the top of the ear. Most smṛtikāras say that this saṁskāra was performed in the 16th year. According to Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 28. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 57) it may be performed in the 16th or 18th year. According to Manu II. 65 keśānta is performed in the 16th, 22nd or 24th year respectively for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti XIV. 1 says that Godāna may be performed in the 16th year or at the time of marriage. This last view seems to have been known to Bhavabhūti who in his Uttararāmacarita [961] (Act. I) makes the heroine Sītā say that Rāma and his three brothers had the godāna ceremony performed immediately before their marriage. It is somewhat strange that according to the Kauśika sūtra [962] (54. 15) godāna precedes cūḍākarma and the commentator Keśava remarks that godāna takes place at the end of the first or 2nd year (from birth).

There is great divergence of views about the starting point from which 16 years are to be calculated. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7) has stated the rule in general terms that the number of years is to be calculated from the time of conception. [963] Following this rule the Mit. on Yāj. I. 36 and Kullūka on Man II. 65 say that godāna should be performed in the 16th year from conception in the case of brāhmaṇas, [964] while Aparārka says that it is to be performed in the 16th year from birth. Viśvarūpa [965] on Yāj. I. 36 says that whatever the period of brahmacarya that a student was going to observe (whether 12, 24, 36, 48 &c.) keśānta must be performed in the 16th year and if any one had his upanayana performed later than the 16th year, then keśānta will not take place at all. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 3 notes that according to some godāna takes

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961. एते खलु तत्कालकृतगोदानमङ्गलाश्चत्वारो भ्रातरो विवाहदीक्षिता यूयम् । उत्तररामचरित I.

962. चूडाकरणं च गोदानेन व्याख्यातम् । कौशिकसूत्र 54. 15.

963. गर्भादिसंख्या वर्षाणां तदष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत । बौ. ध. सू. I. 2.7.

964. केशान्तः पुनर्गोदानाख्यं कर्म गर्भादारभ्य षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य कार्यम् । एतच्च द्वादशवार्षिके पक्षव्रते बोद्धव्यम् । इतरस्मिन्पक्षे यथासंभवं द्रष्टव्यम् । राजन्यवैश्ययोस्तूपनयनकालवद् द्वाविंशे चतुर्विंशे वा द्रष्टव्यम् । मिता० on या. I. 36.

965. On केशान्तश्चैव षोडशे 'केशान्तस्तु सर्वपक्षेषु षोडश एवाब्दे कर्तव्यः । चशब्दस्तु-शब्दस्यार्थे । एवकारस्योत्कर्षः ।'...... यदा पुनः प्राक् षोडशाब्दात्कथंचिन्नोपनीतस्तदा कालप्राप्तावनुपनीतस्य तदभावः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 36.

place in the 16th year from upanayana, while others celebrate it in the 16th year from birth.

All sūtrakāras are agreed that godāna or keśānta follows the procedure of cūḍākaraṇa with a few differences. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 18. 1–9) points these out. Caula is performed in the 3rd year, while godāna is performed in the 16th. Āśv. gṛ. further says "wherever the word keśa occurs (in the mantras or procedure of caula) he should employ the word śmaśru (beard). He moistens the beard here. (The mantra is) 'purify his head and face, but do not deprive him of life '. He gives orders (to the barber) 'arrange his beard, the hair of his body and his nails, ending in the north '. Having bathed and stood up silently during the rest of the day, he should break his silence in the presence of his teacher (saying to the teacher) 'I give a gift '. The fee is a pair of cows. Let the teacher instruct him to keep the observances for a year "[966]. Nārāyaṇa notes that being grown up he should not sit on his mother's lap as in caula (but sit to her right) and that the instruction is to be on the next day. Nārāyaṇa says that the instruction referred to is the one mentioned in Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 20 from 'cutting the hair' to 'giving in charge' i. e. from Āśv. gṛ. I. 19. 8. to I. 20. 7. It is better to hold as Pār. and Bhār. gṛ. ordain that the instruction is as to brahmacaryavrata (mentioned[967] in Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 17) or that he is not to shave himself for a year, 12 days, 6 days or at least 3 days. Pār. gṛ., Śāṅkhāyana and several others allowed the fee of only one cow[968]. Gobhila (III. 1. 5) and Khādira (II. 5. 3) allowed optionally the gift of a pair of horses or a pair of sheep for kṣatriyas or vaiśyas respectively. According to

966. In आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 7 the mantra in चौल is अदितिः केशान् वपतु; instead of it the mantra in godāna is 'अदितिः श्मश्रूणि वपतु'. In चौल आश्व. (I. 17. 8) prescribes the laying of kuśa bunches on to the right side of the hair ; in गोदान the kuśa is laid on the beard (before it is cut). In चौल the edge of the razor is wiped with the mantra 'यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता सुपेशसा वप्ता वपसि केशान्। शुन्धि शिरो मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः (आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 15); instead in गोदान, the mantra is यत्...वपसि श्मश्रूणि ॥ शुन्धि शिरो मुखं मास्या &c. In this way ऊह (necessary changes in the words) is to be made. In चौल in आश्व. I. 17. 16 the direction to the barber is 'शीतोष्णाभिरद्भिरवर्थं कुर्वाणोऽक्षुण्वन्कुशलीकुरु'; in गोदान it is 'शीतो... क्षुण्वन् कुशली केशश्मश्रुलोमनखान्युदक्संस्थानि कुरु'.

967. अत ऊर्ध्वमक्षारलवणाशी ब्रह्मचार्यधःशायी त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वा। आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 17.

968. गां केशान्ते संवत्सरं ब्रह्मचर्यमवपनं च केशान्ते द्वादशरात्रं षड्रात्रं त्रिरात्रमन्ततः। पारस्कर गृ. II. 1; संवत्सरं कृतगोदानो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरति। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 10.

Gobhila and Khādira shaving the beard precedes a vrata called godānika for one year and both state at length the observances of that vrata (Gobhila III. 1. 11–29, Khādira II. 5. 7–16).

Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 28. 22) expressly says that the keśānta ceremony is performed for girls but silently. Āp. gṛ. 16. 15, Hir. gṛ. 6. 16, Bhāradvāja gṛ. I. 10, Baud. gṛ. III. 2. 55 prescribe in godāna the removal of all the hair on the head (including the śikhā top-knot), while in caula it is not so.

This saṁskāra gradually went out of vogue, so much so that most of the medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Saṁskāraprakāśa, and the Nirṇayasindhu contain hardly anything about it.

Snāna or *Samāvartana*:—(Taking the ceremonial bath after finishing Vedic study and returning from the teacher's house). Some sūtrakāras such as Gaut. (VIII. 16), Āp. gṛ. XII. 1, Hir. gṛ. 9. 1 and Yāj. I. 51 employ the word 'snāna' for this saṁskāra, while Āśv. gṛ. III. 8. 1, Baud. gṛ. (II. 6. 1), Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 15 and 31, Bhār. gṛ. II. 18 employ the word samāvartana. The Khādira gṛ. (I. 3. 2–3, III. 1. 1) and Gobhila III. 4. 7 use the word 'āplavana' (which means snāna). Manu (III. 4) uses both 'snāna' and 'samāvartana' in "a *dvija* being permitted by his teacher, may take the ceremonial bath and return from his teacher according to the rules laid down (in his own gṛhyasūtra) and then marry a a girl &c". Aparārka (p. 76) explains this verse by saying that it makes a distinction between snāna and samāvartana. The distinction consists in this: snāna or ceremonial bath indicates the completion of the period of student-hood. A man who wants to remain a brahmacārin all his life need not undergo this saṁskāra. Samāvartana literally means 'return from the teacher's house to one's home'. If a boy learns under his own father, then literally speaking there will be no return in his case from a teacher's house. Medhātithi[969] (on Manu III. 4) puts this position forcibly. Samāvartana is not a necessary *aṅga* (adjunct) of marriage and therefore he who learnt the Veda in his father's house may, though there is no return (to the father's house from the teacher's house), enter on matrimony. Some hold that Samāvartana is an *aṅga* of marriage and consists

969. न तु समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गम्। तेन यः पितृगृह एवाधीतवेदस्तस्यासमावृत्तस्य संभवत्येव विवाहः। केचित्समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्नानं मन्यन्ते। कस्याश्चुत्या भेदप्रतिपत्तिरिति चेदेवं तर्हि समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्नानसंस्कारं वक्ष्यति। ...... अथवा यमनियमत्यागाभिप्रायं समावृत्तिवचनम्। मेधा. on मनु III. 4.

in the ceremonial bath. If it be said that the gerundial termination (tvā in snātvā in Manu III. 4) conveys distinction between snāna and samāvartana, the reply is that Manu will later on speak of samāvartana as the saṁskāra of snāna.

Āp. gṛ. 12. 1 begins its treatment with the words 'vedam adhītya snāsyan' (after learning the Veda and when about to undergo the ceremonial bath).' Having these words in mind Baud. gṛ. [970] (II 6. 1) remarks that in the words 'vedam adhītya snāsyan' it is samāvartana that has been described. Hence the essence of samāvartana is the ceremonial bath and return to the parental home is a subsidiary matter (which may or may not occur in the case of a student). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 384) says that a person after he has studied the Veda and taken the ceremonial bath with the permission of the teacher should begin to use a cot (for sleeping on).

In the Vedic Literature both words are used. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad [971] IV. 10. 1 we read that Upakosala Kāmalāyana became a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and tended his teacher's fires for twelve years; the teacher while making his other pupils return (to their parental home) did not make Upakosala return. Here it is clear that the Upaniṣad knew the term 'samāvartana'. Similarly in Chāndogya VIII. 15 it is stated that 'having studied the Veda according to the rules in the time that was left after doing work for the teacher and having returned from the teacher's house to his own family'. On the other hand the Śat. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 7) says 'that one [972] should not beg after taking the ceremonial bath'. The Śat. Br. (XII. 1. 1. 10) distinguishes [973] a snātaka from a brahmacārin (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 137). Similarly the Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 13 quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage 'therefore the face of the snātaka is as if resplendent with fire'. The Ait. Ār. V. [974] 3. 3. remarks that ' one who

970. वेदमधीत्य स्नास्यन्निस्युक्तं समावर्तनम् । बौ. गृ. II. 6. 1. अधीत्य स्नात्वा गुरुभिरनुज्ञातेन खट्वारोढव्या । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 384.

971. स ह स्मान्यानन्तेवासिनः समावर्तयंस्तं ह स्मैव न समावर्तयति । छान्दोग्य IV. 10. 1 ; आचार्यकुलाद्वेदमधीत्य यथाविधानं गुरोः कर्मातिशेषेणाभिसमावृत्य कुटुम्बे । छान्दोग्य VIII. 15. 1.

972. न ह वै स्नात्वा भिक्षेत । शतपथ ब्रा. XI. 3. 3. 7. This is quoted by the बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 53 (along with other passages of the same ब्राह्मण)

973. The गोपथब्रा. (पूर्वार्ध IV. 6) also distinguishes between स्नातक and ब्रह्मचारी 'अथ तमभ्यस्नातको वा ब्रह्मचारी वा दीक्षयाते न पूतः पावयेदित्याहुः'.

974. नेदमनधीयन् स्नातको भवति यद्यन्यद्बह्वधीयात् । ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3; महद्वै भूतं स्नातको भवतीति विज्ञायते । आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 8.

has not studied this (mahāvrata) does not become a (true) snātaka, even though he may have learnt a good deal else.' The Āśv. gṛ. III. 9. 8 summarises a Brāhmaṇa passage to the effect that a snātaka is indeed a great being.

Snāna (the ceremonial bath) was ordained by the sūtrakāras after a student finishesd his Vedic study. The Āśv. gṛ. (III. 9. 4) remarks 'after having finished (the task of learning) *vidyā*, they should invite his teacher to name the gift (of wealth or otherwise) he desired or when the pupil has been permitted by the teacher, the pupil may take a ceremonial bath.'[975] This shows that one may perform *snāna* either when he had finished his Vedic and other studies or he may do so even without finishing his intended studies, if the teacher permitted him to do so. The Pār. gṛ. II. 6 is more explicit 'The student should take the ceremonial bath after finishing (the study of) the Veda or when he has gone through the period of student-hood for 48 years, or for 12 years according to some (teachers); (he should) take the bath when permitted by the teacher.' A person who has taken the ceremonial bath is called a *snātaka*. A snātaka is said by the Pār. gṛ. (II. 5),[976] Gobhila (III. 5. 21-22), Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā sūtra I. 15, Hārīta and others to be of three kinds, viz vidyāsnātaka (or Veda-snātaka as Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā has it), vratasnātaka and vidyā-vratasnātaka (or veda-vrata-snātaka as in Baud). One who has finished Veda study, but has not gone through the vratas (described above) is called *vidyā-snātaka*; one who has finished the vratas, but has not finished his Veda study is styled *vrata-snātaka*; while one who has finished both is named *vidyā-vrata-snātaka*. Yāj. I. 51 in saying that a student 'after finishing Veda (study) or the vratas (observances of brahmacarya) or both, and after giving to the teacher what the latter chooses to ask should take the ceremonial bath with the teacher's permission' impliedly refers to the three-fold division of snātakas. These three alternatives are due to the fact that a student may not have the ability or the time to go through the full Vedic curriculum and the

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975. विद्यान्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमन्त्र्य कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 4.; वेदं समाप्य स्नायाद् ब्रह्मचर्यं वाष्टाचत्वारिंशकं द्वादशकेप्येके गुरुणानुज्ञातः । पारस्करगृह्य II. 6.

976. त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति विद्यास्नातको व्रतस्नातको विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति । समाप्य वेदमसमाप्य व्रतं यः समावर्तते स विद्यास्नातकः समाप्य व्रतमसमाप्य वेदं यः समावर्तते स व्रतस्नातक उभयं समाप्य यः समावर्तते स विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति । पारस्करगृह्य II. 5; हारीत as quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 66 is the same.

vratas. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 31 notices that according to some vrata-snātakas are those who without finishing Veda study take the ceremonial bath three years after upanayana. Gobhila (III. 5. 23) says that of these, vidyā-vrata-snātaka is the best, the other two being equal to each other. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 1–5) refers to this three-fold division and adds that all three are to be honoured as snātakas, but that great reward follows by honouring vidyā-vrata-snātakas.

A good deal of time may conceivably elapse between a man's taking the ceremonial bath and actually marrying a woman. During that period he is called a snātaka; while after marriage he comes to be called a gṛhastha [977]. As long as a person is not married after he takes the bath, he has to follow the observances prescribed for snātakas and gṛhasthas so far as applicable to his position but not those of a student. Gaut. [978] (IX. 1–2) makes the position quite clear by prescribing the same rules of conduct for gṛhasthas and for snātakas. He also states (in III. 9) that whatever rules laid down for brahmacārins are not opposed to the special rules for other āśramas are to be observed by all. The latter means that the special observances of a brahmacārī are not applicable to him (such as avoiding honey and flesh, living on alms, offering fuel-sticks to fire).

The most elaborate procedure of samāvartana is found in Hir. gṛ. I. 9–13, Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā I. 14, Pār. gṛ. II. 6 and Gobhila gṛ. III. 4–5. A concise statement is given below from Āśv. gṛ. (III. 8 and 9). The student who is about to return home from his teacher should get ready (eleven) things, viz. a jewel (to be suspended round his neck), two ear-rings, a pair of garments, an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a staff, a wreath, (powder) for rubbing his body with, ointment, eye-salve, a turban, (all these) being meant for the teacher and for himself. If he cannot afford to have these materials for both of them, then he

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977. आ जायासङ्गमात्स्नातका भवन्त्यत ऊर्ध्वं गृहस्थाः । बौ. गृ. परिभाषा I. 15. 10.

978. Vide हरदत्त on गौतम IX. 2 (स्नातकश्च) 'ब्रह्मचर्यान्निवृत्तत्वाद्गार्हस्थ्यव्यतिरिक्ताश्रमान्तराभावाच्च भार्याधिगमादूर्ध्वमिति पूर्वसूत्रमारब्धम् । स्नातकस्य तु भार्याधिगमासंभवे यावज्जीवं गृहस्थधर्मा एवानुष्ठेया इति सूत्रमारब्धम् '. हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 6 (अथ स्नातकः) says that some of the स्नातकव्रतs are common to गृहस्थs. According to हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 3 व्रतानि in व्रतस्नातक does not stand for the special व्रतs like महानाम्नी, but for the general observances such अग्नीन्धन, भैक्षचर्या.

should prepare them only for the teacher. He should procure a fuel-stick from the north-east side of a sacrificial tree (like palāśa); the fuel-stick may be undried if he wishes for the enjoyment of food or for prosperity or for splendour; it may be dry if he wishes for spiritual lustre; or both dry (in part) and undried in the remaining part if he desires both. Having placed the fuel-stick on high (not on the ground) and having made gifts of food and of a cow to brāhmaṇas, he should perform the actions prescribed in godāna ceremony (and not the observances like remaining silent). He should[979] alter the mantras (of godāna) so that they refer to himself. (He should rub himself) with the powder of Ekaklītaka.[980] Having bathed himself in lukewarm water and having put on two garments which have not yet been washed (or used) with the mantra 'You two (Mitra and Varuṇa) put on garments[981] with fat splendour' (Ṛg. I. 152. 1); he should apply eye-salve to his eyes with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone, protect my eye.' He should fasten the two ear-rings with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone; protect my ear.' After having smeared his two hands with ointment (saffron paste &c.) a brāhmaṇa should first anoint his face with it (and then the limbs), a Rājanya his two arms first, a vaiśya his belly first, a woman her private parts, persons, who maintain themselves by running, their thighs. With the words 'free from distress art thou, may I become free from distress' he should put on the wreath, but not such a wreath as would be called a mālā (garland). If some call it *mālā* (through ignorance of what to say) he should cause them to speak of it as *sraj* (wreath). He steps into the shoes with the words 'you two are the supports of the gods, protect me from all sides' and with the

979. This means:—instead of 'ओषधे त्रायस्वैनं स्वधिते मैनं हिंसीः' (आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 8–9) repeated in चौल and गोदान (by the आचार्य) the student should himself repeat the mantra as 'ओषधे त्रायस्व मां स्वधिते मा मा हिंसीः'. Instead of the mantra 'क्षुन्धि शिरो मुखं मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः' repeated by the आचार्य in गोदान, the student should himself say 'क्षुन्धि शिरो मुखं मा मे आयुः प्रमोषीः'.

980. 'करञ्जबीजस्य यत्रैकं बीजं तदेकक्लीतम् । तत्पेषयित्वा तेनोन्मर्दनं कारयेत् ॥' नारायण on आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 8. It is the seed of the करञ्ज tree which contains only one grain that is to be powdered.

981. The mantra युवं वस्त्राणि is to be repeated with each garment. The eye-salve is to be applied to the left eye first and then to the right, says Nārāyaṇa quoting a smṛti. The ear-ring is first to be fastened on the right ear and then on the left.

words 'heaven's covering art thou' he takes the umbrella. He takes the bamboo staff with the words 'bamboo art thou, thou art the child of a tree, protect me from all sides.' Having tied round his neck the jewel[982] with the hymn beginning with 'āyuṣyam',[983] and having arranged the turban (on his head) he should in a standing posture put a fuel-stick (on the fire), and should say at that time 'memory and reproach, knowledge, faith, wisdom as the fifth, what is sacrificed, what is given (as gift), what is studied and what is done, truth, learning, observances. O Agni, the vow (of thee) together with Indra, with Prajāpati, with the sages, with the sages that are kṣatriyas, with the Fathers, with the kings among Fathers, with men and with the kings among men, with the glow, with the super-glow, with the after-glow, with the counter-glow, with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsarases, with wild and domestic animals, the vow belonging to my own self, dwelling in my own self, that is my entire vow. O Agni! I shall on all sides become this vow, svāhā'. With the hymn 'mine, O Agni, be the glory' (Ṛg. X. 128. 1) he should put fuel-sticks on fire one for each verse.[984] He should stay for the night at a place where the people will do honour to him (by offering Madhuparka)'. Madhuparka will be dealt with under marriage.

The Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā says (I. 14. 1) that the samāvartana rite for him who is only a vratasnātaka (and has not studied the Veda) is performed silently (i. e. without the mantras prescribed). The other gṛhya sūtras have a similar procedure in samāvartana, only the mantras sometimes differ and a few details are added.

Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 16 says that the 'maṇi' is 'suvarṇamaya (made of gold). Āp. gṛ. 12. 8 speaks of 'maṇiṁ sauvarṇam sopadhānam' (a golden bead with two precious stones on two sides).

983. This sūkta is a khila sūkta in the Ṛgveda. It occurs in the आप. म. पा. II. 8. It is in praise of gold.

984. Nārāyaṇa adds on Āśv. gṛ. III. 8. 16 that he should keep aside his shoes and then offer the fuel-stick. Stenzler conjectures अग्नेः for अग्ने in आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 1, which is unwarranted and unnecessary. The sūkta Ṛg. X. 128 has nine verses. Nārāyaṇa says that there is to be homa with ten samidhs; the tenth verse, therefore, is the verse 'āyuṣyam' which is the first verse of the Khilasūkta after Ṛg. X. 128. The erstwhile student is to offer *samidhs* sitting and not standing and end the rite with the offering to Sviṣṭakṛt Agni.

For example, Śāṅ. gṛ. (III. 1. 2) makes the student sit on bull's hide. Pār. gṛ. (II. 6) prescribes that eight jars full of water are to be placed on kuśa grass and water therefrom is to be poured over the head and the body of the student with certain mantras, that he is to worship the rising sun, to partake of curds or sesame seeds, to cleanse his teeth with an udumbara twig, he sees himself in a mirror (after adorning himself). Both Pār. and Gobhila (III. 4. 23) say that in this rite the girdle is taken off. Gobhila (III. 4. 31–34) says that at the end of the rite the student should mount a chariot drawn by oxen, drive some distance in an eastern or northern direction, should then come back to the teacher who honours him with madhuparka. Hir. gṛ. (I. 9. 10) says that the girdle, the staff and the black antelope skin that he wore as brahmacārin are to be thrown into water. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (14th section) appears to suggest that godāna and samāvartana take place on the same day and that at the end of the homa in samāvartana a student of the Ṛgveda should unloosen the girdle of muñja grass with the mantra 'ud uttamam mumugdhi' (Ṛg. I. 25. 21). It is for this reason that in the Maratha country samāvartana is called 'soḍmuñja' (rite in which the muñja girdle is taken away).

The sūtras more or less prescribe expressly or impliedly the same materials that are required by Āśvalāyana. Vide Bhār. gṛ. II. 18 (which enumerates them in one place), Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā sūtra I. 13. 1.

Some of the sūtras specify the auspicious times when this rite is to be performed. Hir. gṛ. I. 9. 3 lays down that the proper time for snāna is during the northern course of the sun, in the bright half of a month when the moon is in conjunction with Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Tiṣya (Puṣya), Uttarā Phalgunī, Hasta, Citrā, or Viśākhā. The Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā (I. 13. 3–9) omits Mṛgaśiras out of these, while Bhār. gṛ. (II. 18) omits Rohiṇī and Mṛgaśiras and adds Svāti. Medieval and modern digests add elaborate rules about the astrological details for the proper day of samāvartana, which are passed over here. Vide Saṁskāraprakāśa pp. 576–578 for some of these details.

Numerous rules are laid down in the smṛtis and digests about snātakas (snātakadharmāḥ). Many of these rules are applicable to gṛhasthas also (i. e. snātakas who have married). Those rules are too numerous to enumerate. But some idea may be conveyed by quoting in full the rules in Āśv. gṛ.

(III. 9. 6–7) which has the shortest treatment and adding a few interesting items from other works. Āśv. gr. (III. 9. 6–7) says 'He (the snātaka) should not bathe at night, nor bathe naked, nor lie down naked, he should not look at a naked woman except during intercourse, he shall not run when it rains, he should not climb up a tree, nor descend into a well, should not cross a river (by swimming) with his arms, he should not expose himself to a danger. A great being indeed is a snātaka—so it is known (from the śruti)'. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 6–I. 11. 32. 29), Vas. XII. 1–47, Gaut. IX, Yāj. I. 129–166, Manu IV. 13ff, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71, Pār. gr. II. 1 contain an exhaustive treatment of snātaka vratas. Some of these are concerned with the rules about anadhyāyas, about answering calls of nature, about persons whose food should not be taken, about sexual intercourse, about ācamana, about daily observances like the five mahāyajñas, about upākarma and utsarjana. These have been or will be dealt with in the appropriate places. A few of the other important rules of conduct are: a snātaka should always be pure (in body), should daily bathe and should apply fragrant unguents (like sandal-wood paste) to his body, should be always patient, persistent in his undertakings, self-restrained, generous and not disposed to cause injury to others (Gaut. 9. 7 and 73); he should speak the truth and also speak what is agreeable, but should not tell disagreeable truths, nor should he tell agreeable lies (Manu IV. 138 and Gaut. IX. 68); he should according to his ability try to make his day fruitful as regards the performance of meritorious acts, satisfaction of (legitimate) desires and acquisition of wealth, but he should look upon dharma as the principal of the three *puruṣārthas* (Gaut. IX. 46–47, Manu IV. 176, Yāj. I. 156), though he should avoid even what is allowed by the śāstras if it is hateful to the people; he should not beg (for his livelihood) of anybody except the king or his pupils, but when oppressed by hunger he may beg a little such as a cultivated or uncultivated field, a cow, goats and sheep, or gold, corn, food (Vas. XII. 2–3, Gaut. IX. 63–64, Manu IV. 33–34, Yāj. I. 130); but he should not beg of a king who is not of kṣatriya descent or who sets at naught the dictates of the śāstras (Manu IV. 84, 87) nor should he stay in the kingdom of a śūdra king (Manu IV. 61); he should not talk with the mlecchas, impure persons and irreligious persons (Gaut. IX. 17); he should not dwell in contact with sinners, cāṇḍālas and other untouchables, with fools or persons puffed up with the pride of wealth &c. (Manu IV. 79); he should

not be restless in his sexual desires or with his hands and feet, speech and eyes (Gaut. IX. 50, Manu IV. 177, Vas. VI. 42); he should go round (perform pradakṣiṇā), when he meets on his way a cow, images of gods, a brāhmaṇa, ghee, honey, a square, well-known trees (Manu IV. 39, Gaut. IX. 66); he should not engage in wordy quarrels with his parents, guests, brothers, sisters, persons connected by marriage, maternal uncles, dependents, relations, sacrificial and family priests, children, wife, slaves (Manu IV. 179–180 = Śāntiparva 244, 14–16, Yāj. I. 157–158); he should carry a bamboo stick, a water jar, kuśa grass, wear two yajñopavītas, two garments (upper and lower) and two golden ear-rings (Manu IV. 36, Yāj. I. 133, Vas. XII. 14, 37–38); if he has money enough he should not wear old and dirty clothes, his garments should be white, he should not wear garments that are dyed and black cloth even when that is its natural colour (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30, 10–13, Manu IV. 34–35, Yāj. I. 131, Gaut. IX. 4–5) nor should he wear the clothes, shoes, and garland of another and if he wears these of another owing to poverty, he should thoroughly clean them (Gaut. IX. 6–7, Manu IV. 66); he should not allow his beard to grow unless there is some good ground to do so and should pare his nails (Gaut. IX. 8, Manu V. 35, Yāj. I. 131); while his shoes are in his hand he should not sit on a seat nor should he salute a person or bow to a deity (Gaut. IX. 45); he should not blow with his mouth to kindle fire (Manu IV. 53, Vas. XII. 27, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not hold simultaneously in his hands fire and water nor should he come between the fire and a brāhmaṇa nor between two brāhmaṇas without their permission (Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 6–8, Vas. XII. 28–30); he should not eat food in the same plate with his wife, nor should he see his wife while she is eating or applying eye-salve or when she is yawning or sneezing (Manu IV. 43–44, Vas. XII. 31, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not use a seat or pādukās or tooth-brush made of palāśa (Vas. XII. 34, Gaut. IX. 44, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 9); he should wear a wreath (of flowers) and ointment so as not to be easily noticed (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 5, Manu IV. 72, Vas. 12. 39, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not see the sun rising or setting (Vas. 12. 10, Manu IV. 39, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 20); he should not be *kulaṁkula*[985] and should not

985. कुलंकुल is variously explained. हरदत्त on गौ. explains it as 'stay at home' and gives another's explanation as 'one' who leaves his family and goes to another i. e. studies another's sūtra' &c.

go over a rope by which a calf is tied (Vas. XII. 8–9, Gaut. IX. 52–53, Manu IV. 38); he is not to point out the rainbow to another when he sees it in the sky (Manu IV. 59) nor is he to employ the word 'Indradhanuḥ' for it, but the word 'maṇidhanuḥ' (Vas. XII. 32–33. Gaut. IX. 23, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 18); he is to employ certain euphemisms e. g. he should not speak of a cow that yields no milk as 'adhenu' but as 'dhenu-bhavyā' (who would become dhenu later on), he is not to employ the word 'bhadra' for a thing that is auspicious, but he should employ the words 'puṇya or praśasta'; what is not 'bhadra' he should speak of as 'bhadra' and should not use the word 'kapāla', but the word 'bhagāla' for it (Gaut. IX. 20–22, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 11–14); he should not inform a person when a cow does some damage or allows her calf to have milk without the owner knowing it (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 9–10, Gaut. IX. 24–25); he should enter or leave his village from the east or north (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 7) and should not enter a village or a guarded house by a by-path (Manu IV. 73, Yāj. I. 140, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 23); at the two twilights he should be seated outside the village and should be silent (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8); he should not wander about by day with the head covered, but he may do so at night or when answering calls of nature (Gaut. IX. 35–37; Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 14); he should avoid finding fault with a cow, a fee given or a maiden (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 8); he should not resort[986] to inferior men or to countries in which such persons abound nor should he frequent gambling houses or meetings of clubs (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 18–20, Vas. XII. 40); he should try to dwell in a place that abounds in fuel, water and grass, kuśas, flowers, that has a court-yard, and is mostly peopled by Āryas, that has industrious and religious people (Gaut. IX. 65); he should take his food, answer calls of nature,

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986. क्षुद्रान् क्षुद्राचरितांश्च देशान् न सेवेत । सभाः समाजांश्च । आप. ध. I. 11. 32. 18–19. Compare आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 12 सभाः समाजांश्चागन्ता (ब्रह्मचारी). समाज is defined in the कामसूत्र I. 4. 27 as 'पक्षस्य मासस्य वा प्रज्ञातेऽहनि सरस्वत्या भवने नियुक्तानां नित्यं समाजः । कुशीलवाश्चागन्तवः प्रेक्षणकमेषां दद्युः ।' In the Rock Edict No. 1 at Girnar (C. I. I. vol.1) Devānām Priya orders that no samāja be held as he saw grave faults in it 'न च समाजो कतव्यो बहुकं हि दोसं समाजम्हि पसति देवानं प्रियो &c.' In the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 Gotamīputa is described as समाजकारक (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60). समाज may mean 'festival'. Vide Yāj. I. 84.

engage in dalliance with his wife, engage[987] in *yoga* practices in a place screened from public view and he should guard his speech, intellect and strength and should keep his wealth and age very secret; but he should make public the repayment of a debt, a gift, mortgage or sale, the gift of his daughter in marriage, the letting loose of a bull (in śrāddha) and a sin done in secret.

Manu (XI. 203) says that the prāyaścitta for not observing the rules of conduct laid down for snātakas is fasting for a day. Haradatta on Gautama IX. 2 says that the rules for snātakas are meant for brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya snātakas only, that the prāyaścitta for non-observance is also to be undergone by them and that the vaiśya snātakas are not obliged to observe these rules.

In modern times samāvartana often takes place a short time after upanayana and sometimes on the 4th day thereafter or even the next day. As many brāhmaṇas do not learn any part of the Veda, samāvartana has become a mere matter of form in their case. Even the Saṁskārakaustubha (p. 607) prescribes a very brief procedure for samāvartana when the brahmacārī is ill. It consists in the brahmacārī giving up his girdle &c., in shaving the boy silently, in silently bathing at a holy place, putting on another garment, then sipping water twice, bringing fire from the house of a śrotriya and placing it on some place according to the rules, then contemplating on Prajāpati and putting the samidh (fuel-stick) on fire.

As a brahmacārī is not affected by the mourning due to the death of relatives (except his parents), on samāvartana he has to observe impurity for three days (if there have been deaths of relatives in the interval, but not for births). (Vide Manu V. 88 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 87).

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987. आहारनिर्हारविहारयोगाः सुसंवृता धर्मविदा तु कार्याः । वाग्बुद्धिवीर्याणि तपस्तथैव धनायुषी गुप्ततमे तु कार्ये ॥ वसिष्ठ VI. 9; आयुर्वित्तं गृहच्छिद्रं मन्त्रो मैथुनमौषधम् । पापकर्मापमानश्च धर्मो गोप्यानि यत्नतः ॥ अगोप्यमृणशुद्धिश्च दानाधमनविक्रयाः । कन्यादानं वृषोत्सर्गो रहः पापं जुगुप्सितम् ॥ दक्ष III. 15–16. All are quoted in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर pp. 484–85.

CHAPTER VIII

ĀŚRAMAS

In the preceding pages several questions connected with *brahmacarya* have been dealt with. *Brahmacarya* is, according to the theory of the dharmasūtras and smṛtis, the first of the four āśramas. Therefore, before proceeding to the next saṁskāra, viz. vivāha (marriage) which is the starting point of the second āśrama, it is necessary to discuss the origin and development of the idea of āśramas.

From the times of the most ancient dharmasūtras the number of āśramas has been four, though there are slight differences in the nomenclature and in their sequence.[988] Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 1 says 'there are four āśramas, viz. the stage of householder, (staying in) the teacher's house, stage of being a *muni*, the stage of being a forest dweller.' That here *mauna* stands for the āśrama of *saṁnyāsa* is clear from Āpastamba's own words in II. 9. 21. 7 (atha parivrājaḥ) where he employs the word 'parivrāj' to indicate 'mauna.' Āp. places the householder first among the āśramas, probably on account of the importance of that stage to all other āśramas. Why he should mention the stage of forest hermit last is not clear. Gaut. also (III. 2) enumerates the four āśramas as brahmacārī, gṛhastha, bhikṣu and vaikhānasa. Here also Gaut. speaks of bhikṣu before vaikhānasa and Haradatta[989] explains this departure from the usual sequence of āśramas as due to the words in Gaut. 28. 47 where we read 'prāg-uttamād traya āśramiṇaḥ' (persons belonging to the three āśramas except the last may constitute a *pariṣad*), i.e. to exclude vaikhānasa from the *pariṣad* he is mentioned last. Why the vānaprastha is called vaikhānasa will be discussed later on under the former word. Vas. Dh. S. (VII. 1–2) names the four āśramas as brahmacārī, gṛhastha, vānaprastha and parivrājaka.

988. Vide above p. 3 where āśramadharma is said to be one of the six-fold divisions of dharma. चत्वार आश्रमा गार्हस्थ्यमाचार्यकुलं मौनं वानप्रस्थ्यमिति । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 1. This is quoted by शंकर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 47.

989. शाखान्तरेषु वैखानसस्तृतीयो भिक्षुश्चतुर्थ आश्रमः । इह तु क्रमभेदः प्रागुत्तमात्त्रय आश्रमिण इत्यत्र वैखानसवर्जनार्थः । हरदत्त on गौतम III. 2.

Vas. Dh. S. (in XI. 34) employs the word *yati* to denote a person in the fourth āśrama. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 17) names the four āśramas in the same way as Vasiṣṭha and vouchsafes the interesting information that it was the *asura* Kapila, son of Prahlāda, who in his rivalry with the gods, made these distinctions to which a wise man should pay no heed. What Baud.[990] means appears to be that there is really one *āśrama* viz. that of the householder, that Kapila devised the scheme of four āśramas, so that those who became vānaprasthas and parivrājakas would perform no yajñas and thereby the gods would lose the offerings they received from men and become less powerful. Manu VI. 87 speaks of the four āśramas, the last being called *yati* by him and also 'saṁnyāsa' (in VI. 96). It would thus be seen that a person who belongs to the last āśrama is variously called parivrāṭ or parivrājaka (one who does not stay in one place but wanders from place to place), bhikṣu (one who begs for his livelihood), *muni* (one who ponders over the mysteries of life and death), *yati* (one who controls his senses) These words suggest the various characteristics of the man who undertakes the fourth āśrama.

The theory of Manu about these āśramas is as follows. The span of human life is one hundred years (śatāyur vai puruṣaḥ). All do not live to that age, but that is the maximum age one can expect to reach. This should be divided into four parts. As one cannot know beforehand what age one is going to reach, it is not to be supposed that these four parts are each of 25 years. They may be more or less. As stated in Manu IV. 1 the first part of man's life is brahmacarya in which he learns at his teacher's house and after he has finished his study, in the second part of his life he marries and becomes an householder, discharges his debts to his ancestors by begetting sons and to the gods by performing yajñas (Manu V. 169). When he sees that his head has grey hair and that there are wrinkles on his body he resorts to the forest i. e. becomes a vānaprastha (Manu VI. 1-2). After spending the third part of his life in the forest for some time he spends the rest of his life as a saṁnyāsin[991] (Manu VI. 33). Similar rules are found

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990. ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या अप्रजननत्वादितरेषाम्। तत्रोदाहरन्ति। प्राह्लादिर्वै कपिलो नामासुर आस स एतान्भेदांश्चकार देवैः स्पर्धमानस्तान्मनीषी नाद्रियेत। बौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 29-31.

991. शङ्खलिखित as quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु VI. 33 say 'वनवासादूर्ध्वं शान्तस्य परिणतवयसः पारिव्राज्यम्'. अपरार्क p. 947. reads 'परिणतवयसः कामतः प्रव्रज्या'.

in many other smṛtis.[992] Baud. (Dh. S. II. 10. 5)[993] states as his own opinion that the sages prescribe saṁnyāsa after the 70th year.

The word āśrama does not occur in the Saṁhitās or Brāhmaṇas. But this cannot be stretched to mean that the stages of life denoted by this word in the sūtras were unknown throughout the Vedic period. It has been shown above (p. 268) that the word brahmacārī occurs in the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda and that brahmacarya is mentioned in the Tai. S., the Śat. Br. and other ancient Vedic works. So the stage of brahmacarya was well-known in the remotest past. The fact that Agni is said to be 'the gṛhapati in our house' (Ṛg. II. 1. 2)[994] and the fact that in the famous verse (Ṛg. X. 85. 36) which is employed even to-day in the marriage ceremony the husband says to the bride when taking hold of her hand that the gods gave her to him for gārhapatya (for attaining the position of a house-owner or householder) establish that the second stage of the householder was well-known to the Ṛgveda. There is nothing in the Vedic Literature expressly corresponding to the vānaprastha. It may however be stated that the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa 14. 4. 7 says that vaikhānasa sages were the favourites of Indra and that one Rahasya Devamalimluc killed them in a place called Munimaraṇa. Vaikhānasa means 'vānaprastha' in the sūtras and it is possible that this is the germ of the idea of vānaprastha. 'Yati' used in the sūtras and smṛtis to indicate the fourth āśrama of saṁnyāsa does occur in the oldest Vedic texts. But there the meaning appears to be different. In the Ṛg. the word 'yati' occurs several times. But the sense is doubtful. Ṛg. VIII. 3. 9 runs 'whereby[995] when wealth was bestowed on Bhṛgu and on yatis (or 'on Bhṛgu from yatis') you protected Praskaṇva'. Ṛg. VIII. 6. 18 reads 'O Indra, the yatis and those who were Bhṛgus praised thee'; Ṛg. X. 72. 7 says 'O gods,

992. E. g. vide अपरार्क p. 940 quoting two verses of Yama that are very similar to Manu V. 169 and VI. 2.

993. सप्तत्या ऊर्ध्वं संन्यासमुपदिशन्ति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 5.

994. तवाग्ने होत्रं ...... ब्रह्मा चासि गृहपतिश्च नो दमे ॥ ऋ. II. 1. 2.

995. येना यतिभ्यो भृगवे धने हिते येन प्रस्कण्वमाविथ । ऋ. VIII. 3. 9. Prof. Keith takes यति as connected with the Bhṛgus. It would be better to take यतिभ्यः as in the ablative. य इन्द्र यतयस्त्वा भृगवो ये च तुष्टुवुः । ऋ. VIII. 6. 18; सायण explains यतयः as नियताः अङ्गिरसः; यद्देवा यतयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत । अत्रा समुद्र आ गूळ्हमा सूर्यमजभर्तन ॥ ऋ. X. 72. 7; here सायण renders यतयः as मेघाः.

when you filled the worlds as the yatis (did) you brought the sun hidden in the sea'. In the Tai.[996] S. VI. 2. 7. 5 we read 'Indra threw yatis to the sālāvṛkas (hyaenas or wolves), they devoured them to the south of the Uttaravedi.' The same words and story occur in the Kāṭhaka saṁhitā VIII. 5, the Ait. Br. 35. 2 (prādāt) and the Kauṣītaki Up. III. 1; in the last Indra said to Pratardana 'do know me only; I regard this as the most beneficial thing to man that he should know me. I killed the three-headed Tvāṣṭra, I gave to the sālāvṛkas the Arunmukha yatis.' In the Kāṭhaka saṁhitā (IV. 10) and the Tai. S. II. 4. 9. 2 it is stated that the heads of the *yatis* when they were being devoured fell aside and they (the heads) became the kharjūras (date palms). Atharvaveda II. 5. 3. says 'Indra, who is quick in his attack, who is Mitra and who killed Vṛtra as he did the yatis.' In the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa VIII. 1. 4 Bṛhadgiri is said to be one of the three yatis who escaped from slaughter and who were then taken under his protection by Indra. All these passages taken together suggest that the yatis were people who had incurred the hostility of Indra, the patron of the Āryas, that they were slaughtered by the Āryas with the help of Indra and their bodies were thrown to the wolves and that they seem to have something to do with a country where the date-palm grew and that a few of them who escaped slaughter subsequently were won over and became the worshippers of Indra (and therefore in Ṛg. VIII. 6. 18 they are described as praising Indra). So originally they were probably beyond the pale of the Vedic Aryans. If there is any connection between yati and yātu (sorcery) which seems possible, the yatis were probably non-vedic sorcerers.

In the Ṛg. X. 136. 2, there is a reference[997] to munis, who are wind-girt and who put on brownish dirt (dirty garments). In Ṛg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be the friend of *munis* (Indro munīnāṁ sakhā) and in Ṛg. X. 136. 4 muni is said to be the friend of all gods. So it appears that even in the times of the Ṛgveda persons

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996. इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत्। तै. सं. VI. 2. 7. 5. सहोवाच मामेव विजानीह्येतदेवाहं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्ये यन्मां विजानीयात् त्रिशीर्षाणं त्वाष्ट्रमहनमरुन्मुखान्यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छम्। कौषी. ब्रा. उप. III. 1. अरुन्मुखान् is explained by शंकरानन्द as रुच्छब्दः वेदाध्ययनं तेन उपनिषदर्थविचारः ... स येषां मुखे नास्ति ते प्रयत्नवन्तश्चतुर्थाश्रमिणः. The words इन्द्रो यतीन् ... प्रायच्छत् are quoted by मेधातिथि on मनु XII. 48 and he gives the gloss of some as 'मेकलनिवासिनः केचिज्जनपदा यतयो नाम'. यतीनामद्यमानानां शीर्षाणि परापतन्। ते खर्जूरा अभवन्। तै. सं. II. 4. 9. 2.

997. मुनयो वातरशनाः पिशङ्गा वसते मला। ऋ. X. 136. 2.

who led a life of poverty, contemplation and mortification were known, and were honoured and called munis, while persons corresponding to them among non-vedic people were probably called yatis. But in both these words there is no idea of a certain stage in a well-knit scheme of life. Perhaps the earliest reference to the four āśramas, though somewhat obscure, occurs in the Ait. Br. 33. 11 'what (use is there) of dirt, what use of antelope skin, what use of (growing) the beard, what is the use of *tapas*? O! brāhmaṇas! desire a son, he is a world that is to be highly praised.'[998] Here it is clear that *ajina* refers to brahmacarya, śmaśrūṇi to vānaprasthas (since according to Manu VI. 6 and Gaut. III. 33 the vānaprastha had to grow his hair, beard and nails). Therefore 'malam' and 'tapas' must be taken respectively as indicating the householder and the saṁnyāsin. A much clearer reference to three āśramas occurs in the Chāndogya[999] Up. II. 23. 1 'there are three branches of dharma, the first (is constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity (i. e. by the stage of householder), the second is (constituted by the performance of) *tapas* (i. e. the vānaprastha), the third is the brahmacārī staying in the house of his teacher and wearing himself out till death in the teacher's house; all these attain to the worlds of the meritorious; but one who (has correctly understood *brahma*) and abides in it attains immortality'. Tapas is a characteristic of both vānaprastha and parivrājaka. Therefore in this passage it is possible to hold that the three āśramas (of student, householder and vānaprastha) are mentioned. The last clause about 'brahmasaṁstha' differentiates the three āśramas from him who has knowledge

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998. किं नु मलं किमजिनं किमु श्मश्रूणि किं तपः। पुत्रं ब्रह्माण इच्छध्वं स वै लोको वदावदः। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 11. मलं probably refers to sexual intercourse. तपः may indicate the वानप्रस्थ (गौतम III. 25 वैखानसो वने मूलफलाशी तपःशीलः) or संन्यासिन् (Manu VI. 75 requires a संन्यासिन् to undergo severe tapas).

999. त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन्सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति। छान्दोग्य II. 23. 1. It is worthy of note that शंकर explains तपः as 'तप इति कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणादि तद्वांस्तापसः परिव्राड् वा न ब्रह्मसंस्थः आश्रमधर्ममात्रसंस्थो ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य त्वमृतत्वश्रवणात्'; while on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 20 he disapproves of the view that by the word 'tapas' the parivrājaka also is meant. This passage of the Chān. Up. is the basis of Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 18-20. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 55 quotes this passage of the Chāndogya and remarks that it is the parivrājaka who is brahmasaṁstha that is referred to in the last part of the passage 'पारिशेष्यात्परिव्राजकस्यैव ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य मुक्तिलक्षणामृतत्वप्राप्तिरभिहिता'।

of brahma and holds fast by it. That portion says that the consequence of the knowledge of brahma is immortality; but it does not say expressly or impliedly that the stage of parivrājaka is a means of attaining the knowledge of brahma. So one may doubt whether saṁnyāsa as an āśrama is spoken of here, but there can be no doubt that the other three are clearly indicated here. Probably in the time of the Chāndogya there was no clear line of demarcation between the āśramas of *vānaprastha* and *saṁnyāsa* and they rather coalesced into each other. Chān. Up. V. 10. 1 and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15 support this conclusion[1000]. In the Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 there is a reference to brāhmaṇas who on apprehending correctly the Supreme Spirit turn away from the desires of progeny, wealth and of securing holy worlds and practise begging. Begging is a characteristic of saṁnyāsa in the sūtras. Yājñavalkya in the Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 2. tells his wife Maitreyī that he was going into a life of *pravrajyā* from being a householder. Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 11 refers to begging for him who has knowledge of brahma and Muṇḍaka III. 2. 6 mentions 'saṁnyāsa'. In the Jābālopaniṣad[1001] (4) it is said that Janaka asked Yājñavalkya to expound *saṁnyāsa* and then the four āśramas are distinctly set out 'after finishing the stage of student-hood, one should become a householder; after becoming a householder one should become a forest-dweller, after being a forest-dweller, one should renounce the world; or he may do otherwise viz. he may renounce the world after the stage of student-hood itself or after being an householder or from the forest. The very day on which he becomes desireless, he should renounce the world (become a saṁnyāsin)'. Probably this passage[1002] was not

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1000. तद्य इत्थं विदुर्ये चेमेऽरण्ये श्रद्धा तप इत्युपासते तेऽर्चिषमभिसंभवन्ति... स एनान् ब्रह्म गमयत्येष देवयानः पन्थाः। छा. उप. V. 10. 1. शंकर explains 'ये चेमे...पासते' as 'ये चारण्योपलक्षिता वैखानसाः परिव्राजकाश्च;' एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति। बृह. उप. III. 5. 1.

1001. ब्रह्मचर्यं परिसमाप्य गृही भवेद् गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेद्वनी भूत्वा प्रव्रजेत्। यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादेव प्रव्रजेद्गृहाद्वा वनाद्वा। यदहरेव विरजेत्तदहरेव प्रव्रजेत्। जाबालोप. 4. Vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 2 and 18 सोऽत एव ब्रह्मचर्यवान्प्रव्रजतीत्येकेषाम्। आश्रमाद्वाश्रममुपनीय ब्रह्मपूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते। These sūtras probably have in view the जाबालोप. 4 or some other similar Upaniṣad passage.

1002. शंकर remarks on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 20 'अनपेक्ष्यैव जाबालश्रुतिमाश्रमान्तरविधायिनीमयमाचार्येण विचारः प्रवर्तितः।'. तपःप्रभावाद् देवप्रसादाच्च ब्रह्म ह श्वेताश्वतरोथ विद्वान्। अत्याश्रमिभ्यः परमं पवित्रं प्रोवाच सम्यगृषिसङ्घजुष्टम्। श्वेता. उप. VI. 21. The meaning of अत्याश्रमिभ्यः is doubtful. शंकराचार्य explains अत्यन्तं पूज्यतमाश्रमिभ्यः. नारायण in the दीपिका reads अन्त्याश्रमिभ्यः.

before the author of the Vedāntasūtra or he did not regard the Jābālopaniṣad as very authoritative; otherwise there would hardly have been any need for the Vedāntasūtrakāra (in the Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 18–20) to hold a discussion on Chāndogya II. 23. 1.

It is clear that in the times of the earliest Upaniṣads at least three (if not four) āśramas were known and that all four were known by their specific names to the Jābālopaniṣad. In the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (VI. 21) we have the word 'atyāśramibhyaḥ'. It is said there that the sage Śvetāśvatara, who acquired knowledge of Brahma, proclaimed the knowledge to those who had risen above the mere observances of āśramas.

No scholar Eastern or Western places Pāṇini later than 300 B. C. He knew Bhikṣu-sūtras composed by Pārāśarya and Karmanda[1003] and he tells us that the word 'maskarin'[1004] means parivrājaka. As sūtra works about 'bhikṣus' were composed before Pāṇini, this āśrama of bhikṣus must have been an established institution centuries before Pāṇini. Buddhism took over this mode of life (*pabbajjā* as the Pāli works say) from the brahmanical system.

It has been already stated at p. 8 that the goals of existence were deemed to be four, viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. The highest goal was *mokṣa*. All ancient Indian philosophy (whether Vedānta, Sāṁkhya or Nyāya) held that liberation from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths, and escape from the three kinds of *duḥkha* were the highest good. The *summum bonum* consisted in non-return (anāvṛttiḥ) to the world of pleasures and sorrows. The Chān. Up.[1005] VIII. 15. 1 winds up with the words 'and he does not return'. The Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15, Praśna Up. I. 10 and others say the same. This supreme goal had fascinated all noble minds in whatever sphere of life they might have been working. The greatest poet and dramatist of classical Sanskrit ends his most famous drama (the Śākuntala) with the prayer 'may self-existent God Śiva destroy for me rebirth'.[1006] This state of liberation or release is variously called mokṣa or mukti, amṛtatva, niḥśreyasa,

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1003. पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः । पाणिनि IV. 3. 110–111.

1004. मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः । पाणिनि VI. 1. 154.

1005. न च पुनरावर्तते । छा॰ उ. VIII. 15. 1.

1006. ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ॥ शाकुन्तल VII.

kaivalya (by the Sāṁkhyas) or apavarga (Nyāyasūtra I. 1. 2). For attaining this state man must know and realize that there is only one Reality underlying all existence (and no plurality) and become disgusted with the passions and temptations of the world i. e. he must have *nirveda* and *vairāgya* (as stated in the Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 or Muṇḍaka I. 2. 12). Merely reading from the books that desirelessness is necessary for release and immediately giving up the world would not serve the purpose. The man would be hankering, as the Bhagavadgītā says, after pleasures he has renounced. Therefore the ancient Indian writers devised according to their lights a scheme which is embodied in the theory and practice of the āśramas. In brahmacarya the individual goes through the discipline of the will and the emotions, makes himself acquainted with the literary treasures of the past and learns obedience, respect, plain living and high thinking. Then he marries, becomes a householder, tastes the pleasures of the world, enjoys life, has sons, discharges his duties to his children, to his friends, relatives and neighbours and becomes a useful, industrious and worthy citizen, the founder of a family. It is supposed that by the time he is fifty years or so he has become convinced of the futility of human appetites and the pleasures of the world and is, therefore, called upon to resort to a forest life for pondering over the great problem of the life hereafter and to accustom himself to self-abnegation, austerities and a harmless life. This would lead on to the last stage, viz. saṁnyāsa. He may succeed in this very life in realizing the supreme goal of mokṣa or he may have to continue to rise in spiritual height until after several births and deaths the goal is in view. The theory of varṇa dealt with man as a member of the Aryan society and laid down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities and duties were as a member of that society. It was addressed to man in the mass. The theory of āśramas addressed itself to the individual. It tells him what his spiritual goal is, how he is to order his life and what preparations are required to attain that goal. The theory of āśramas was truly a sublime conception and if owing to the exigencies of the times, the conflicts of interests and distractions of life, the scheme could not even in ancient times be carried out fully by every individual and seems to have failed in modern times, the fault does not lie with the originators of this conception. Deussen was constrained to say (in E. R. E. under āśrama) 'how far the practice corresponded to this theory given in

Manu and other law books, we do not know; but we are free to confess that in our opinion the whole history of mankind has not much that equals the grandeur of this thought' and again in 'The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads' (tr. by Geden, 1906) p. 367 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought'.

The three āśramas of householder, forest hermit and saṁnyāsa will be dealt with in detail hereafter. Only one question about āśramas in general remains to be discussed. With reference to the four āśramas, there are three different points of view (pakṣas) viz. *samuccaya* (orderly co-ordination), *vikalpa* (option) and *bādha* (annulment or contradiction). Those who hold the first view (samuccaya) say that a person can resort to the four āśramas one after another in order and that he cannot drop any one or more and pass on to the next nor can he resort to the householder's life after becoming a saṁnyāsin (vide Dakṣa I. 8-9, Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 40) e. g. a man cannot take saṁnyāsa immediately after brahmacarya. Manu (IV. 1, VI. 1. 33-37, 87-88) is the prime supporter of this view. The first part of the Jābālopaniṣad quoted above refers to this view. This view does not regard marriage and sexual life as impure or inferior to asceticism and on the contrary places it on a higher plane than asceticism. On the whole the tendency of most of the dharmaśāstra works is to glorify the status of an house-holder and push into the background the two āśramas of vānaprastha and saṁnyāsa, so much so that certain works say that these are forbidden in the Kali age. The second view is that there is an option after brahmacarya i. e. a man may become a *parivrājaka* immediately after he finishes his study or immediately after the householder's way of life. This view is put forward by the Jābālopaniṣad as an alternative to the first view of *samuccaya*. This is the view also of Vasiṣṭha VII. 3, Laghu Viṣṇu III. 1, and Yāj. III. 56. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 7-8 and II. 9. 22. 7-8) seems to favour this view. The third view of bādha is held by the ancient dharmasūtras of Gautama[1007] and Baudhāyana. They hold that there is really one āśrama viz. that of the householder (brahmacarya being only preparatory to it) and that the other āśramas are inferior to that of the householder. Vide Gautama (III. 1 and 35) where he first

1007. तस्याश्रमविकल्पमेके ब्रुवते । ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्याः प्रत्यक्षविधानाद्गार्हस्थ्यस्य । गौ. III. 1 and 35.

refers to the view about vikalpa (option) and emphatically says that there is only one āśrama. Manu VI. 89–90, III. 77–80, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 14–17, Dakṣa II. 57–60, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 59. 29 and many others praise the āśrama of householder as the highest. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 29 ff) says the same as Gautama and it relies [1008] upon the fact that the āśramas other than that of householder do not beget offspring and quotes Vedic passages viz. 'may we, O Agni, attain immortality through progeny' (Ṛg. V. 4. 10 = Tai. S. I. 4. 46. 1) and 'a brāhmaṇa when born is born involved in three debts, viz. he owes brahmacarya to the sages, sacrifice to the gods, and progeny to pitṛs' (Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5). According to Brahmasūtra III. 4. 18 Jaimini held this view, while Bādarāyaṇa seems to have been of the opinion that all āśramas are enjoined (ibid. III. 4. 19–20). Those who hold this view (bādha) rely on such Vedic passages [1009] as 'one should offer agnihotra as long as life lasts' or 'indeed Agnihotra is a satra (sacrificial session) that lasts till one dies by old age' (Śat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 1), 'one should desire to live a hundred years performing religious acts' (Vāj. S. 40. 2), 'after bringing to the teacher wealth desired by him, do not cut off the thread of progeny' (Tai. Up. I. 11. 1). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 sets out these three views and says that each is supported by Vedic texts and one may follow any one of the three. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 2) held the view that whatever āśrama out of the four one followed, one attained happiness if one performed its duties according to the śāstra and after a lengthy discussion Āp. arrives at the conclusion that there is no distinction due to superiority among the four āśramas [1010]. There were some who thought that the householder's life was the rule and the other āśramas were for the blind and other incapable persons. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 refutes this view.

The word āśrama is derived [1011] from 'śram' to exert, to labour and etymologically means 'a stage in which one exerts oneself'.

1008. ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या अप्रजननत्वादितरेषाम् । ...प्रजाभिरग्ने अमृतत्वमश्याम् जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येणर्षिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य इति । बौ. ध. II. 6. 29, 42–43.

1009. एतद्वै जरामर्यं सत्रं यदग्निहोत्रम् । शतपथ XII. 4. 1. 1; कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः । ईशावास्योप० 2.

1010. तेषु सर्वेषु यथोपदेशमव्यग्रो वर्तमानः क्षेमं गच्छति । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 2 and '...... न तु तज्ज्यैष्ठ्यमाश्रमाणाम् ।' आप. ध. II. 9. 24. 14.

1011. आश्राम्यन्ति अस्मिन् इति आश्रमः ।. From this sense arose the meaning of 'hermitage'.

Commentators like Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa on Manu VI. 35 endeavour to bring about reconciliation between the three views set out above as follows: the view that a man may pass on to *saṁnyāsa* immediately after the period of student-hood (without being a householder) applies only to those men who are, owing to the impressions and effects of restrained conduct in past lives, entirely free from desires and whose tongue, sexual appetites, belly and words are thoroughly under control; the prescriptions of Manu enjoining on men not to resort to saṁnyāsa without paying off the three debts are concerned with men whose appetites have not yet thoroughly been brought under control and the words of Gautama that there is only one *āśrama* (that of the house-holder) relate only to those whose appetites for worldly pleasures and pursuits are quite keen.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE

This is the most important of all saṁskāras. Throughout the ages for which literary tradition is available in India marriage has been highly thought of. The several words that are employed to denote the idea of marriage indicate one or more of the elements of the saṁskāra of marriage. Such words are *udvāha* (taking the girl out of her parental home), vivāha (taking the girl away in a special way or for a special purpose i. e. for making her one's wife), pariṇaya or pariṇayana (going round i. e. making a pradakṣiṇā to fire), upayama (to bring near and make one's own), and pāṇigrahaṇa (taking the hand of the girl). Though these words express only one component element of the rite of marriage they are all used in the śāstras [1012] to indicate the totality of the several acts that go to make up the ceremony of marriage. The word 'vivāha' occurs in the Tai. S. VII. 2. 87 and Ait. Br. (27. 5). In the Tāṇḍya [1013] Mahābrāhmaṇa VII. 10. 1 it is said that "heaven and earth were once together but they became separate'; then they said 'let us bring about a marriage, let there be a co-operation between us'."

Before dwelling upon the various aspects of marriage, the question, whether our authorities point to a state of society when there was no institution of marriage, but there was only promiscuity, requires to be considered. The Vedic works contain no indications about a society in which the relations of the sexes were promiscuous and unregulated. In the Mahābhārata, [1014] however, Pāṇḍu is made to state to his queen Kuntī that women in former ages were under no control, indulged themselves as they liked and that they left off one man and

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1012. एवमुपयमनपाणिग्रहणशब्दवत्परिणयनशब्दोऽपि दण्डिन्यायेनैव कर्मसमुदाये शास्त्रेषु प्रयुज्यते । अपरार्क p. 91.

1013. इमौ वै लोकौ सहास्तां तौ वियन्तावब्रूतां विवाहं विवहावहै सह नावस्त्विति । ताण्ड्य. VII. 10. 1.

1014. Vide आदिपर्व chap. 122 (chap. 113 of cr. ed. Poona). Some of the verses may be quoted 'अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रिय आसन् वरानने । कामचारविहारिण्यः स्वतन्त्राश्चारुहासिनि ॥ 4 ...उत्तरेषु च रम्भोरु कुरुष्वद्यापि वर्तते । 7; सभापर्व 31. 37-38 'बभूवुरनतिग्राह्या योषितश्छन्दतः किल । एवमग्निर्वरं प्रादात् स्त्रीणामप्रतिवारणे ॥.'

went after another, that this state of things continued to his (Pāṇḍu's) day in the country of Uttara Kuru, that it was Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, who for the first time stopped all this license and laid down the rule that if a woman proved false to her husband or if a husband was false to a chaste wife, very grave sin would be incurred. In the Sabhāparva (31. 37–38) it is said that through the favour of Agni women in Māhiṣmatī did what they liked and could not be restrained. These passages cannot be relied upon for proving promiscuity of intercourse. In the first place, the country of Uttara Kuru is more or less mythical. This passage rather gives expression to what the poet imagined about remotest ages and not what he knew was the real state of society thousands of years before him. The theory of an original state of promiscuity once advanced by several sociologists has now ceased to be respectable (vide Mrs. M. Cole in 'Marriage, past and present' p. 10.

The purpose of marriage, even according to the Ṛgveda, was to enable a man, by becoming a householder, to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons. The verse in Ṛg. X. 85. 36 shows that the husband took a woman as a wife for 'gārhapatya'. Ṛg. V. 3. 2., V. 28. 3 speak of the co-operation of husband and wife in the worship of gods. Ṛg. III. 53. 4 contains the emphatic assertion 'the wife herself is the home' (jāyed-astam). In later literature also the same statement occurs. A wife was called 'jāyā', because the husband was born in the wife as a son (Ait. Br. 33. 1). The Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 10 says 'the wife[1015] is indeed half of one's self; therefore as long as a man does not secure a wife so long he does not beget a son and so he is till then not complete (or whole); but when he secures a wife he gets progeny and then he becomes complete'. The Ait. Ār. (I. 2. 4) says 'therefore a man, after securing a wife, regards himself as more complete'. When Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 12 forbids taking a second wife if the first is endowed with progeny and the performance of religious rites, it indicates

1015. अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनो यज्जाया तस्माद्यावज्जायां न विन्दते नैव तावत्प्रजायते असर्वो हि तावद्भवति । अथ यदैव जायां विन्दतेऽथ प्रजायते तर्हि हि सर्वो भवति । शतपथ ब्रा. V. 2. 1. 10. Vide शतपथ VIII. 7. 2. 3. also. The words अर्धो वा एष आत्मनो यत्पत्नी occur in तै. सं. VI. 1. 8. 5. तस्मात् पुरुषो जायां वित्त्वा कृत्स्नतरमिवात्मानं मन्यते । ऐ. आ. I. 2. 5. न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते । शान्तिपर्व 144. 66; अर्धं भार्या मनुष्यस्य भार्या श्रेष्ठतमः सखा । भार्या मूलं त्रिवर्गस्य भार्या मूलं तरिष्यतः ॥ आदिपर्व 74. 40; आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः । शरीरार्धं स्मृता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 740.

that the main purposes of marriage are two,[1016] viz. the wife enables a man to perform religious rites and is the mother of a son or sons who were supposed to save a man from hell. Manu (IX. 28) states that on the wife depend the procreation of sons, the performance of religious rites, service, highest pleasure, heaven for oneself and for one's ancestors. So these three viz. *dharmasampatti*, *prajā* (and consequent freedom from falling into hell) and *rati* (sexual and other pleasures) are the principal purposes of marriage according to the smṛtis and nibandhas. Yāj. I. 78 is to the same effect. Jaimini (VI. 1. 17 ff) establishes that husband and wife have to perform sacrifices together and not separately and Āp. Dh. S.[1017] II. 6. 13. 16–17 emphatically says that there can be no separation between husband and wife, for since marriage they have to perform religious acts jointly.

Marriage is a composite rite comprising several subordinate elements which have to be done in a certain order and the last of which is seeing the constellation of the seven sages ; it (rite) brings about the status of a woman as a person's wife.[1018]

The first consideration is : how to choose a bridegroom and what qualifications make a person a very desirable bridegroom. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 5. 2) says 'one should give a maiden[1019] (in marriage) to a man endowed with intelligence'. The Āp. gṛ. (3. 20) remarks "the accomplishments of a bridegroom are that he must be endowed with good family, a good character, auspicious characteristics, learning and good health". Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 states 'a maiden should be given in marriage to one who is endowed with good qualities and who is a celibate (till then)'. Even the Śākuntala (IV) echoes the words of

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1016. धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । आप. ध. II. 5. 11. 12 ; the मिता० on या. I. 78 quotes this and remarks 'तथा चापस्तम्बेन धर्मप्रजासंपत्तिः प्रयोजनं दारसंग्रहस्योक्तं धर्म...कुर्वीतेति वदता । रतिफलं तु लौकिकमेव' ।.

1017. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 16–17.

1018. कः पुनरयं विवाहो नाम । उपायतः प्राप्तायाः कन्याया दारकरणार्थः संस्कारः सेतिकर्तव्याङ्गः सप्तर्षिदर्शनपर्यन्तः पाणिग्रहणलक्षणः । मेधा० on मनु III. 20 ; तेन भार्यात्वसंपादकं ग्रहणं विवाहः । रघुनन्दन in उद्वाहतत्त्व.

1019. बुद्धिमते कन्यां प्रयच्छेत् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 2 ; दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणे । बौ. ध. IV. 1. 20 ; बन्धुशीललक्षणसंपन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति वरसंपत् । आप. गृ. I. 3. 20 ; गुणवते कन्यका प्रतिपादनीयेत्ययं तावत्प्रथमः संकल्पः । शाकुन्तल IV (said by अनसूया) ; कुलं च शीलं च वपुर्यशश्च विद्यां च वित्तं च सनाथतां च । एतान्गुणान्सप्त परीक्ष्य देया कन्या बुधैः शेषमचिन्तनीयम् ॥ यम in स्मृतिच. I. p. 78.

Baudhāyana 'the best idea is to give one's daughter to a man endowed with good qualities'. Yama quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 78) says 'one should seek for seven qualities in a bridegroom viz. good family, good character, bodily appearance, fame, learning, wealth and support (of relatives and friends); the other matters need not be considered'. Bṛhat-parāśara (p. 118 Jīv. ed.) enumerates eight qualities in a bridegroom viz. caste, learning, youth, strength, health, support of many (friends &c.), ambitions (arthitva), and possession of wealth. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 5. 1) and others place kula (a good family) in the forefront in the case of both the bride and the bridegroom.[1020] 'One should first examine the family (of the intended bride or bridegroom) as it has been said above (in the Āśv. Śrauta sūtra IX. 3).' The Āśv. Śrauta reads 'those who on their mother's as well as their father's side through ten generations are endowed with learning, austerity and meritorious works or whose pure brāhmaṇa lineage can be traced on both sides (for ten generations) or according to some on the father's side.' Manu regarded a good family as the most important from the eugenic point of view. In IV. 244 he says 'one who desires to raise his family to excellence and eminence should always enter into marriage alliances with the best and avoid alliance with the low'; and adds (III. 6–7) that ten kinds of families even though richly endowed with cattle, wealth &c. should be avoided in marriage viz. in which the saṁskāras are not performed, in which there is no male progeny, which are devoid of Veda (study), which have hairy members, that suffer from piles or consumption or indigestion or epilepsy, white or black leprosy. Manu (III. 63–65) explains under what circumstances good families are reduced to a bad state. Hārīta states that the offspring is in accordance with the (qualities of the) family of the parents. The Harṣacarita (IV) gives expression to the view that generally the wise look to good family first even though there may be other qualities in the bridegroom. Manu II. 238, however, allows a man to marry a girl even from an inferior or bad family provided she is a jewel among women.

1020. कुलमग्रे परीक्षेत ये मातृतः पितृतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 1; आश्व. श्रौ. सू. IX. 3. is 'ये मातृतः पितृतश्च दशपुरुषं समनुष्ठिता विद्यातपोभ्यां पुण्यैश्च कर्मभिर्येषामुभयतो वा ब्राह्मण्यं निनयेयुः पितृतश्चैके ।'. These qualifications were laid down for those who were to partake of the camasa offering in Rājasūya. कुलानुरूपाः प्रजाः संभवन्ति । हारीत quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 589; प्रायेण च सत्स्वप्यन्येषु वरगुणेष्वभिजनमेवानुरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः । हर्षच. IV.

Yāj. (I. 54–55) emphasizes the importance of a good family famed for ten generations and freedom from diseases that are hereditarily transmitted and adds that the bridegroom must be young, intelligent, a favourite among the people and his virility must be carefully tested. The Mit. on Yāj. 1. 55 quotes Nārada (strīpuṁsa) who mentions some characteristics of the virile man and enumerates fourteen varieties of impotent persons (verses 11–13). Kātyāyana [1021] mentions what defective bridegrooms are to be avoided viz. the lunatic, one guilty of grave sins, leprous, impotent, one of the same *gotra*, one bereft of eyesight or hearing, an epileptic and adds that these defects are to be avoided even among brides. The Mahābhārata observes 'friendship and marriage should take place between those alone whose wealth is similar and whose learning (i. e. the learning in whose families) is of equal status, not between opulent (well-off) and the poverty-stricken'. [1022]

Though Manu and Yāj. indicate that impotent persons are not eligible for marriage, yet such persons rarely married. Their marriages were held valid by Manu, Yāj. and others and their sons (by niyoga) took property as if they were *aurasa* sons. Vide Manu IX. 203 and Yāj. II. 141–142.

The Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 752–754) contains a long discussion on the question how from bodily characteristics one can find whether a man will live long or what his prospects would be. These are passed over for want of space.

Rules for the selection of the bride are far more elaborate than those for selecting a bridegroom, though in some respects they are the same (such as about the necessity of good family, about the absence of diseases &c.). Vide Vas I. 38, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 11, Kāmasūtra III. 1. 2. [1023] Even the Śat. Br. (I. 2. 5. 16)

1021. उन्मत्तः पतितः कुष्ठी तथा षण्ढः स्वगोत्रजः । चक्षुःश्रोत्रविहीनश्च तथापस्मारदूषितः । वरदोषाः स्मृता ह्येते कन्यादोषाश्च कीर्तिताः । स्मृतिच० I. p. 59; the text of नारद (ed. by Jolly, स्त्रीपुंसयोग v. 37) is उन्मत्तः पतितः क्लीबो दुर्भगस्त्यक्तबान्धवः ॥ कन्यादोषौ च यौ पूर्वावेष दोषगणो वरे ॥

1022. ययोरेव समं वित्तं ययोरेव समं श्रुतम् । तयोर्मैत्री विवाहश्च न तु पुष्टविपुष्टयोः ॥ आदिपर्व 131. 10 ; compare उद्योगपर्व 33. 117 समैर्विवाहं कुरुते न हीनैः समैः सख्यं व्यवहारं कथां च ।

1023. तस्मात्कन्यामभिजनोपेतां मातापितृमतीं त्रिवर्षात्प्रभृतिन्यूनवयसं श्लाघ्याचारे धनवति पक्षवति कुले संबन्धिप्रिये संबन्धिभिराकुले प्रसूतां प्रभूतमातापितृपक्षां रूपशीललक्षणसंपन्नामन्यूनाधिकाविनष्टदन्तनखकर्णकेशाक्षिस्तनीमरोगिप्रकृतिशरीरां तथाविध एव श्रुतवाञ्शीलयेत्। कामसूत्र III. 1. 2.

gives expression to the then view that broad hips and slender waists make women attractive. Āśv. gṛ. I. 5. 3 says[1024] 'one should marry a girl who is endowed with intelligence, beauty, a good character and auspicious characteristics and who is healthy'. Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 5. 6 and Manu III. 4 and Yāj. I. 52 also require that the girl should be possessed of auspicious characteristics (or indications). These (lakṣaṇas) are of two kinds, bāhya (visible or bodily characteristics) and ābhyantara (invisible). Āp. gṛ. [1025] (III. 21) states a commonsense rule: 'a girl on whom his mind and eyes are riveted will bring him happiness (or prosperity), he should pay no heed to other things; this is the view of some'. The Kāmasūtra quotes the view of Ghoṭakamukha 'he should proceed to marry a girl on taking whom as his wife he would regard himself as blessed and would not be blamed by his friends (or persons in a similar station in life)'[1026]. Manu III. 8 and 10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 12–16 say that one should not marry a girl having tawny hair or having an excessive limb (such as a sixth finger) or a deficient limb, who is hairless or very hairy, who is talkative and has yellowish eyes; but should marry a girl who has limbs void of any defect, whose gait is like that of a swan or an elephant, the hair on whose head or body is of slight growth and whose teeth are small, whose body is delicate. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (III. 10. 18–22) adds that the girl must not have a marked growth of hair on her chin or lip, her voice must not be hoarse or like that of a crow; her legs and ankles must not be very hairy, there should be no dimples on her cheeks when she laughs, she should not be very dwarfish or very tall &c. Manu III. 9 and Āp. gṛ. (III. 13) say that the girl to be married must not bear names of the lunar mansions (such as Revatī, Ārdrā &c.), trees or rivers, she must not bear a mleccha name or that

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1024. बुद्धिरूपशीललक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 3; बन्धुशील ...... लक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत । आप. गृ. III. 20.

1025. यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिर्नेतरदाद्रियेतेत्येके । आप. गृ. III. 21. This is quoted by the मिता० on याज्ञ. I. 52. The Kāmasūtra III. 1 .14 has the same rule in the same words. The भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 11 quotes a verse to the same effect श्लोकं तु लाक्षणा उदाहरन्ति । यस्यां मनोऽनुरमते चक्षुश्च प्रतिपद्यते । तां विद्यात्पुण्यलक्ष्मीकां किं ज्ञानेन करिष्यति ॥ This makes attractiveness more important in a woman even than knowledge. In the Mālatīmādhava (Act. II) Kāmandakī ascribes the words यस्यां मनश्च० to Aṅgiras 'इतरेतरानुरागो हि दारकर्मणि परार्ध्यं मङ्गलं गीतश्चायमर्थोऽङ्गिरसा यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरनुबन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिरिति'.

1026. यां गृहीत्वा कृतिनमात्मानं मन्येत न च समानैर्निन्द्येत तस्यां प्रवृत्तिरिति घोटकमुखः । कामसूत्र III. 1. 3.

of a mountain, of a bird, of a snake or of a slave or a name that is terrific. Āp. gṛ. (III. 14) and Kāmasūtra III. 1. 13 mention that a girl should not be chosen, the penultimate letter of whose name is r or l (such as Gaurī, Śālī, Kamalū). Nārada [1027] (strī-puṁsayoga 36) says that defects of girls are as follows:—when they suffer from long-standing or disgusting diseases, when they are devoid of a limb or have already had connection with another man, when they are wicked or have their minds fixed on another; and Āp. gṛ. (III. 11–12) states other defects of girls viz. one should not choose a girl who is asleep or weeps or has left the house when persons come to see whether she can be chosen. Vide Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 76–77 for guṇas and defects of girls as 'brides'.

Bhār. gṛ. I. 11 says that there are four inducing reasons[1028] for marrying a particular girl viz. wealth, beauty, intelligence and family. If all four cannot be secured, wealth may be neglected (as the least important of all); then beauty may be neglected if there is intelligence and good family, but there is a difference of view as to the latter two, some preferring intelligence to family and others family to intelligence. Mānava gṛ. (I. 7. 6–7) adds a fifth inducement for marriage, viz. vidyā (learning) after beauty and before prajñā. Vide also Vārāha gṛ. 10.

Some of the gṛhyasūtras propose a peculiar mystical method of selecting a bride. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 5. 3) after stating that one should select a girl endowed with good characteristics (lakṣaṇas) proceeds 'lakṣaṇas are very difficult to discern' and therefore prescribes (I. 5. 5–6) that eight lumps of different kinds of earth should be taken respectively from a field that yields two crops a year, from a cow-stable, from a vedī (sacrificial altar, after sacrifice is performed), from a pool of water that does not dry up, from a gambling place, from a place where four roads meet, from a barren spot, and from a burial ground; then he should recite over the lumps the formula '*ṛta* (right) has been born first in the beginning; truth is founded (or fixed) in ṛta; may this girl attain here that for which she is born; may what is true be visible;' then he says to the girl

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1027. दीर्घकुत्सितरोगार्ता व्यङ्गा संसृष्टमैथुना। दुष्टान्यगतभावा च कन्यादोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंसयोग 36).

1028. चत्वारि विवाहकारणानि वित्तं रूपं प्रज्ञा बान्धवमिति। तानि चेत्सर्वाणि न शक्नुयाद्वित्तमुदस्येत्ततो रूपं प्रज्ञायां च तु बान्धवे च विवदन्ते। बान्धवमुदस्येदित्येक आहुरप्रज्ञेन हि कः संवासः। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 11.

'take one of these'. According as she chooses the lump, it may respectively be deemed that she will have offspring rich in food (if she chooses the lump of the earth taken from the field of two crops a year &c.), or rich in cattle, or rich in spiritual lustre or rich in everything, or addicted to gambling, or wandering in different directions or poor, or that she will bring death to her husband (if she takes the lump of the earth from the burial ground). The Gobhila gr̥. II. 1. 4–9 speaks of these lumps and adds that a ninth lump may be formed by mixing up the earths of all eight varieties and that if she takes up any one of the four lumps of earth from an altar, furrow, a pool or a cow-stable or (according to some) the ninth lump, she may be selected. The Laugākṣi gr̥. 14. 4–7 contains the same rules as in Gobhila. Āp. gr̥.[1029] (III. 15–18) prescribes a somewhat different method. If both sides agree, the bridegroom (or his friends) should place in one lump of earth several kinds of seeds (such as rice, barley &c.); he should take (a lump having in it) the dust from an altar, a third having a clod from a ploughed field, a lump having cowdung inside and (a fifth having) a clod of earth from a cemetery and keeping them before the girl ask her to touch one of them (the five). If she touches any one of the first four, that is an indication of future prosperity (of the nature of the object touched), but the last (viz. clod of earth from cemetery) is objectionable. The Vārāha gr̥. 10 and Bhār. gr̥. I. 11 speak of only four lumps of earth viz. from a field, from an altar, from a cow-stable, and from a cemetery and say that one should not marry a girl who takes up the lump of cemetery earth. Mānava gr̥. (I. 7. 9–10) speaks of eight lumps but substitutes a lump of earth where dūrvā grows and a lump from under a tree filled with fruit for earth from a pool of water and one from a gambling place and adds that the eight lumps should be placed in a temple and if the girl takes up the lump from a cemetery or from a barren spot or from where four roads meet she should not be married. Many digests like the Gr̥. R. (pp. 13-22) contain long quotations which dilate upon the indications about the auspiciousness or otherwise of girls from their several physical features.

Gaut. IV. 1, Vas. 8. 1, Mānava gr̥. I. 7. 8, Yāj. I. 52 and several others say that the girl must be younger (yavīyasī)

1029. शक्तिविषये द्रव्याणि प्रतिच्छन्नान्युपनिधाय ब्रूयादुपस्पृशेति। नानाबीजानि संसृष्टानि वेद्याः पांसून् क्षेत्राल्लोष्टं शकृच्छ्मशानलोष्टमिति। पूर्वेषामुपस्पर्शने यथालिङ्गमृद्धिः उत्तमं परिचक्षते। आप. गृ. 3. 15–18.

than the bridegroom and the Kāmasūtra (III. 1. 2) recommends that she must be younger than the bridegroom by at least three years. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 52 explains 'yavīyasī' as meaning 'younger in age and smaller in stature' (than the bridegroom). What the age of marriage was will be discussed a little below.

Gaut. IV. 1,[1030] Vas. 8. 1, Yāj. I. 52, Manu (III. 4 and 12) and others say that one should marry only a girl who is a virgin and of the same caste. How far widow-marriages and intercaste marriages were allowed would be discussed later on.

The Mānava gṛ. I. 7. 8, Manu III. 11 and Yāj. I. 53 require that the girl to be chosen must not be brotherless. This requirement which has been not in force for centuries has a long history behind it. In Ṛg. I. 124. 7 it is said[1031] 'as a brotherless maiden comes back towards her male relations (her father's family)...so the dawn reveals objects (or her beauty).' In the Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 we read 'like brotherless women let them sit still with their splendour gone'. Both these passages are quoted and explained in the Nirukta III. 4-5. In ancient times when a man had no son, he could make his daughter do for a son (i. e. she herself became putrikā) and stipulate with the person marrying her that the son born of her would be his (i. e. the girl's father's) son and would offer piṇḍas as a son to his maternal grandfather. The result would be that the son of such a girl would not offer piṇḍas to his father and would not continue the line of his father. Ṛg. III. 31. 1 (a very obscure and difficult verse) has been explained by the Nirukta (III. 4) as referring to the practice of declaring a daughter to be one's son[1032]. Therefore, brotherless maidens were not chosen as brides and the Ṛg. speaks of spinsters growing old in their parental home (Ṛg. II. 17. 7). Vas. Dh. S. 17. 16 refers[1033] to

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1030. गृहस्थः सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देतानन्यपूर्वां यवीयसीम्। गौ. IV. 1; गृहस्थो विनीतक्रोधहर्षो ...... अस्पृष्टमैथुनामवरवयस्कां सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देत। वसिष्ठ VIII. 1.

1031. अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम्। जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासा उषा हस्रेव निरिणीते अप्सः। ऋ. I. 124. 7. The संस्कारप्रकाश p. 747 quotes this Vedic verse, Yāska's Nirukta thereon and Vas. also. अभ्रातर इव जामयस्तिष्ठन्तु हतवर्चसः। अथर्व I. 17. 1. The निरुक्त (III. 4) reads अभ्रातर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति हतवर्त्मनः and explains अभ्रातर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति संतानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय हतवर्त्मानः.

1032. प्रशास्ति वोढा संतानकर्मणे दुहितुः पुत्रभावम्। निरुक्त III. 4.

1033. तृतीयः पुत्रिका। विज्ञायते अभ्रातृका पुंसः पितॄनभ्येति प्रतीचीनं गच्छति पुत्रत्वम्। तत्र श्लोकः। अभ्रातृकां प्रदास्यामि तुभ्यं कन्यामलंकृताम्। अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्रो भवेदिति। वसिष्ठ 17. 15-17. The sūtra विज्ञायते is an echo of the explanation of the Nirukta III. 5 and the verse quoted also occurs in the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 5.

Ṛg. I. 124. 7 and quotes a verse about a brotherless girl. Such a daughter at whose marriage the father made the stipulation stated above was called putrikā and according to Gaut. 28. 17 some [1034] teachers went so far as to say that a daughter became a putrikā by the mental resolve of the father alone (without there being an express agreement with the bridegroom). It is therefore that Manu (3. 11) ordains that one should not marry a girl that has no brother, as there is the danger of her being a putrikā. The Nirukta (III. 5) quotes another [1035] Vedic passage 'one should not marry a brotherless woman, for she becomes the son of him (her father)' and remarks that in this passage there is a direct prohibition against marrying a brotherless maiden (while in the passage of the Atharvaveda it is indirect, being involved in a simile) and it is also expressly said that she becomes the son of her father. In medieval times this prohibition against marrying a brotherless girl gradually was ignored and in modern times the pendulum has swung the other way, a brotherless girl being a coveted prize if her father be rich. In course of time popular feeling changed and no girl could remain unmarried if she wanted heavenly worlds. There is an interesting story in the Śalyaparva chap. 52 of the daughter of Kuṇigarga who, when told by Nārada that an unmarried woman could not secure heaven, married for one day Śṛṅgavat and then went to heaven.

There are further restrictions about choosing a girl for marriage. The rule was that a man should marry a girl of the same caste. So far there is what is called endogamy (i. e. rule requiring marriage within a certain large community). But within this large community there were certain groups which were prohibited for marriage to a person belonging to another group of the same caste or community (i. e. the principle of exogamy operated within the large community itself). The Hir. gṛ. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 4, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15 require that the bride to be chosen must not belong to the same gotra as that of the bridegroom. They are all silent about the sameness of pravara. Gaut. IV. 2., Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1, Mānava

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1034. अभिसंधिमात्रात्पुत्रिकेत्येकेषाम्। गौ. 28. 17.

1035. नाभ्रात्रीमुपयच्छेत तोकं ह्यस्य तद्भवति इति अभ्रातृकाया उपयमप्रतिषेधः प्रत्यक्षः पितुश्च पुत्रभावः। निरुक्त III. 5. Prof. Rajvade in his translation of the Nirukta in Marathi regards this passage (Nir. III. 5) as interpolated, but his reasons are quite unconvincing. विश्वरूप on या. I. 53 quotes नाभ्रा... भवति as a text of the Bhāllavins.

gṛ. I. 7. 8, Vārāha gṛ. 9, Śaṅkha[1036] Dh. S. forbid marriage with a girl whose *pravara* (or ārṣeya) is the same as that of the bridegroom ; but they say nothing about the prohibition against the sameness of gotra. It is somewhat remarkable that some of the gṛhyasūtras like Āśv. and Pār. say not a word about sameness of *gotra* and *pravara*. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Vaik. III. 2, Yāj. I. 53, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 7), Vedavyāsa II. 2 and many others prohibit sameness of gotra as well as of pravara. Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 5, Manu III. 5, Vaik. III. 2 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 require that the bride must not be a *sapiṇḍa* or blood relation of the mother of the bridegroom ; while Gaut. IV. 2, Vas. VIII. 2, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 10, Vārāha gr. 9, Śaṅkha Dh. (quoted above), Yāj. I. 53 and others restrict the prohibition against marrying a sapiṇḍa girl to seven degrees on the father's side and five degrees on the mother's side. There were others like the Vedavyāsa-smṛti which not only prohibited marriage with a girl who had the same gotra as the bridegroom's, but prohibited marriage with a girl whose mother's gotra was the same as the bridegroom's.

All these prohibitions against marrying a *sagotra*, *sapravara* or *sapiṇḍa* girl are extremely important, as the following considerations will show. It is a canon of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā that if there is a seen (dṛṣṭa) or easily perceptible reason for a rule stated in the sacred texts, it is only recommendatory and a breach of such a rule does not nullify the principal act. But if there is an unseen (adṛṣṭa) reason for a rule and there is a breach of such rule, the principal act itself is rendered invalid and nugatory thereby. The rule about not marrying a woman who is diseased or who has superfluous or deficient limbs has a seen reason viz. marriage with such a girl causes unhappiness (if she is diseased) or comment (if she has deficient limbs). Therefore, if a person marries such a girl the marriage is perfectly valid. But there is no seen or easily perceptible reason for the prohibition against marrying a *sagotra* or *sapravara* girl. Therefore, such rules go to the root of the matter and are obligatory and, if there is a breach of them, the marriage is no marriage, it is null and void. So even if a person goes through a ceremony of marriage with a girl who

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1036. हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11–16 quotes शङ्ख ' दारानाहरेत्सदृशानसमानार्षेयानसंबन्धान्मातृसमपञ्चमात्पितृमातृबन्धुभ्यः ' । The words ārṣeya, ārṣa and pravara mean the same thing. Manu is silent about the prohibition against marrying a sapravara girl.

is a sagotra or sapravara or sapiṇḍa (within prohibited degrees) she does not in law become his wife at all. These principles are very lucidly set [1037] forth by Medhātithi on Manu III. 11, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53, the Madanapārijāta and other works. Therefore, these questions of sagotra, sapravara and sapiṇḍa will be dealt with at some length later on.

The question of the age of marriage for men and women will now be considered. This is a very interesting and instructive study. The age of marriage for both sexes has varied considerably from age to age, from province to province and also from caste to caste even at the same time. [1038] As regards men there is no special rule as to the age before which a man was obliged to marry. A man could remain celibate all his life, while at least in medieval and modern times marriage has been absolutely necessary for every girl. A man was to marry after he had finished his Vedic studies; but the period of Vedic study was fluctuating (i. e. it could be 12, 24, 36, 48 years or as much time as was necessary to master one Veda or a portion of it). Usually twelve years were devoted to brahmacarya in ancient times and as upanayana ordinarily took place in the 8th year (for brāhmaṇas) a man would ordinarily be 20 years old or more at the time of marriage. It is therefore that Manu (IX. 94) remarks that a man of thirty may marry a girl of twelve years or a man of 24 who is in a hurry to become a householder may marry a girl of eight. Basing on this the Viṣṇupurāṇa [1039] (III. 10. 16) says that the ages of the bride and bridegroom should be in the ratio of 1 to 3. Aṅgiras says that the bride should be two, three, five or more years younger. In

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1037. अस्मिन् प्रकरणे यत्र नास्ति दृष्टगतः प्रतिषेधः, यथा 'असपिण्डा च' इत्यत्र श्लोके, तद्व्यतिक्रमे विवाहस्वरूपानिर्वृत्तिरेव । अतः सगोत्रादिविवाहः कृतोऽप्यकृत एव ।...... एवं सगोत्रायां न भार्यात्वम् । यस्तु हीनक्रियादिप्रतिषेधः (मनु ३-७), तस्य दृष्टदर्शनमूलत्वान्निर्वर्तते विवाहः, भवत्यसौ भार्या । मेधा० on मनु III. 11; सपिण्डा-समानगोत्रा-समप्रवरासु भार्यात्वमेव नोत्पद्यते । रोगिण्यादिषु तु भार्यात्व उत्पन्नेऽपि दृष्टविरोध एव । मिता० on या. I. 53; vide also मदनपारिजात pp. 140–141, गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 28. Compare what St. Paul says 'the things that are seen are temporary, but the things that are not seen are eternal' 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians chap. IV. 18.

1038. In Z. D. M. G. vol. 46 pp. 413–426 (Dr. Jolly) and vol. 47 pp. 143–154 (Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reply) there is an interesting discussion about the marriageable age of girls in ancient India.

1039. वर्षैरेकगुणां भार्यामुद्वहेत् त्रिगुणः स्वयम् । विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 16; वयोधिकां नोपयच्छेद् दीर्घां कन्यां स्वदेहतः । स्ववर्षाद् द्वित्रिपञ्चादिन्यूनां कन्यां समुद्वहेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted in स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 125).

the Mahābhārata [1040] Gautama is prepared to give his daughter in marriage to Uttaṅka if he could be a youth of 16 years. In another place the Mahābhārata (Sabhā 64. 14 and Vanaparva 5. 15) uses the simile of a maiden not liking a husband of 60 years. That shows that girls were sometimes married to even old men of 60 in those days as rarely in modern times also. In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 44. 14) the respective ages of the bridegroom and bride are recommended as 30 and 10 or 21 and 7; while the Udvāhatattva (p. 123) and S. Pr. p. 766 quote a verse from the Mahābhārata that a man of 30 should marry a girl of 16 (but from the metre and context it appears that 'ṣoḍaśa-varṣām' as printed should be 'daśa-varṣām)'.

In the Ṛgveda there are no clear statements about the exact age when girls were married. But there are indications that many girls were married at a sufficiently mature age (at least they were not married at the tender age of eight). We have already seen (p. 435) that brotherless girls often remained unmarried till old age. One of the benevolent deeds[1041] of the Āśvins is that they bestowed a husband on Ghoṣā who was growing old in her father's house. Vide also Ṛg. I. 124. 7, II. 17. 7, and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1. In Ṛg. X. 27. 12 it is said 'when a bride is fine looking and well adorned, she by herself seeks her friend from among men'. That shows that girls were grown-up enough to select their husbands. Some of the verses in the marriage hymn (such as Ṛg. X. 85. 26–27, 46) indicate [1042] that married girls could not have been child-wives, but must have been grown-up. On the other hand in Ṛg. I. 116. 1 it is said that the Nāsatyas (Āśvins) bestowed a wife on Vimada who was an *arbhaga* (of tender age).[1043] But all that is meant seems to be that Vimada was a mere boy as compared with his rival kings who had come as suitors. The two verses Ṛg. I. 126. 6–7 (which are rather too naive) indicate that girls were married before they had attained puberty. In Ṛg. I. 51. 13 Indra is said to have given to old Kakṣīvat a wife named Vṛcayā who is styled '*arbhā*' (young). But that word is only used in contradistinction to the word 'mahate' (grown old) applied to Kakṣīvat

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1040. युवा षोडशवर्षो हि यदद्य भविता भवान्। वृद्धानि पत्नीं कन्यां च स्वां ते दुहितरं द्विज ॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 56. 22–23.

1041. घोषायै चित्पितृषदे दुरोणे पतिं जूर्यन्त्या अश्विनावदत्तम् ॥ ऋ. I. 117. 7.

1042. सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वां भव। ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 46.

1043. यावर्भगाय विमदाय जायां सेनाजुवा न्यूहतू रथेन ॥ ऋ. I. 116. 1.

and conveys no idea of her exact age.[1044] On the whole one may conclude that in the period of the Ṛgveda girls were probably married at any age (either before puberty or after puberty) and sometimes remained spinsters all their life. The other Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas do not shed much light on the question of the age of marriage for girls. In the Chān. Up. Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa is described as dwelling in the Kuru country with his wife, who is said to have been 'āṭikī' which Śaṁkara explains as 'a mere undeveloped girl'.[1045]

Coming to the ancient gṛhya and dharma sūtras, it will be seen from several considerations that girls were married just before the time of puberty or immediately after it. Among the several requirements of the bride to be chosen several gṛhya sūtras lay down that she must be a '*nagnikā*'. Vide Hir. gṛ. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 6, Mānava gṛ. I. 7. 8, Vaik. VI. 12.[1046] The word *nagnikā* is variously explained by the commentators. Mātṛdatta on Hir. gṛ. explains that nagnikā means 'one whose menstrual period is near' i. e. one who is fit for intercourse. Aṣṭāvakra, the commentator of the Mānava gṛ., explains nagnikā as 'one who has not yet experienced the impulses and emotions of youth' or 'one who looks pretty even without clothes' (taking the word along with 'śreṣṭhām' that follows). The Gṛhyāsaṁgraha[1047] (which is much later than the Gobhila gṛ.) explains 'nagnikā' as one who has not yet reached puberty. These varying explanations of the word 'nagnikā' are due to the fact that when some smṛtis and commentators wrote child marriages were not in vogue, while they were in vogue when and where others flourished. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 70 says 'the father

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1044. अददा अर्भां महते वचस्यवे कक्षीवते वृचयामिन्द्र सुन्वते । ऋ. I. 51. 13.

1045. मटचीहतेषु कुरुष्वाटिक्या सह जाययोषस्तिर्ह चाक्रायण इभ्यग्रामे प्रद्राणक उवास । छान्दोग्य I. 10. 1. शंकर explains 'आटिक्या अनुपजातपयोधरादिस्त्रीव्यञ्जनया'.

1046. ताभ्यामनुज्ञातो भार्यामुपयच्छेत् सजातां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीमसगोत्राम् । हिरण्य. गृ. I. 19. 2; 'नग्निकामासन्नार्तवाम् । ...तस्मादृतुविक्षेपणार्हा नग्निका मैथुनार्हेत्यर्थः' मातृदत्त; 'बन्धुमतीं कन्यामस्पृष्टमैथुनामुपयच्छेत ... यवीयसीं नग्निकां श्रेष्ठाम् ।' मानवगृह्य I. 7. 8. Dr. Bhandarkar shows that in many Mss. of the Hir. gṛ. and as handed down by oral tradition among the *vaidikas* of the Hir. śākhā the reading is सजातानग्निकां (i. e. the girl should be of the same caste and not a nagnikā). Vide ZDMG vol. 47. pp. 143–46.

1047. नग्निकां तु वदेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् । ऋतुमती त्वनग्निका तां प्रयच्छेत्तु नग्निकाम् ॥ अप्राप्ता रजसो गौरी प्राप्ते रजसि रोहिणी । अव्यञ्जिता भवेत्कन्या कुचहीना च नग्निका । गृह्यासंग्रह quoted by com. on गोभिलगृह्य III. 4. 6.

should give away his daughter while she is still nagnikā through fear of her attaining puberty (while unmarried).' This shows that according to Vas. nagnikā must have been a girl of tender years or one that had not attained puberty.

There is another very important indication. Most of the gṛhyasūtras prescribe that the married couple should be celibate for at least three nights after marriage (if not for a longer period). For example, the Pār. gṛ. (I. 8) says[1048] ' the married pair should (after marriage) not partake of *kṣāra* and *lavaṇa* for three nights, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot, for the same period) and should not have intercourse for a year, twelve nights, six nights, three nights in the last resort '. Vide for a similar rule Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 10, Āp. gṛ. 8. 8–9, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 17. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 14. 14, Kāṭhaka gṛ. 30. 1, Khādira gṛ. I. 4. 9 and others. Such an injunction against intercourse for three nights after marriage would have been uncalled for and extremely inappropriate if girls had been usually married when they were only eight to ten years old. Such injunctions by so many authors presuppose that girls must have generally been very near puberty or past puberty at the time of marriage. Haradatta who belongs to about the 12th century A. D. expressly says[1049] that (in his days) in certain countries intercourse was commenced immediately after marriage and that such a usage being opposed to Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 10 should not be followed (but continence should be observed at least for three days after marriage). This shows that so late as 1200 A. D. in several countries the marriageable age of girls must have been at least about 14.

In most of the gṛhyasūtras there is a rite called ' caturthī-karma ' (rite on 4th day after marriage). Vide Gobhila II. 5, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 18–19, Khādira gṛ. I. 4. 12–16, Pār. gṛ. I. 11, Āp. gṛ. 8. 10–11, Hir. gṛ. I. 23–24 &c. This rite has been described above (pp. 203–204) and corresponds to the garbhādhāna of later writers (e. g. Yāj. I. 11). As cohabitation is expressly mentioned in connection with this rite performed on the fourth day after

1048. त्रिरात्रमक्षारालवणाशिनौ स्यातामधः शयीयातां संवत्सरं न मिथुनमुपेयातां द्वादशरात्रं...त्रिरात्रमन्ततः । पारस्करगृह्य I. 8.

1049. केषुचिद्देशेषु सद्यः समावेशनं दृष्टं वक्ष्यमाणेन त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रमिति ब्रह्मचर्येण बाध्यते । हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. I. 7. 2, on which नारायण also says ' वैदेहेषु सद्य एव व्यवायो दृष्टः । गृह्ये तु ब्रह्मचारिणौ त्रिरात्रमिति ब्रह्मचर्यं विहितं तत्र गृह्योक्तमेव कुर्यान्न देशधर्ममिति सिद्धम् । '.

marriage it follows that girls must have generally been quite grown-up at the time of marriage.

In some of the gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis a slight prāyaścitta (purificatory ceremony) is prescribed if the bride has menstruation during the progress of the marriage ceremonies. Vide Baud. gṛ. IV. 1. 10, Kauśika sūtra 79. 16, Vaik. VI. 13, Atri (ed. by Jiv. part I. p. 11).

Gaut.[1050] (18. 20–23) says 'a girl should be given in marriage before she attains the age of puberty. He who neglects it commits sin. Some declare that she should be given in marriage before she begins to wear clothes. A marriageable girl (who is not given in marriage by her father &c.) should allow three monthly periods to pass and afterwards unite herself to a blameless man of her own will and give up the ornaments received from her father (or her family)'. This passage establishes that even before Gautama (i. e. 500 or 600 B. C.) there were people who advocated marriages of infant girls that did not care to put on clothes (i. e. who had no sense of shame if they went about without clothes), that Gautama disapproved of this view, that he only prescribed that the marriage of girls should take place before puberty and he was not horrified if girls got themselves married sometime after puberty. But it is clear that no blame attached to the girl married after puberty or to the husband; the idea, however, had arisen even then that the father or guardian incurred blame or sin by not getting a girl married before puberty. Manu (IX. 89–90) goes so far as to say 'A maiden may rather stay in her father's house even till her death, though she may have attained puberty; but the father should never give her to one who is devoid of good qualities. A maiden after attaining puberty may wait for three years (to see if she is given away by her father or brother &c.) but after this period she should seek a husband who is similar to her.' Anuśāsanaparva 44. 16 is to the same effect. Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 14 and Vas. V. Dh. S. 17. 67–68 give the same rule as in Manu IX. 90. But both add (Vas. 17. 70–71 and Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12) that the father or guardian incurs the sin of destroying an embryo at each appearance of menses as long as the girl is

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1050. त्रीनृतूनतीत्य स्वयं युज्येतानिन्दितेनोत्सृज्य पित्र्यानलंकारान्। प्रदानं प्रागृतोः। अप्रयच्छन् दोषी। प्राग्वाससः प्रतिपत्तेरित्येके। गौ. 18. 20–23.

unmarried. Yāj. I. 64 and Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verses 25–27) state the same rule.

On account of this change in popular beliefs and sentiments it came to be recommended that a girl must be married early and may be given even to one [1051] who is devoid of qualities (in spite of Manu IX 89). Vide Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 and 15.

So we see that from about 600 B. C. to about the beginning of the Christian Era it did not matter at all if a girl was married a few months or few years after puberty. But by about 200 A. D. (when the Yāj. smṛti was composed) popular feeling had become insistent on pre-puberty marriages. The reasons for this change are not quite clear. But it is possible to hold that it was due to the following circumstances. Buddhism had spread far and wide during these centuries with its encouragement of the institution of monks and nuns. There was laxity of morals among nuns. A further reason may be adduced viz. that girls had generally ceased to study anything, though some of them certainly did study in the times of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and so society did not like girls to remain doing nothing. From the times of the Ṛgveda (X. 85. 40–41) there was a mystical belief that Soma, Gandharva and Agni were the divine guardians of a girl and the Gṛhyāsaṁgraha (quoted in the com. on Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 6) says that Soma enjoys a girl first, then Gandharva enjoys her when her breasts develop and fire when she mentruates. Therefore, a feeling arose that a girl must be married even before she develops any distinct signs of femininity. Saṁvarta [1052] (verses 64 and 67) gives expression to this idea. Further, since marriage came to be looked upon as the upanayana in the case of women, naturally the age for upanayana (8th year) came to be looked upon as the proper age for marriage. Vide Saṁskārakaustubha quoted below. It came to be believed that there was no hope of heaven for a woman who died unmarried.

1051. दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीम् । अपि वा गुणहीनाय नोपरुन्ध्याद्रजस्वलाम् ॥ अविद्यमाने सदृशे गुणहीनमपि श्रयेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 12 and 15.

1052. रोमकाले तु संप्राप्ते सोमो भुङ्क्तेथ कन्यकाम् । रजो दृष्ट्वा तु गन्धर्वाः कुचौ दृष्ट्वा तु पावकः । ...तस्माद् विवाहयेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् । विवाहो ह्यष्टवर्षायाः कन्यायास्तु प्रशस्यते ॥ संवर्त verses 64 and 67, quoted by Sm. C. I. p. 79 and Gr. R. p. 46. स्त्रीणामुपनयनस्थानापन्नो विवाह इति तदुचितावस्थायां विवाहस्योचितत्वात् । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 699; विवाहं चोपनयनं स्त्रीणामाह पितामहः । तस्माद्गर्भाष्टमः श्रेष्ठो जन्मतो वाष्टवत्सरः ॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म) p. 136.

In the Śalyaparva [1053] chap. 52 we have the story of a girl, daughter of Kuṇi Garga, who practised severe penance till she reached old age and yet was told by Nārada that if she died unmarried she would not go to heaven. The woman induced Śṛṅgavat of the Gālava family for a day previous to her death to marry her by the promise of giving him half of her merit (puṇya). The Vaik. [1054] (V. 9), while describing the ceremony of funeral rites in cases of distress, mentions the curious practice of finding out a male of the same caste for a girl, who dies unmarried though of the age of puberty, with whom a sort of marriage is gone through and the girl is then cremated. Whatever the reasons may be, this tendency to bring down the age of marriage for girls was accentuated in the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. The Laugākṣi[1055] gṛ. (19. 2) says 'brahmacarya for girls lasts till the 10th or 12th year'. The Vaik. (VI. 12) says that a brāhmaṇa should marry a brāhmaṇa girl who is a *nagnikā* or *gaurī* and defines nagnikā as a girl over eight years but less than ten and gaurī as one who is between ten and twelve and has not had menstruation. Aparārka (p. 85) quotes the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that nagnikā is one who is ten years old. Vide Sm. C. quoting Saṁgraha. Parāśara, Yāj. and Saṁvarta go even beyond this. Parāśara[1056] (VII. 6-9) says 'a girl of eight is called gaurī, but one who is nine years old is a rohiṇī; one who is ten years old is a kanyā; beyond this (i. e. after 10 years) she is a *rajasvalā*. If a person does not give away a maiden when she has reached her 12th year, his pitṛs have to drink every month her menstrual discharge. The parents and also the eldest brother go to hell on seeing (an unmarried) girl reaching the state of a rajasvalā'. Parāśara adds that the brāhmaṇa who marries such a girl should not be spoken to or admitted to dinner in the same row (as other

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1053. असंस्कृतायाः कन्यायाः कुतो लोकास्तवानघे। शल्यपर्व 52. 12.

1054. तथैव कन्यां च मृतां प्राप्तयौवनां तुल्येन पुंसा प्राप्तगृहवत्तां दहेत्। वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र V. 9.

1055. दशवार्षिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं कुमारीणां द्वादशवार्षिकं वा। लौगाक्षिगृह्य 19. 2. ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणीं नग्निकां गौरीं वा कन्यां ...... वरयेत्। अष्टवर्षादा दशमान्नग्निका। रजस्यप्राप्ते दशवर्षादा द्वादशाद् गौरीत्यामनन्ति। वैखानस VI. 12; संग्रहकारोपि। यावच्चैलं न गृह्णाति यावत्क्रीडति पांसुभिः। यावद् दोषं न जानाति तावद् भवति नग्निका॥ स्मृतिच I.p.80.

1056. माता चैव पिता चैव ज्येष्ठो भ्राता तथैव च। त्रयस्ते नरकं यान्ति दृष्ट्वा कन्यां रजस्वलाम्॥ यस्तां समुद्वहेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणोऽज्ञानमोहितः। असंभाष्यो ह्यपाङ्क्तेयः स विप्रो वृषलीपतिः॥ पराशर VII. 8-9. The स्मृतिच. (I. pp. 73 and 81) quotes पराशर VII. 6-9 as from यम.

brāhmaṇas) and that he becomes the husband of a vṛṣalī. On the other hand the Vāyupurāṇa (83. 44) extols the marriage of a gaurī by remarking that her son purifies 21 ancestors on his father's side and 6 male ancestors on his mother's side. Saṁvarta (verse 65–66) has the same two verses as Parāśara (VII. 6 and 8) and winds up (verse 67) by saying that the marriage of a girl of eight is highly commended. The same four verses (Parāśara VII. 6–9) occur in Bṛhad-Yama (Ānan. ed.) chap. 3. 19–22, but the order is different. Aṅgiras (vv. 126–128, Ānan. ed.) has the same verses. Kaśyapa as quoted in the Gṛ. R. (p. 46) says that a girl is called gaurī when she is seven, a kanyakā when she is ten and kumārī when she is twelve. It will be noticed that the smṛtis of Vaikhānasa and Kaśyapa differed from Parāśara as to the definition of gaurī. Further the three smṛtis make marriage of a girl after puberty an extremely sinful act and condemn not only the parents but also the husband, while Baud. prescribed only a slight prāyaścitta for the father alone even if there was menstruation during the marriage rites. Marīci[1057] (quoted in Par. M. I. 2. p. 177) said that choosing a bride who was five years old was best. Even Manu (9. 88) recommended an early marriage if a very desirable bridegroom was available. Rāma and Sītā are said to have been respectively 13 and 6 at the time of marriage (Araṇyakāṇḍa 47. 10–11). But this passage appears to be an interpolation. In the Bālakāṇḍa[1058] it is expressly stated that Sītā and her sisters enjoyed in private dalliance with their respective husbands immediately after marriage. If this is true then Sītā could not have been only 6 at the time of marriage.

The rule that brāhmaṇa girls were to be married between 8 to 10 years became general from about the 6th or 7th century and continued down to modern times. During the last two or three decades the marriageable age of girls owing to several causes, particularly the ravages of plague and the economic condition of the middle classes, has risen very high and marriages of girls even of poor brāhmaṇas hardly ever take place before 16 and have to be postponed to the age of 20 and beyond. Besides the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929, as amended

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1057. जन्मतो गर्भाधानाद्वा पञ्चमाब्दात्परं शुभम् । कुमारीवरणं दानं मेखलाबन्धनं तथा ॥ मरीचि quoted in परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 177. ; सप्तवर्षा भवेद्गौरी दशवर्षा तु नग्निका । भविष्यपुराण quoted by सं. प्र. p. 768.

1058. अभिवाद्याभिवाद्यांश्च सर्वा राजसुतास्तदा । रेमिरे मुदिताः सर्वा भर्तृभिः सहिता रहः ॥ बालकाण्ड 77. 16–17 (in 3 vol. with गोविन्दराज's com.).

by Act 19 of 1938) has fixed the minimum age limit for girls at 14 and persons getting their daughters married before the completion of 14 years are liable to be punished in a criminal court under the Act. There is no reason to laugh at ancient Indian writers for the low age of marriage they advocated. Child marriages were common in all countries of Europe. Even in England the age limits for boys and girls were recognised by the law only at 14 and 12 respectively until 1929, when the lowest marriageable age for both was fixed at 16 (19 and 20 Geo. V. Chap. 36). Besides it must be remembered that when marriages of girls of tender years took place they were purely a sacrament. There was no question of consummation which took place only after puberty. Sages condemned intercourse even with one's wife before she attained puberty.[1059] Winternitz in 'Die Frau.' p. 135 refers to a work of F. J. Furnivall on 'Child Marriages, Divorces &c' between 1560–66 A. D. in England from which it is clear that marriages of children of 9 or 10 (and rarely of even 2 or 3 years) took place in England only about 300 years ago.

These rules about the proper age for the marriage of girls affected only brāhmaṇas. Sanskrit poets and dramatists always depict that the heroines in their works are grown-up at the time of marriage and even Bhavabhūti imagines that Mālatī, the heroine of his romantic drama of Mālatīmādhava, was so grown-up that it was practically a case of love at first sight. Vaik. (VI. 12) requires a brāhmaṇa bride to be a *nagnikā* or *gaurī*, but does not prescribe the same qualification for a kṣatriya or vaiśya bride. In the Harṣacarita princess Rājyaśrī is described as quite grown-up at the time of her marriage which was consummated on the very day of marriage (vide the last para. of the 4th Ucchvāsa). The Saṁskāra-prakāśa[1060] expressly says that there is no prohibition against marrying a girl who has passed the age of puberty for kṣatriyas and others. Even in Pauranic times grown-up unmarried girls must not have been unheard of. The Gṛ. R. p. 83 quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa where the injunction to observe complete celi-

1059. प्राग्रजोदर्शनात्पत्नीं नेयाद्गत्वा पतत्यधः । व्यर्थीकारेण शुक्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्नुयादिति तत्रैवाश्वलायनोक्तेः । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 234.

1060. अत्रिकश्यपौ । यस्तु तां वरयेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणो ज्ञानदुर्बलः । अश्राद्धेयमपाङ्क्तेयं तं विद्याद्वृषलीपतिम् ॥ इति । अत्र ब्राह्मणपदोपादानाद्ब्राह्मणस्यैवायं रजस्वलापरिणयननिषेधो न क्षत्रियादीनाम् । कुन्त्यादिषु तथा दर्शनात् । संस्कारप्रकाश p. 771.

bacy for one year, 12 days, 6 days or 3 days is construed as respectively referring to girls whose ages were 8, 12, 16 or 20 at the time of marriage.[1061]

Another important question is inter-caste marriages. It has already been shown (pp. 50–58) how anuloma marriages were allowed, while pratiloma unions were condemned and how it was supposed that numerous sub-castes arose from such mixed marriages.

It is the contention of several eminent scholars (e. g. Senart in his 'Caste in India' translated by Ross p. 124) that caste as implied in modern usage and in its strict sense did not exist in the times of the Ṛgveda and the other Vedic Saṁhitās. We have seen, however, that the four varṇas had been recognised in the times of the Saṁhitās and that ideas of superiority and inferiority due to being of a particular varṇa had become quite prevalent. But the practices as to marrying outside one's varṇa and taking food had not become as rigid and cast-iron as they became in medieval times. A few clear examples of inter-caste marriages may be cited from the Vedic Literature. The Śat. Br. (IV. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 26, pp. 272–275) narrates the story of the old and decrepit sage Cyavana who was a Bhārgava (descendant of Bhṛgu) or Āṅgirasa to Sukanyā, the daughter of king Śaryāta, a descendant of Manu. The Śat. Br. (XIII. 2. 9. 8,[1062] S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 326) quotes a half verse from the Vāj. S. (26. 30) and then remarks 'therefore he does not anoint (as king) the son of the vaiśya woman.' This suggests that a king might marry a vaiśya girl, but her son would not have the Vedic coronation ceremony performed on him. Verses 17–19 of the Ṛgveda V. 61 are interpreted by the Bṛhad-devatā (V. 50) as referring to the marriage of the brāhmaṇa sage Śyāvāśva to the daughter of king Rathavīti Dārbhya. The story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa who was styled 'dāsyāḥ putra' (either meaning 'the son of a dāsī or used as a term of abuse) by the sages has been mentioned above (at p. 36).

1061. कृते विवाहे वर्षं तु वस्तव्यं ब्रह्मचारिणा । यद्यष्टवर्षा कन्या स्यात् तथा तद्विगुणः पुमान् ॥ अथवा द्वादशाहानि त्रिंशद्वर्षेण सर्वदा । यदि द्वादशवर्षा स्यात्कन्या रूपगुणान्विता । द्वात्रिंशद्वर्षपूर्णे तु यदि षोडशवार्षिकी । लब्धा तदा च षड्रात्रं वस्तव्यं संयतेन तु ॥ विंशत्यब्दा यदा कन्या वस्तव्यं तत्र वै त्र्यहम् । अत ऊर्ध्वमहोरात्रं वस्तव्यमिति संमतम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 83.

1062. शूद्रा यदर्यजारा न पोषाय धनायतीति तस्माद्वैशीपुत्रं नाभिषिञ्चति । शतपथ XIII. 2. 9. 8. This verse has been quoted above in note 83.

Turning to the dharma and gṛhya sūtras, the matter stands thus. Some of the gṛhya sūtras (like Āśv., Āp.) do not expressly say anything about the varṇa of the bride. The Āp. Dh. S.[1063] (II. 6. 13. 1 and 3) requires that one should marry a girl of the same varṇa, who was not given before to another and marriage with whom is in accordance with śāstra and says that by contravening these rules sin is incurred. So he condemns mixed marriages. The Mānava gṛ. I. 7. 8 and Gaut. IV. 1 require that one should marry a girl of the same varṇa and are silent about marriages with a bride of another varṇa. But Gautama knew of such marriages and enumerates the names of several sub-castes due to mixed marriages (IV. 14–17) and he includes among those who are unfit to be invited at a śrāddha dinner a brāhmaṇa who is the husband of a woman of the śūdra caste (15. 18). Manu (III. 12), Śaṅkha and Nārada [1064] (strīpuṁsa, v. 4) say that the best course is to marry a girl of one's own caste. This is said to be *pūrva kalpa* (the foremost or the best procedure). Many also speak of a less advisable course (*anukalpa*, as it is called) viz. that a brāhmaṇa may take as wife a woman of any caste, a kṣatriya may marry a woman of his own caste or a vaiśya or a śūdra woman, a vaiśya may marry a vaiśya or śūdra woman and a śūdra only a śūdra woman. This is stated by Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2, Śaṅkha, Manu III. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 1–4. Pār. gṛ. I. 4 and Vas. Dh. S. [1065] I. 25 inform us that some teachers allowed a dvija to marry a śūdra woman but without Vedic mantras. But Vasiṣṭha himself condemns it severely by saying 'one should not do so (i. e. marry a śūdra girl), for by doing so the degradation of the family is certain and loss of heaven after death'. Though the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Manusmṛti state that a dvijāti may marry a śūdra girl, that is not their own view, but they simply voice practices and sentiments prevalent in their time, since both denounce the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra girl in the most un-measured terms. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 26. 5–6 (S. B. E. vol. 7 p. 112) says that the union of a dvijāti with a śūdra woman can never produce religious

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1063. सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः संबन्धः। पूर्ववत्यामसंस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः। आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 1 and 3.

1064. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परिग्रहे। सजातिः श्रेयसी भार्या सजातिश्च पतिः स्त्रियाः॥ ब्राह्मणस्यानुलोम्येन स्त्रियोऽन्यास्तिस्र एव तु। नारद (स्त्रीपुंस verses 4–5).

1065. तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्व्येण द्वे राजन्यस्य एकैका वैश्यशूद्रयोः। शूद्रामप्येके मन्त्रवर्जं तद्वत्। तथा न कुर्यात्। अतो हि ध्रुवः कुलापकर्षः प्रेत्य चास्वर्गः। वसिष्ठ I. 24–27.

merit; it is from carnal desire alone that he marries her being blinded by lust; and that dvijāti men who thus marry śūdra women quickly degrade their families and progeny to the status of śūdras'. The ancient editor of the Manusmṛti did not tolerate such marriages (though he gave expression to the common trend of view in III. 12-13) and condemns a dvijāti's marriage with a śūdra woman in the strongest language (III. 15-19, Manu III. 15 being the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 26. 5) 'a brāhmaṇa by having intercourse with a śūdra woman goes to hell and by procreating a son on her he loses his status as a brāhmaṇa'. Yāj. I. 57 allowed a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya to marry a girl of his own varṇa or of the varṇas next in order, but laid it down as his emphatic opinion that 'a dvijāti should not marry a śūdra girl'. It appears however that prevailing public opinion and practice was too much for both Manu and Yāj.; for, both declare (Yāj. II. 125 and Manu IX. 152-153) that when a brāhmaṇa has sons from wives of the four varṇas, the son of a brāhmaṇa wife takes four shares (out of 10 in which his wealth is to be divided), the son of a kṣatriya wife takes three, of a vaiśya wife two and of a śūdra wife one. Yāj. (I. 91-92) recognises the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra and says that the son of such a union is a pāraśava'. Manu III. 44 also recognises the marriage of a śūdra girl with one of a higher class by saying that she holds the hem of the garment of a bridegroom of a higher class.

This shows that the ancient smṛtis ungrudgingly recognised marriages between a brāhmaṇa and a kṣatriya or a vaiśya girl. But opinion was not unanimous about the marriage of a dvijāti with a śūdra woman. Such marriages took place, but were looked upon with disfavour and often condemned with severity. *Anuloma* marriages were frequent enough till the 9th or 10th century A. D., but became rare later and for the last several hundred years they hardly ever took place or they were not at all recognized as valid by the communities concerned. The epigraphic records furnish well authenticated instances of inter-caste marriages. The Vākāṭakas were brāhmaṇas (their gotra being Viṣṇuvṛddha). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (E. I. vol. 15 p. 39) establish that she was a daughter of Candragupta II. (first quarter of 5th century A. D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and became the chief queen of the king Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka line. The Taḷaguṇḍa pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman (E. I. vol. 8 p. 24) recites that

the founder of the Kadamba family was Mayūraśarman, a brāhmaṇa, who being exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcī took up the sword. His descendants have names ending in varman (as kṣatriyas should have, according to Manu II. 32). The inscription mentions that Kakusthavarman (who was 4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) got his daughters married to Gupta and other kings. In the Ghaṭotkaca Inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana (A. S. W. I. vol. 4, p. 140) we are told that Soma, a brāhmaṇa and ancestor of Hastibhoja, minister of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, gave his heart to wives born in brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya families. The Tipperah copper-plate grant of a chieftain called Lokanātha (E. I. vol. 15, p. 301 ff) dated in the 44th year (probably of the Harṣa era i. e. about 650 A. D.) says that Lokanātha's ancestors belonged to the Bharadvāja gotra (p. 306) and that the maternal grand-father of Lokanātha was Keśava who is said to have been a pāraśava (p. 307), while Keśava's father Vīra was a brāhmaṇa (dvijasattama). Virūpādevī, a daughter of the famous Vijayanagara king Bukka I (1268-1298 A. D.), was married to a brāhmaṇa named Brahma or Bomaṇṇa Woḍeya, who was the Governor of the Āraga province (E. I. vol. 15, p. 12). Vide also E. I. vol. 18, p. 87 (dated 894 of the Vikrama era) for Pratīhāra kings being descended from a brāhmaṇa Haricandra and the latter's kṣatriya wife; the Āṭpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra dated in saṁvat 1034 (977 A. D.) which states that the founder of the Guhila dynasty was a brāhmaṇa Guhadatta, whose descendant Bhartṛpaṭṭa married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.

Classical Sanskrit Literature also yields certain well-known instances of inter-caste marriages. The Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa shows that Agnimitra, a son of Senāpati Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty and a brāhmaṇa, married Mālavikā who was a kṣatriya princess. In the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa (Ucchvāsa I towards end) we are told by Bāṇa himself that among the friends and companions of his wanderings there were his two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa (i.e. step-brothers from a śūdra wife of his father). Rājaśekhara, teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj, says in his Karpūramañjarī (I. 11) that his accomplished wife Avantisundarī was descended from the Cāhuāṇa (modern Chavan) family (i. e. from a kṣatriya family).

It is extremely difficult to say when exactly inter-caste marriages even between dvijātis came to be prohibited by the

smṛtis and writers of digests. Viśvarūpa[1066] on Yāj. III. 283 (not later than first half of 9th century) clearly suggests that in his day a brāhmaṇa could marry a kṣatriya girl. Medhātithi on Manu III. 14 suggests that about 900 A. D. at the latest marriáges of brāhmaṇas with kṣatriya and vaiśya girls took place rarely in his day, but not with śūdra women ; and the Mit. on Yāj. does not at all say that though marriages among dvijātis (anuloma ones) were allowed by Manu and Yāj. they had entirely ceased to be regarded as valid by its time. Many of the medieval digests and writers like the Sm. C. and Hemādri quote verses stated to be from the Āditya-purāṇa or Brahma-purāṇa on matters forbidden in the Kali age (and so called Kalivarjya) among which inter-caste marriages are included.

The Āpastamba[1067] smṛti (in verse ed. by Jivānanda I, p. 549, chap. IX) says that by marrying a girl of another caste a man incurred the sin of mahāpātaka and had to undergo the penance of 24 kṛcchras. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (113. 34–36) narrates the story of king Nābhāga who married a vaiśya girl by the rākṣasa form of marriage and who consequently incurred sin.

The state of the law as to inter-caste marriages in British Indian courts may be briefly indicated here. By the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) both anuloma and pratiloma marriages are validated if they are registered and solemnized according to the procedure prescribed by the Act. But if a marriage is not so solemnized under that Act, but under the general rules of Hindu Law, then all pratiloma marriages are invalid throughout British India.

1066. भ्रातृजाया च ब्राह्मणस्यापि क्षत्रिया भवत्येव। विश्वरूप on या. III. 283 ; 'ननु च द्विजातीनां शूद्रापुत्रो नास्त्येव तद्विवाहप्रतिषेधात्। सत्यम्। स्मृत्यर्थभ्रान्त्या तु प्रवृत्तावयं विभागधर्म इत्यभिप्रायः।' विश्वरूप on या. II. 129 ; सवर्णानियमेनासवर्णानिवृत्तेरर्थतः कृतायाः पुनः शूद्रानिवृत्तिरसवर्णानिवृत्तेरनित्यत्वं ज्ञापयति। अनित्यत्वे चापदि सवर्णाया अलाभे भवति चायमवगमः शूद्रा न वोढव्या इतरे तु वोढव्ये। मेधातिथि on मनु III. 14.

1067. The उद्वाहतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (ed. by Jivānanda vol. II, p. 112) quotes the verse द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा from the बृहन्नारदीय and कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः from the आदित्यपुराण. The latter is quoted in the परा. मा. (vol. 1. part 1 p. 134) and in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (vol. III. part 2 p. 667). The first quotation (द्विजाना &c) occurs in the नारदीयमहापुराण, पूर्वभाग, chap. 24. 13.

But *anuloma* [1068] marriages have been recognised as valid by some High Courts in India; the Allahabad High Court, however, regards all *anuloma* marriages even as invalid.

The next restriction that the girl to be married must not be a sapiṇḍa of the bride-groom has now to be considered. Sapiṇḍa relationship is of special importance in three matters, viz. marriage, inheritance and āśauca [1069] (impurity on birth and death). The prohibition against marriage with a sapiṇḍa girl applies to all varṇas including the śūdra [1070]. There are two schools about the meaning of sapiṇḍa, one represented by the Mitākṣarā and the other by Jīmūtavāhana (author of the Dāyabhāga). Both are agreed that a sapiṇḍa girl cannot be married, but they differ as to the meaning of the word. We shall first understand one interpretation of sapiṇḍa. The *locus classicus* is the commentary of Vijñāneśvara on Yāj. I. 52-53 a substantial portion of which is translated here: "'asapiṇḍām' (in Yāj. I. 52) means a woman who is not a sapiṇḍa and sapiṇḍa means one who has the same piṇḍa i. e. body (or particles of the body). Sapiṇḍa relationship (between two persons) arises from (their) being connected by having particles of the same body. Thus, the son has sapiṇḍa relationship with his father by reason of the (fact that) particles of the father's body continue in him (the son). Similarly (there is sapiṇḍa relationship) with the paternal grandfather and the like (of the

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1068. Vide Bai Laksmi v. Kaliansing 2 Bom. L. R. 128 (marriage between Rajput male and a brāhmaṇa woman held to be invalid); Bai Kashi v. Jamnadas 14 Bom. L. R. 547 (marriage between a brāhmaṇa woman and śūdra male was held to be void); Munnilal v. Shiama I. L.R. 48. All. 670 (marriage between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female held to be invalid). Vide Bai Gulab v. Jivanlal I. L. R. 46 Bom. 871, Natha v. Mehta Chotalal I. L. R. 55 Bom. 1 (marriage of a brāhmaṇa male with a śūdra female was held valid); Nalinaksha v. Rajanikanto 35 C. W. N. 726. Vide Padma Kumari v. Suraj Kumari I. L. R. 28 All. 458.

1069. तेन विवाहे आशौचे धनग्रहणे च त्रिधा सापिण्ड्यं सिद्धम्। निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 284.

1070. पञ्चमात्सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतः क्रमात्। सपिण्डता निवर्तेत सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः॥ नारद quoted in उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 108. The printed नारद (स्त्रीपुंस section 7 p. 108) reads आ सप्तमात्पञ्चमाद्वा बन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृतः। अविवाह्याः सगोत्राः स्युः समानप्रवरास्तथा॥. 'तथा असपिण्डाम्' इत्येतत्सार्ववर्णिकम्। सर्वत्र सापिण्ड्यसद्भावात्। 'असमानार्षगोत्रजाम्' इत्येतत्त्रैवर्णिकविषयम्। मिताक्षरा on या. I. 53; शुद्धिविवेके शुद्धिचिन्तामणौ च ब्राह्मे 'सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां विज्ञेया साप्तपौरुषी। सपिण्डता ततः पश्चात्समानोदकधर्मता॥' निर्णयसिन्धु, III पूर्वार्ध p. 284. The word अन्वय in the Mit. means 'connection or continuity.'

grandson and the like) because through his (the grandson's) father particles of the body of the grandfather continue in (or are connected with) him (the grandson). Similarly (the son has sapiṇḍa relationship) with his mother because particles of the mother's body continue in him. Thus (a person has sapiṇḍa relationship) with his mother's father through his mother; so (one has sapiṇḍatā) with one's mother's sister or mother's brother also by reason of the connection with (or continuity of) particles of the same body (viz. the body of the maternal grandfather). So also (a person has sapiṇḍatā) with the paternal uncle, the paternal aunt and the like. Similarly the wife has sapiṇḍa relationship with the husband because she produces (with the husband) one body (viz. their son). [1071] In the same way brother's wives (are sapiṇḍas) of each other, because they produce one body (viz. their respective sons) with their respective husbands who are produced from one body (viz. their husbands' father). In this manner wherever the word sapiṇḍa occurs, there one has to understand connection with (or continuity of)

1071. The words 'तथा पत्या सह पत्न्या एकशरीरारम्भकतया' are translated differently by Golap Chandra Sarkar in his 'Hindu Law' (7th ed. of 1936) pp. 81–82 as 'similarly arises the sapiṇḍa relationship of the husband with the lawfully wedded wife by reason of (their together) forming one body ' (i. e. one person, hence the wife is called half the body of the husband). The learned author thinks that his translation is the correct one and others went wrong in translating as in the passage above. His translation cannot be accepted for several reasons. In the first place, it is opposed to the explanation of the Bālambhaṭṭī आरम्भकतयेति उभयारब्धे एकशरीरे स्वावयवान्वयादित्यर्थः (i. e. particles of the bodies of the husband and wife continue in or are concerned with one body, the son, that is produced by them both). That husband and wife are one is a pleasant fiction but here Vijñāneśvara is stressing the physical continuity of particles. The husband and wife though said to be one are still two bodies. No one says that their bodies become physically one. Besides the objection that if they do not beget a son, the husband and wife will not be sapiṇḍas is not sound. Rules and principles are laid down for generality of cases and regard is to be had to their capacity to produce a son. The निर्णयसिन्धु (III. पूर्वार्ध p. 280) shows that G. C. Sarkar is wrong 'एकस्य हि पितुर्मातुर्वा शरीरस्यावयवाः पुत्रपौत्रादिषु साक्षात् परंपरया वा शुक्रशोणितादिरूपेणानुस्यूताः । यद्यपि पत्न्याः पत्या सह भ्रातृपत्नीनां च परस्परं नैतत्संभवति तथापि आधारत्वेनैकशरीरावयवान्वयोऽस्त्येव ।.' A woman's husband's brother's wife is the receptacle (ādhāra) for a son who is procreated by the husband's brother and his wife, the former of whom has particles of his father whose particles continue in the husband of the woman.

particles of the same body either directly or mediately.[1072] On the word 'asapiṇḍām' it was explained that sapiṇḍa relationship arises immediately or mediately by reason of the connection with particles of the same body; this may prove to be too wide a statement, since in this beginningless *saṁsāra*, such a relationship might exist in some way or other between all men;[1073] therefore (the sage Yājñavalkya) states 'after the fifth on the mother's side and after the 7th on the father's side'. After the fifth on the mother's side i. e. in the mother's line and after the 7th on the father's side i. e. in the father's line sapiṇḍa relationship ceases. These words (viz. sapiṇḍa......ceases) are to be taken as understood (in the text of Yāj.). Therefore the word 'sapiṇḍa' though it applies everywhere (i. e. to a very wide circle of persons) by the expressive (i. e. literal) power of its component parts, is restricted to a certain definite sphere, like the words 'nirmanthya'[1074] and 'paṅkaja'. And so the six (ascendants) beginning with the father and the six descendants beginning with the son and the man himself as the seventh (in each case) are sapiṇḍas; wherever there is a divergence of the line, the counting shall be made until the seventh in descent is reached including him (i. e. the ancestor) from whom the line diverges; in this way the computation is to be made everywhere. And so the fifth (if a girl), who stands in the fifth generation when a computation is made beginning with the mother and going up to her (mother's) father, mother's paternal grandfather &c., is styled in an indirect way 'fifth

1072. There is direct continuity of particles of the bodies of the parents in the son and there is mediate connection of particles between grandparents and grandchildren and so on.

1073. As the world proceeded from the Creator every one has in his body parts of the Creator. In the Tai. Up. II. 6 we have 'सोऽकामयत बहु स्यां प्रजायेय...इदं सर्वमसृजत' and also in छान्दोग्य VI. 2. 3. This is relied upon for limiting sāpiṇḍya in Par. M. I. 2. p. 59. The words मातुतः and पितुतः of Yāj. are repeated in the Mit. and explained as मातुः संताने and पितुः संताने respectively and the Mit. adds that in Yāj. I. 53 (latter half) we have to understand the words सापिण्ड्यं निवर्तते (sapiṇḍa relationship ceases).

1074. The word 'paṅkaja' literally means 'springing from mud' and may apply to every water plant, but it is restricted by usage (rūḍhi) to a lotus plant i. e. the wide literal or etymological (yaugika) meaning of the two parts 'paṅka (mud) and 'ja' (springing from) is restricted by popular usage to a single plant springing from mud. 'Nirmanthya' is the word used for producing fire by friction. Literally the word means 'what is to be churned'.

from the mother's side' (by Yāj.). In the same way 'the seventh from the father's side' (in Yāj.) is she who is the seventh in degree (from an ancestor) when computation is made beginning from the father and proceeding up to the father's father and so on ".

According to this explanation of the Mitākṣarā[1075] the following rules about prohibition based on sāpiṇḍya follow: (1) In computing degrees the common ancestor is to be included; (2) regard is to be had to the father and mother of the bride and bridegroom both; (3) if computation is made from the mother's side of either the proposed bride or bridegroom, they must be beyond the fifth degree (i. e. they must be 6th or further on) from the common ancestor and if it is made through the father of either, they must be beyond the seventh from the common ancestor (i. e. they must be eighth &c.). This last postulates four different classes of cases, viz. descent from a common ancestor may be traced through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom or through the mother of both, or through the mother of the bridegroom and the father of the bride or through the father of the bridegroom and the mother of the bride. The method of computing degrees is entirely different from the English method as is made clear by the remarks of the Mit. translated above. The rules require that both must be beyond sapiṇḍa relationship as defined and limited above. For example, tracing descent through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom, if the bride is 8th from the common ancestor (called *kūṭastha* in dharmaśāstra works) and the bridegroom is 6th, there can be no marriage, as though the bride is beyond the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship to the common ancestor, the bridegroom being 6th from the kūṭastha has sapiṇḍa relationship with the kūṭastha. These rules apply according to the Mit. only where the ancestors married women of their own varṇa. But if an ancestor married a brāhmaṇa girl and also a kṣatriya girl and a question arose about the eligibility of marriage among descendants of these two wives, then prohibition based on sapiṇḍa relationship extends up to only three degrees (and not seven or five).[1075a]

1075. Vide extract (text) from the मिताक्षरा in appendix.

1075a. एतच्च समानजातीये द्रष्टव्यम्। विजातीये तु विशेषः। ...त्रिपुरुषमेव सापिण्ड्यमिति। मिता० on या. I. 53; the उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 109 explains differently the statement of Paiṭhīnasi. तस्मान्मदनपारिजाताद्युक्तदिशा वृत्तकसापत्नसंबन्धाद्यनुप्रवेशे ब्राह्मणादीनां क्षत्रियादिसपिण्डविषये वा पूर्वोक्तानि नेयानि न स्वबुद्धिकल्प इति भ्रमितव्यम् निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285; the मदनपारिजात pp. 138-140 gives these explanations.

It should not be supposed that these rules of the Mit. are universally observed. The texts themselves are in conflict. Further, the customs and usages as to prohibited degrees for marriage are so divergent in the various parts of India and among the hundreds of castes and sub-castes that it is impossible to state any rule as universally or even generally applicable. A few examples of conflict among the smṛtis are cited by the Mit. itself. Vas. Dh. S. (8. 2) says '(he may marry) the fifth on the mother's side and 7th on the father's side', while Yāj. as interpreted by the Mit. makes it necessary that the girl to be eligible must be 6th from the common ancestor traced through the mother and 8th when traced through the father. Paiṭhīnasi says 'the girl must be beyond three degrees on the mother's[1076] side and five degrees on the father's side'. These two are explained away by the Mit. by saying that these texts do not authorise a marriage with a girl who is distant from the common ancestor by a lesser number of degrees than those propounded by Yāj. but they only prohibit marriage with girls who are nearer in degrees than those stated in those texts. But this reconciliation of the conflict among the smṛtis is not at all satisfactory.

The following diagrams illustrate the application of the rules of sapiṇḍa relationship according to the Mitākṣarā. In all of them A represents the common ancestor and the letters S and D represent respectively sons and daughters. According to the Mit. computation has to be made from (and inclusive of) the common ancestor in all cases and both the bride and bridegroom have to be beyond the prohibited degrees.[1077]

1076. यद्यपि वसिष्ठेनोक्तं पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातृतः पितृतस्तथेति, त्रीनतीत्य मातृतः पञ्चातीत्य च पितृत इति च पैठीनसिना तदप्यर्वाङ्निषेधार्थं न पुनस्तत्प्राप्त्यर्थमिति सर्वस्मृतीनामविरोधः। मिता on या. I. 53; the words पञ्चमीं मातृबन्धुभ्यः सप्तमीं पितृबन्धुभ्यः are वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 8. 2 (the preceding सूत्र being गृहस्थो ...... भार्यां विन्देत). The निर्णयसिन्धु (III. पूर्वार्ध pp. 284–285) collects together more such passages, holds that they are not to be construed as allowing an option, but as referring to descendants one of whose ancestors had been adopted or where the descendants of one ancestor trace descent through a brāhmaṇa wife and a kṣatriya wife. सं. कौ. (pp. 612–613) also quotes passages similar to those in the निर्णयसिन्धु, but seems to hold that there is an option due to family or local usages. Vide सं. प्र. pp. 707–718.

1077. The विश्वरूपसमुच्चय quoted in the उद्वाहतत्त्व (p. 116) is quite explicit 'संतानो भिद्यते यस्मात्पूर्वजादुभयत्र च। तमादाय गणेद्धीमान्वरं यावच्च कन्यकाम्॥'

No. 1

A

D (2)	D (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
S (5)	D (5)
S (6)	S (6)
S (7)	S (7)
D (8)	S (8)

Here a valid marriage might take place between S(8) and D(8) because sapiṇḍa relationship for both is traced through their fathers and both are removed from the common ancestor A by more than seven degrees or generations.

No. 2

A

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	D (5)
S (6)	D (6)

Here a valid marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because sapiṇḍa relationship of both is in this case traced through their mothers and they are both removed from the common ancestor by more than five degrees.

No. 3

A

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	D (5)
S (6)	D (6)
D (7)	S (7)

Here a marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because their sapiṇḍa relationship is to be traced through their mothers and both are removed from the common ancestors by more than five degrees. But a marriage cannot take place between S (7) and D (7) as the sapiṇḍa relationship of D (7) is to be traced through her father and she is not more than 7 degrees from the common ancestor.

No. 4

A

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	S (5)
D (6)	S (6)

Here a marriage cannot take place between D (6) and S (6) as the sapiṇḍa relationship in the latter's case is to be traced through his father and he is not more than seven degrees removed from the common ancestor, though D (6) whose sapiṇḍa relationship is to be traced through her mother is more than five degrees from the common ancestor. According to Bāḷaṁbhaṭṭa and some others marriage will take place as D(6) is beyond five degrees (tracing through her mother), though S(6) is within 7 degrees (tracing descent through his father) and so is not outside sapiṇḍa limits.

All these four examples are taken from the Dharmasindhu (III Pūrvārdha p. 226–227). No. 3 illustrates what is called

sapiṇḍa relationship by 'frog's leap'.[1078] Just as a frog leaps from one spot to another leaving intervening objects untouched, so in this example No. 3, there is sāpiṇḍya between D(5) and D(5), but S(6) and D(6) are left unaffected by sāpiṇḍya (as relationship is traced through the mothers of both), while sāpiṇḍya reverts to affect D(7) and S(7). The maxim of 'frog's leap' is a very ancient one, being exemplified by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.[1079]

The rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapiṇḍa relationship, particularly where cognates (persons connected through females) were concerned, have not been observed in numerous instances over wide areas from very ancient times. One striking illustration is the question whether a man can marry his maternal uncle's or his paternal aunt's daughter, particularly the former. On this point opinion has been sharply divided from ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 includes among *patanīya* actions (mortal sins) sexual intercourse with the uterine relations (mothers and sisters) of one's parents and their children. This would prohibit marriage with one's maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Baud. Dh. S. I.[1080] 1. 19-26 notes that there were five practices peculiar to the south viz. eating in the company of one whose upanayana has not been performed, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of the maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt and there were five practices peculiar to the north. Then he proceeds to state the argument that those who follow the practices mentioned by him in countries other than those where they prevail incur sin, that Gautama (XI. 20) holds this last argument to be wrong and then Baud. states his own

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1078. कूटस्थात्पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोः संततौ मातृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्तिः, पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोर्यौ पुत्रौ तयोः संततौ पितृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यमनुवर्तेत इतीदं मण्डूकप्लुतिसापिण्ड्यम्। धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 227; यत्र तु मध्ये विच्छिन्नमपि सापिण्ड्यं मण्डूकप्लुतिवत्पुनरनुवर्तते यथा कूटस्थात्पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोः पुत्रौ तत्र निवृत्तिः तदपत्ययोस्त्वनुवृत्तिस्तत्रापि न सापिण्ड्या-सापिण्ड्ययोर्दोषः संबन्धिभेदात्। तेन तत्र न विवाहः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 283. The सं. कौ. p. 612 refers to this.

1079. मण्डूकगतयोऽधिकाराः। यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्वदधिकाराः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 44 and vol. III. p. 25.

1080. पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः। यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः। यथैतदनुपेतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषितभोजनं मातुलपितृष्वसृदुहितृगमनमिति। ... ... इतरदितरस्मिन्कुर्वन्दुष्यतीतरदितरस्मिन्। ... ... मिथ्यैतदिति गौतमः। उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् बौ. ध. सू. I. 1. 19-26.

view that one should pay no heed to either set of practices, as both are opposed to smṛtis and the views of śiṣṭas. From this it is clear that a marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter was in vogue in the south (below the Narmadā probably) long before the Baud. Dh. S. (i. e. several centuries before the Christian era) and that North India did not go in for such marriages and that orthodox sūtra writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana reprobated such practices. Manu (XI. 172-173) forbids such marriages "on approaching (for carnal intercourse) the daughter of one's father's sister or of one's mother's sister or of mother's full brother, a man must undergo the penance called 'cāndrāyaṇa'. A wise man should not take as his wife (any one of) these; they are not fit to be wedded because they are (sapiṇḍa) relatives, for by wedding them one sinks low (i. e. falls into hell or loses caste)". Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 quotes a verse from Śātātapa[1081] prescribing the penance of *cāndrāyaṇa* for marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter or a girl having the same gotra as one's mother's gotra (i. e. maternal grandfather's gotra) or a sapravara girl and a text of Sumantu forbidding marriage with the daughter of the brother of one's mother or step-mother. It would be seen that all these relatives are third from the common ancestor and so are very much within the prohibition against marrying a sapiṇḍa, whatever be the number of prohibited degrees for marriage that are accepted. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika while discussing the scope and validity of *sadācāra* (on Jaimini I. 3. 7) enumerates many lapses from good conduct attributed to great men and heroes of the past and tries to explain away those violations of good conduct. The charge brought against Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) and Arjuna, the central heroes of the Mahābhārata, is that they respectively married Rukmiṇī and Subhadrā who were their maternal uncle's daughters (this being forbidden). Kumārila makes very scathing remarks against this practice[1082] prevalent among southerners and then refutes this charge by saying that although in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 219. 17-18) Subhadrā is described as the daughter of

1081. शातातपः । मातुलस्य सुतामूढ्वा मातृगोत्रां तथैव च । समानप्रवरां चैव द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ सुमन्तुः ... पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भ्रातरो मातुलास्तत्सुता मातुलसुतास्तस्मात्ता नोपयन्तव्या इति । हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 16.

1082. स्वमातुलसुतां प्राप्य दाक्षिणात्यस्तु तुष्यति । अन्ये तु सव्यलीकेन मनसा तत्र कुर्वते ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 204.

Vasudeva and sister [1083] of Kṛṣṇa, she was really not so, but that she was Vāsudeva's mother's sister's daughter or was the daughter's daughter of the sister of the father of Vāsudeva's mother (or step-mother Rohiṇī).[1084] Kumārila argues that such female cousins one degree or several degrees removed are often spoken of as sisters. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha pp. 200–202 where this matter is fully explained. This reply of Kumārila well illustrates the method of dealing with inconvenient texts adopted by mīmāṁsakas like Kumārila when the texts run counter to their cherished views. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 254 quotes Manu XI. 172 and verses of Saṁvarta prescribing the penance of *Parāka* for carnal intercourse with one's maternal uncle's daughter.[1085] Medhātithi on Manu II. 18 refers to this practice as prevalent in some countries, and says it is opposed to the rule of Gautama (IV. 3) about prohibition on the ground of sāpiṇḍya and explains how such practices might have arisen. Persons making love to the handsome daughters of their maternal uncles married them for fear that they might otherwise be punished by the king; it may be that others literally following the words of Manu IV. 178 held by the practice which their forefathers resorted to for fear of punishment.[1086] Among medieval writers, some condemn this practice, others justify it. Aparārka (pp. 82–84) after a lengthy discussion condemns marriage with maternal uncle's daughter. The Nirṇayasindhu also does the same (p. 286).

Among those who support marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter the most prominent are the Sm. C. (I. pp. 70–74) and the Par. M. (I. 2. pp. 63–68). They both admit that there are

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1083. शूर had a son वसुदेव and a daughter पृथा (who being given in adoption to कुन्तिभोज was called कुन्ती). Vide आदिपर्व 111. 1–3. The son of पृथा (कुन्ती) was अर्जुन. सुभद्रा is described in the आदिपर्व as the daughter of वसुदेव and sister of वासुदेव (कृष्ण). If these words are literally understood सुभद्रा would be Arjuna's maternal uncle's daughter.

1084. यद्यपि वासुदेवस्वसेति सुभद्राख्याता तथाप्युत्पत्तौ बलदेववासुदेवयोरेकानंशायाश्च निजत्वान्व्याख्यान्मातृष्वस्रीया सुभद्रा तस्य मातुपितृस्वस्रीयादुहिता वेति परिणयाभ्युज्ञानाद् विज्ञायते । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 210.

1085. मातुलानीं तथा श्वश्रूं सुतां वै मातुलस्य च । एता गत्वा स्त्रियो मोहात्पराकेण विशुध्यति ॥ संवर्त quoted by विश्वरूप on या. III. 254.

1086. किं च कारणग्रहाश्चैवमादेराचारस्य । रूपवतीं मातुलकन्यां कामयमाना राजभयादूढवन्तः कन्यागमनदण्डो माभूदिति । अन्ये त्वविद्वांसो 'येनास्य पितरो याताः' इत्यस्य यथाश्रुतमर्थं गृहीत्वा धर्मोयमिति प्रतिपन्नाः । मेधा० on मनु II. 18.

passages of Manu, Śātātapa, Sumantu (all quoted above) and others condemning marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, yet they say that there are passages of the Veda and some smṛtis in support of it and śiṣṭas (learned and respectable persons) observe this practice and so such marriages are *sadācāra* and not forbidden. They rely upon two Vedic passages; one is from the Śat. Br. I. 8. 3. 6 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 238) "thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act; hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the enjoyed (the wife); for now kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together saying 'in the fourth or third man (generation) we shall unite'. And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons)."[1087] The mention of the union in the third generation is understood by the Sm. C. as referring to the marriage of a person with his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Viśvarūpa also refers to this passage (on Yāj. I. 53), but he does not draw the inference that such marriages are authorized by the Veda. Another Vedic verse is relied upon by the Sm. C. and Par. M and other works. It is a verse from a Khila sūkta 'Come, O Indra, by commended paths to this our sacrifice and partake of your portion. They (the priests) have offered the fat seasoned with ghee that is thy portion, as the maternal uncle's daughter or the paternal aunt's daughter (is one's lot in marriage)'.[1088] This verse is referred to by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (I. 53) but his explanation of it is different viz. that it really indicates one out of four different alternatives

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1087. समान एव कर्मन् व्याक्रियते तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादत्ता चाद्यश्च जायेते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छामहे इति वि देवं दीव्यमाना जात्या आसते । एतस्माद्ध तत् । शतपथ I. 8. 3. 6; उत हि तृतीये पुरुषे इत्याह । अनेन दौहित्रपौत्रयोर्मातुलदुहितृपैतृष्वसेयीपरिणयनमुक्तं भवति । तयोः कूटस्थमारभ्य तृतीयत्वात् । संगच्छामहे विवहामहे इत्यर्थः । स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 72.

1088. Vide Aufrecht's Ṛgveda vol. II. p. 672. The verse is आयाहीन्द्र पथिभिरीळितेभिर्यज्ञमिमं नो भागधेयं जुषस्व । तृप्तां जहुर्मातुलस्येव योषा भागस्ते पैतृष्वसेयी वपामिव ॥. Aufrecht reads तृप्ता जुहुः for तृप्तां जहुः. This occurs also in the निरुक्तपरिशिष्ट (XIV. 31 ed. by Roth, though some Mss omit it), where the reading is जुहुः for जहुः अपरार्क reads 'तृप्तां जहुर्मातुलस्येव ते तव भागः पैतृष्वसेयीमपामिवौषः ।'. The text as printed in अपरार्क seems to be corrupt. अपरार्क takes जहुः as meaning त्यक्तवन्तः and adds यथा पैतृष्वसेयीं भगिनीं भार्यात्वेनात्यन्तामभिलषणीयां त्यजन्ति &c. (p. 83).

as regards prohibited degrees for marriage.[1089] Aparārka (p. 83) on Yāj. I. 53 reads the latter half somewhat differently and so interprets it as to spell out of it a prohibition against marrying a maternal uncle's daughter. This text is quoted in I. L. R. 7 Mad. 548 at p. 550. The Smṛticandrikā relies upon a passage of the Caturviṁśatimata that allows a marriage of persons who are third or fourth in descent from a common ancestor on both sides (on the mother's or father's side). There is also a text of Bṛhaspati which prescribes that the practices of the countries, castes and families should be guarded (or enforced) by the king as they have been in vogue from past times, otherwise the subjects become inflamed and among such practices he instances 'Brāhmaṇas in the south marry the maternal uncle's daughter'.[1090] So there is smṛti authority for such marriages. Besides southern śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas and acting according to the meaning of the Veda practise marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter. Here both Sm. C. and Par. M. are on very firm ground. The Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha says 'among the Āndhras śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas follow the practice of *mātulasutā-pariṇayana* and among the Draviḍas respectable people allow marriage of a person with a girl who is fourth in descent from the common ancestor'.[1091] Among several castes in the Deccan and the Madras Presidency, not only is marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter allowed, but it is highly commended. Even certain brāhmaṇa castes like the Deśastha brāhmaṇas of the Karṇāṭaka and Karhāḍā brāhmaṇas observe this practice in modern times. The Saṁskārakaustubha (pp. 616–620) and the Dharmasindhu support mātulasutā-pariṇayana.

Both the Sm. C. and Par. M. say that though the Vedic passage from the Śatapatha is a mere arthavāda (a laudatory statement) in praise of a Vedic act, yet on the analogy of the words 'he holds (the samidh) above (the sruc) for gods', which

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1089. ते चामी श्रुतिस्मृत्यनुसाराञ्चत्वारः कल्पाः । ऊर्ध्वं सप्तमात् पञ्चमाद्वेत्येकः । पञ्चमे मातृतः सप्तमे पितृत इति द्वितीयः । उभयतः पञ्चम इति तृतीयः । चतुर्थेपीति चतुर्थः । पूर्वः पूर्वः श्रेयान् । स्त्रीविषयश्चान्त्यः कल्पः ...... एवं च वरचतुर्थे न विवाहः । मन्त्रवर्णोऽप्येवमेव व्याख्येयः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 53.

1090. देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक्प्रवर्तिताः । तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजाः प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ॥ ... उद्वाह्यते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 10, व्यवहारमयूख p. 7.

1091. दाक्षिणात्यानां मध्ये आन्ध्रेषु त्रैविद्यवृद्धा वेदार्थानुष्ठातारः शिष्टा अपि मातुलदुहितृपरिणयनमाचरन्ति । द्राविडेषु तथाविधाः शिष्टाः चतुर्थ्यादिविवाहमाचरन्ति । स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम p. 131).

are construed by Jaimini (III. 4. 15) as a vidhi (as a positive rule) on account of their *apūrvatva* (not being known from any other source), these words of the Śatapatha are also to be construed as a *vidhi* (of the marriage with maternal uncles daughter).[1092] The Sm. C. also presses into service the Vedic verse (Ṛg. X. 16. 5) addressed by Yamī to Yama. But that mantra does not clearly refer to cross-cousin marriages.

The smṛti passages that condemn cross-cousin marriages are explained in a peculiar manner by the Sm. C. and the Par. M. When a woman is married in one of the four forms, brāhma &c., she passes into the gotra of her husband, becomes a sapiṇḍa in the husband's family and so she is severed from her father's family (as to gotra and sapiṇḍa relationship); but when a woman is married in the āsura, gāndharva and other forms, she does not pass over into the *gotra* of her husband, but remains in the *gotra* of the father and her sapiṇḍa relationship with her father and brother continues. Therefore the son of such a woman, if he marries the daughter of his mother's brother, would be marrying a girl who is a sagotra and sapiṇḍa of his mother. The Sm. C. and the Par. M. and other works say that the smṛti texts forbidding marriage with maternal uncle's daughter refer to a person whose mother was married in the gāndharva, āsura and the other two forms, but not to a person whose mother was married in the brāhma and the three other approved forms. This is the reasoning of the Sm. C. and the Par. M.[1093]

1092. Jaimini's sūtra is विधिर्वा धारणेऽपूर्वत्वात् III.4.15. This is not commented upon by Śabara ; but the Tantravārtika, which notices this fact, assigns several reasons for this omission and explains it as follows: in the महापितृयज्ञ there is a passage अधस्तात्समिधं धारयन्ननुद्रवेदुपरि हि देवेभ्यो धारयति. In the *homa* for *pitṛs* the *samidh* is held below the *sruc* in which the *havis* has been placed ; in this passage it is said that when the oblation is to be offered to the gods the samidh is to be held over the sruc (in which the oblation is placed before being thrown into the fire). Here though the particle 'hi' (showing reason) is employed and though the present 'dhārayati' is used (and not the potential as is usual in *vidhis*), it is not a mere *arthavāda* but a *vidhi*. So also in the Śat. Br. there is a *vidhi* about 'mātula-sutāpariṇayana.' तेनोपरिधारणमप्राप्तम्। न चाप्राप्तं हेतुवन्निगदेन वर्तमानापदेशेन वानुवदितुं शक्यम्। पित्र्ये होमे अधस्तात् स्रुग्दण्डस्य समिद्धारयितव्या दैवे तु पुनरुपरिष्टादिति। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 899.

1093. गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु कन्याप्रदाभावेन पितृगोत्रसापिण्ड्ययोरनिवृत्तेः। तथा मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्। ब्राह्मादिषु विवाहेषु या तूढा कन्यका भवेत्। भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया॥ गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पितृगोत्रेण धर्मवित्। ...... एतेन मातुलसुताविवाहविषयोऽपि विवादः परास्तः। तथाहि तन्निषेधवचनानि गान्धर्वादिविवाहोढजविषयाणि तत्र सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्तेरभावात् तदनुग्राहकश्रुतिस्मृतिसदाचारात्। न ब्राह्मादिविवाहोढजविषयाणि। परा. मा. I. 2. p. 63–64.

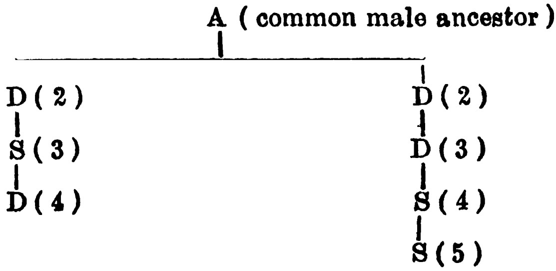
These rules about prohibition on the ground of sapiṇḍa relationship cause great difficulties in modern times, when owing to the rapid spread of co-education and the rise in the marriageable age of girls, love marriages have become somewhat frequent. Lovers do not stop to consider such (to them) trivial matters as sapiṇḍa relationship, but the law is often inexorable. The narrowing of the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship is permitted by the authors of commentaries and digests only on the ground of immemorial family, caste or local usage. For example, the same authors, who hold that marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is sanctioned by Vedic texts and custom, condemn and forbid marriage with one's paternal aunt's daughter or with one's maternal aunt's daughter (vide below). There are a few verses cited from the smṛtis which favour the narrowing down of sapinda relationship. For example, the Caturviṁśatimata[1093a] states 'According to Śākaṭāyana there is no blame in marrying a girl who is 7th or 6th or 5th (from the common ancestor); similarly Manu, Pārāśarya, Yama and Aṅgiras say that one may marry a girl who is third or fourth (from the common ancestor) on both sides (i. e. from her father's side or mother's side). Whoever enters into such marriage alliances by relying on the usage of his country or of his family is always entitled to associate with people and this is seen from the Veda '. Parāśara (as quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu and other works) says 'a man who is himself fourth or fifth (from the common ancestor) may according to Parāśara's view marry a girl who is 4th or 6th (from the common ancestor), but one who is himself fifth cannot marry a girl who is also fifth (from the common ancestor).' The Saṁskārakaustubha, the Sāpiṇḍyadīpikā and a few digests hold these verses authoritative and allow such marriages provided they are in accordance with local or family usage. As against this the following facts have to be remembered. One of the maxims of interpretation is that where there is conflict between smṛti texts, the preferable rule is to follow the opinion of the majority.[1093b] Gaut., Manu,

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1093 a. सप्तमीं च तथा षष्ठीं पञ्चमीं च तथैव च । एवमुद्वाहयेत्कन्यां न दोषः शाकटायनः । तृतीयां वा चतुर्थीं वा पक्षयोरुभयोरपि । विवाहयेन्मनुः प्राह पाराशर्योऽङ्गिरा यमः । यस्तु देशानुरूपेण कुलमार्गेण चोद्वहेत् । नित्यं स व्यवहार्यः स्याद्वेदाच्चैतत्प्रदृश्यते । इति चतुर्विंशतिमतात् । चतुर्थीमुद्वहेत्कन्यां चतुर्थः पञ्चमोऽपि वा । पराशरमते षष्ठीं पञ्चमो न तु पञ्चमीम् । इति पराशरोक्तेश्च । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285.

1093 b. विरोधो यत्र वाक्यानां प्रामाण्यं तत्र भूयसाम् । तुल्यप्रमाणसत्त्वे तु न्याय एव प्रवर्तते ॥ quoted in मलमासतत्त्व p. 767.

Yāj., Marīci and numerous other smṛtikāras are opposed to these dicta. The second rule is that Manu has the highest authority among smṛtis and that smṛti which is opposed to the dicta of Manu is not commended.[1093c] The above passages are opposed to the words of Manu on sapiṇḍa relationship and about marrying a maternal uncle's daughter (Manu V. 60, III. 5, XI. 171–172). A third point about the above texts is that several eminent works like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Dharmasindhu[1093d] hold that some of these verses are baseless and not genuine and that they really refer to persons adopted or persons descended from wives of different castes of the same common ancestor ; and lastly even those works that support such narrowing of sapiṇḍa relationship for marriage do not advocate it for all and sundry, but only where there is a local or family usage to that effect. Therefore, marriages among persons who are 3rd or 4th or 5th from the common ancestor cannot be regarded as valid in general, but only on the ground of usage. The following diagram will furnish some examples of the narrowing down of sapiṇḍa relationship.



Here ordinarily there can be no valid marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5) because they are both not beyond even the fifth degree from the common ancestor ; but if the verses of the Caturviṁśatimata and Parāśara be followed the marriages are valid. It should be noted that even under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5)

1093 c. वेदार्थोपनिबन्द्धृत्वात्प्राधान्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on या. II. 21 and कुल्लूक on मनु I. 1.

1093 d. यानि तु चतुर्थीमुद्वहेत्कन्यां चतुर्थः पञ्चमो वरः । ...... इत्यादिवचनानि तेषु कानिचिन्निर्मूलानि कानिचिद्दत्तकसापत्न्यादिसंबन्धविषयतया विप्राणां क्षत्रियादिषु सापिण्ड्यविषयतया वा नेयानि-इति निर्णयसिन्धुमतम् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 228. येषां कुले देशे चानुकल्पत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचः परंपरया समागतस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहो न दोषाय स्वकुलदेशाविरुद्धेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहे दोषो भवत्येव । धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 228 summarizing the view of the संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

will not be valid according to the 2nd proviso to sec. 2. The Nirṇayasindhu[1093e] was not prepared to concede that such marriages, though not the best, were at least allowable as inferior (*anukalpa*). The Dharmasindhu[1093f] stated that only in calamities when one is unable to secure a girl one may enter into a marriage where sapiṇḍa relationship is narrowed down, but that those who can secure another girl should not go in for it, as the sin of incest would be incurred. Such marriages did not take place except during the last few years and so the courts have not yet pronounced on their validity. The preceding remarks are made by way of caution only and it is quite possible that courts may find out some way to uphold the marriages when they come before them many years after their celebration. But it is well to remember that the validity of such marriages in castes that have no usage to that effect is, to say the least, doubtful.

There is a great[1094] deal of discussion in the smṛtis and *nibandhas* on the gotra of a woman. Āśv. gṛ. S. I. 8. 12 is interpreted by some as laying down that husband and wife become of one gotra one year after marriage. Laghu Hārīta appears to refer to this and also proposes an option that she takes up the husband's gotra immediately after marriage. Yama 86 and Likhita 25 say that after marriage on the 4th night a bride becomes one with her husband as to gotra, piṇḍa and āśauca; while Yama 78 and Likhita 26 state that she loses her father's gotra on taking the seventh step. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 254 has a long note on this subject, states that there are two views and finally reaches the conclusion that a woman retains her father's gotra even after marriage for *piṇḍadāna*, if she was a putrikā or was married in the āsura and the following forms; but if she was married in the brāhma and other approved

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1093 e. न त्वनुकल्प इति भ्रमितव्यम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285.

1093 f. अयं सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहः सङ्कटेऽशक्तेन कार्यः कन्यान्तरलाभे शक्तैर्न कार्यो गुरुतल्पादिदोषस्मृतेः । सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचवाक्यानामशक्तविषयत्वस्य स्पष्टत्वात् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 229.

1094. संवत्सरं वैक ऋषिर्जायते । आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 12 ; नारायण notes अन्ये त्वाहुः व्रतान्ते एक ऋषिः संपद्यते । पितृगोत्रं विहाय पतिगोत्रं भजत इत्यर्थः ।, संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु तद्गोत्रं नीयते पुनः । त्रिः परिग्रहणादग्नेर्हृदयालम्भनात्तथा । स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोदकक्रिया ॥ लघुहारीत v. 62–63; विवाहे चैव निर्वृत्ते चतुर्थेऽहनि रात्रिषु । एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके ॥ स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे । भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तव्या दानापिण्डोदकक्रियाः । लिखित 25–26 and यम 86, 78. The words एकत्वं...सूतके are quoted by विश्वरूप on या I. 254 and the verse स्वगोत्राद् is quoted by the मिता. on या. I. 254.

forms, there was an option viz. piṇḍa may be offered to one's mother by one's father's gotra or by her father's gotra according to family usage. Vide also Aparārka pp. 432, 542, Sm. C. I. p. 69.

Both of them allow a person's marriage with his paternal aunt's daughter. Certain inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (of about the 3rd century A. D.) establish that the king Siri Virapurisadata, son of Siri Chāntamūla who had performed the Vājapeya, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, married a daughter of his paternal aunt (E. I. vol. 20 at p. 4). There are other authors, however, who, while allowing marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, disallow it with a paternal aunt's daughter. For example, the Nirṇayasindhu says that, though it follows from the same Vedic passages that one's paternal aunt's daughter may be married, yet such a marriage should not be contracted as it is hateful to the people, as there are no other passages laying down the advisability of such marriages.[1095] Similarly the Sm. C. (I. p. 71) and Par. M. (I. 2. p. 65) say that though marriage with one's mother's sister or mother's sister's daughter also should be allowed on the same grounds as those urged in favour of the marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter, yet it is forbidden since it is condemned by śiṣṭas and is hateful to the people and both again rely on Yāj. I. 156.[1096]

Another and a very striking instance of the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship not being observed is the practice among certain sections of even brāhmaṇas (such as some Deśasthas in Karnāṭaka and Mysore) marrying their own sister's daughter (i. e. their own niece). Vide Mandlik's Hindu Law p. 425. In *Ramangavda v. Shivaji*, the Bombay High Court held that marriage with one's sister's daughter was invalid among brāhmaṇas; but in that case no custom as to the validity of

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1095. यद्यपि पितृष्वसृकन्योद्वाहोपि प्राप्तस्तथाप्यस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु इति निषेधाद्वचनान्तरेण तदुद्वाहस्याविधानाच्च न कार्यः। निर्णयसिन्धु III, पूर्वार्ध p. 286. The half verse अस्वर्ग्यं ...... चरेन्न तु is या. I. 156.

1096. ननु च यदि मातुरसपिण्डतया मातुलसुता परिणेया तथाविधा मातृष्वसा तद्दुहिता च किमिति न परिणेया। उच्यते। सत्यम्। न ब्रूमः शास्त्रतो न परिणेयेति किं तु लोकविरुद्धत्वात्। यच्च धर्म्यमपि लोकविरुद्धं तन्नानुष्ठेयम्। यदुक्तं मनुना। अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु ॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 71, vide स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम p. 131) for almost the same words.

such marriages was alleged[1097]. In *Vellanki Ramakrishna v. Kotagiri Subbamma* 43 Mad. 830 at p. 834 it is stated that in the Velama caste a man may marry his sister's daughter.

On account of these divergences about the limits of prohibited degrees for marriage it appears that the remarks of the Saṁskārakaustubha (p. 620) and of the Dharmasindhu (p. 228) are most sensible and practical. They say that even in the Kali age[1098] those, in whose families or countries the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship are narrowed down and marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter has been in vogue for ages, may do so, that they incur no blame by such marriages, that others (among whom there is no such custom) may without blame invite such persons for śrāddhas and may take girls from their families in marriage and that the passages quoted by Hemādri forbidding their being invited at śrāddhas only apply to those who marry a maternal uncle's daughter even though they have no such family or local usage.[1099]

Another question is how far sapiṇḍa relationship holds good in the case of girls belonging to the family from which one's step-mother comes. The Udvāhatattva (p. 118), the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 289), the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 695–699), Saṁskāra-Kaustubha (pp. 621–630) and the Dharmasindhu (p. 230) deal with this matter. They all rely on a text of Sumantu[1100] 'all the wives of one's father are mothers, the brothers of these are one's maternal uncles, their sisters are one's mother's sisters, the daughters of these are one's sisters and the children of these

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1097. Vide Printed Judgments (of the Bombay High Court) for 1876 p. 73.

1098. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 12 and the निर्णयसिन्धु (p. 367) include मातुसपिण्डाविवाह among कलिवर्ज्य.

1099. अतः सिद्धमेतत् । कलावपि येषां कुले देशेऽनुकल्पत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसंकोचः परंपरया समागतः तेषां तादृशसंकोचेन विवाहे न दोषः । अस्ति च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः । अन्येषां तैः सह व्यवहारे नैव दोषः । स्वयं तु कुलदेशविरुद्धसापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहे भवत्येव दोषः । न च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः । दृश्यन्ते हि स्वयं सापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहमकुर्वन्तोऽपि तादृशसंकोचेनासकृज्जातविवाहेभ्यः कुलेभ्यः कन्याः स्वीकुर्वन्तस्तत्कुलीनान् श्राद्धादौ भोजयन्तश्च बहवः शिष्टाः । अत एव मातुलकन्योद्वाहिनां हेमाद्र्यादौ श्राद्धनिषेधोपि स्वकुलदेशपरंपरयानागतसापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन कृतविवाहविषय एवेति बोध्यम् । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 620.

1100. पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भ्रातरो मातुलास्तद्भगिन्यो मातृस्वसारस्तद्दुहितरश्च भगिन्यस्तदपत्यानि भागिनेयानि । अन्यथा संकरकारिणः स्युः । सुमन्तु. There are various readings in this passage in all works. स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 70 and परा. मा. I. 2. p. 64 also quote it. Vide note 1091 where सुमन्तु is somewhat differently quoted by हरदत्त.

latter are one's sister's children; otherwise there would be *saṁkara* (confusion)'. Two interpretations are placed on this, one view (and that is held by most) is that this lays down sāpiṇḍya only with the persons specifically mentioned,[1101] while another view (this is held by the Saṁ. Pr.) is that there is sāpiṇḍya for four generations from the father of one's step-mother. According to the first view a man cannot marry the daughter or grand-daughter of his step-mother's brother or sister, but his own daughter can marry the son of his step-mother's brother; while according to the second view the latter marriage also would contravene the rule about this extension (*atideśa*) of sāpiṇḍya.

Marriages with certain girls were forbidden by certain writers on the ground of what is called 'viruddhasambandha', although there is no question of sapiṇḍa relationship in such cases. The Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa[1102] (quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu p. 289) prescribes 'one should marry a girl with whom there is no *viruddhasambandha*, e. g. the daughter of one's wife's sister or the sister of one's paternal uncle's wife (these should not be married). *Viruddhasambandha* (incompatible relation) occurs where the standing of the proposed bridegroom and the bride would resemble that of father or mother to the other (or of brother and sister). In modern times such marriages take place as a matter of course and no court would declare them to be invalid. Vide I. L. R. 20 Mad. 283 and I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830 where marriage with one's wife's sister's daughter was held to be valid, among brāhmaṇas as well as śūdras in the Telugu and Tamil districts, relying on Mandlik's Hindu Law pp. 484-485 and other authorities. In *Ramchandra v. Gopal* 32 Bom. 619 at pp. 630-631 the court approves of the decision in 20 Mad. 283 and holds that the dicta as to viruddha-sambandha are only recommendatory.

1101. अत्र यावद्वचनं वाचनिकमिति न्यायेन परिगणितेष्वेव साापिण्ड्यं न तु सप्तमादिपर्यन्तमिति भट्टचरणप्रभृतयो बहवः । सं. कौ. p. 621. For the maxim यावद्वचनं वाचनिकं vide Śabara's भाष्य p. 1324 (on जै. V. 3. 12) 'यावद्वचनं वाचनिकं न सदृशमुपसंक्रामति' and p. 1339 (on जै. V. 4. 11) 'याव ...... निकं तत्र न न्यायः क्रमते'.

1102. वरो ...... अविरुद्धसंबन्धामुपयच्छेत् । ...... दम्पत्योर्मिथः पितृमातृसाम्ये विरुद्धः संबन्धः । यथा भार्यास्वसुर्दुहिता पितृव्यपत्नीस्वसा चेति परिशिष्टोक्तेः (आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट 22)। निर्णयसिन्धु ; । बौधायनः । मातुः सपत्न्या भगिनीं तत्सुतां च विवर्जयेत्। पितृव्यपत्नीभगिनीं तत्सुतां च विवर्जयेत् । धर्मसिन्धु p. 231 ; 'पितृमातृसाम्ये इत्युपलक्षणम्। तेन भ्रातृभगिनीसाम्ये स्नुषाश्वशुरादिसाम्येपि नोद्वाहः । ...... तद्यथा पितृव्यपत्नीस्वसुः सुता भगिनीसमा भवति । सं. प्र. p. 725.

About the sapiṇḍa relationship of the adopted son as regards marriage, āśauca and śrāddha a good deal is said in many works such as Saṁ. K. (pp. 182–186), Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 290–291), the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 688–694), Saṁ. R. M. (pp. 453–456). Sāpiṇḍya for āśauca and śrāddha will be dealt with later on. As to sāpiṇḍya for marriage in the case of adoption there is great divergence of views. The Saṁ. Pr. (p. 690) says that the son given in adoption has sāpiṇḍya for seven generations with his genitive father and for three generations with the adoptive father (pp. 693–694).[1103] The Saṁ. K. appears to hold, after quoting several views, that if the upanayana of the adopted boy was performed in the family of birth, then he has sāpiṇḍya with the genitive family for seven generations. But if the ceremonies from jātakarma to upanayana are performed in the adoptive family then he has sāpiṇḍya in the adoptive family for seven generations, but only for five generations if only upanayana is performed in the family of adoption. The Nirṇayasindhu gives its own view that there is sāpiṇḍya in both families for seven generations. The Vyavahāramayūkha holds (following Gautama IV. 3) that in the case of *kevala dattaka* (the ordinary adopted son) sapiṇḍa relationship extends to seven degrees in the adoptive father's family and five degrees in the adoptive mother's family.[1104] The Dharmasindhu follows the Saṁ. K. generally but it makes one significant remark. It says that several writers hold that in the case of dattaka, sāpiṇḍya is to be observed for a lesser number of degrees (than seven or five) in both families.[1105] The Saṁ. R. M. (p. 454) says that the limits of sāpiṇḍya spoken of as applying to an adopted person extend to his children also.[1106] As the limits of sāpiṇḍya for marriage are very much narrowed down when marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or one's niece is allowed, on the other hand certain communities extend such limits too much. The Deśastha brāhmaṇas of the Mādhyandina śākhā in the Deccan do not

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1103. तस्माद्देषा दत्तकसपिण्डता त्रिपौरुषीति सिद्धम्। ...... यद्यपि निर्वाप्य-पिण्डान्वयेन सापिण्ड्यं प्राङ्निरस्तं तथाप्यगत्या दत्तकस्य प्रतिग्रहीत्रा सह तदेवाश्रयणीयम्। अविच्छिन्नशिष्टाचारानुरोधात्। सं. प्र. pp. 693–694.

1104. अत्र च केवलदत्तकस्य पालकपितृकुले साप्तपौरुषं मातृकुले च पाञ्चपौरुषं सापिण्ड्यम्। व्यवहारमयूख (p. 119, my edition).

1105. केचित्तु दत्तकप्रवेशे कुलद्वयेपि सर्वथा न्यूनमेव सापिण्ड्यमित्याहुः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 161.

1106. पालकस्य दत्तकस्य यथा साापिण्ड्यमुक्तं तत्संततेरपि तथैव तद् बोध्यम्। संस्काररत्नमाला p. 454.

marry a girl whose father's gotra is the same as the gotra of the bridegroom's maternal grandfather. Manu III. 5 lays down 'that girl who is not a sapiṇḍa of the mother (of the bridegroom) and who is not a sagotra of the father (of the bridegroom) is commended in the case of twice-born classes'. Many commentators and digests like Kullūka, the Madana-pārijāta (p. 132), the Dīpakalikā, the Udvāhatattva (p. 107) understand the word asagotra (in Manu III. 5) after 'mātuḥ' also, and thus forbid marriage with a girl whose gotra is the same as that of one's mother (i. e. of one's maternal grandfather). Medhātithi [1107] on Manu III. 5 quotes a text of Vasiṣṭha which prescribes the penance of cāndrāyaṇa for marrying a girl who has the same gotra as the bridegroom's mother (i. e. his mother's father) and abandonment of her. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 quotes a similar verse from Śātātapa. Kullūka, the Sm. C. (I. p. 69), Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16, the Gṛ. R. (p. 10), Udvāhatattva p. 107 and other digests quote a verse of Vyāsa 'some do not desire for marriage a girl who has the same gotra as one's mother; but one may marry without question (or fear) a girl when her birth and name (as connected with one's mother's original gotra) are unknown'. A woman on marriage loses her original gotra and passes over into the gotra of her husband; so the words 'sagotra' of the mother simply mean 'having the same gotra as one's mother once had in her maiden state'. The Sm. C. (I. p. 69) takes this verse to refer only to a woman who was made an appointed daughter (putrikā) by her father. Halāyudha also held the same view. But other writers do not approve of this (vide the Gṛ. R., p. 10). The Nirṇayasindhu [1108] (III. pūrvārdha p. 302) forbids marriage with a girl who is sagotra of one's mother, but the Saṁ. K. (p. 693) and the Dharmasindhu both say, after quoting a text of Satyāṣāḍha, that this restriction applies only to those who study the Mādhyandina śākhā.

1107. परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा। कृत्वा तस्याः समुत्सर्गं द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ मातुलस्य सुतां चैव मातृगोत्रां तथैव च। वसिष्ठ quoted in मेधा०. Manu III. 5 presents various readings, viz. 'दारकर्मणि मैथुने', 'दारकर्मणि मैथुनी', 'दारकर्मण्यमैथुने'. Vide मेधा० thereon.

1108. ब्राह्मादिविवाहोढासुतानां सर्वेषां मातृगोत्रत्वं न वर्ज्यम्, किं तु माध्यन्दिनीयानामेव। मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामिति सत्याषाढोक्तेः। सं. कौ. p. 693; 'इदं मातृगोत्रवर्जनं माध्यन्दिनीयानामेव मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामपुत्रायाश्चेति सत्याषाढोक्तेरिति कश्चित्तन्निर्मूलम्।' निर्णयसिन्धु III, पूर्वार्ध p. 302.

The Bengal school represented by the Dāyabhāga and Raghunandana differ from the Mitākṣarā in the interpretation of the word 'sapiṇḍa'. In this system the word 'piṇḍa' is taken to mean 'the ball of rice' that is offered in śrāddhas to deceased ancestors &c. (while under the Mit. interpretation 'piṇḍa' means body or particles of body). Sapiṇḍa means 'one who is connected with another through oblations of food'. The author of the Dāyabhāga propounds his theory with reference to inheritance and he himself says that with reference to āśauca[1109] sapiṇḍa relationship is to be differently understood. Further Jīmūtavāhana does not set forth his theory of sapiṇḍa relationship with reference to marriage. His theory is that in matters of inheritance the guiding principle is the spiritual benefit (*upakārakatva*) conferred on the deceased through oblations of food, and he relies on Manu (IX. 106) for this proposition. For his sapiṇḍa theory he principally relies on two passages, Baud.[1110] Dh. S. I. 5. 113-115 and Manu IX. 186-187. Baudhāyana's words are 'the paternal great-grand-father, the paternal grandfather, the father, the man himself, his full brothers, his son, grandson and son's son from a woman of the same varṇa: all these participating in undivided *dāya* (heritage) are called sapiṇḍas. Those who participate in divided *dāya* are called *sakulyas*. Thus issue of the body existing, wealth goes to them; on failure of sapiṇḍas, the sakulyas'. The text of Manu (IX. 186-187) is 'To three, libations of water must be given; towards three piṇḍa proceeds; the fourth is the giver of these (of water and piṇḍas), there is no fifth properly (concerned in this). Whoever is the nearest among sapiṇḍas, his becomes the wealth of him (who dies). After him the sakulya becomes (the heir) &c'. Jīmūtavāhana's explanation of this text is as follows: 'A man when living offers piṇḍas to his three male ancestors; but when he himself dies, his son performs

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1109. तथोपकारकत्वेनैव धनसंबन्धं मनुरप्याह । दायभाग chap. 11. sec. 32; इदं च सपिण्डत्वं सकुल्यत्वं च दायग्रहणार्थमुक्तम् । ...... अशौचार्थं तु पिण्डलेपभुजामपि तद्दत्तपिण्डलेपभोक्तृत्वेन सपिण्डत्वं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे निर्दिष्टं यथा-पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये पितामहपितामहात् । प्रभुत्युक्तास्त्रयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः । इत्येवं मुनिभिः प्रोक्तः संबन्धः साप्तपौरुष इति । अशौचकर इत्यर्थः । दायभाग chap. 11 sections 39-41 (Jivānanda's ed.). The passage occurs in मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28. 3-4 and also in ब्रह्मपुराण 112. 17-18.

1110. प्रपितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोदर्या भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रः । एतानविभक्तदायादान् सपिण्डानाचक्षते । विभक्तदायादान्सकुल्यानाचक्षते । सत्स्वङ्गजेषु तद्गामी ह्यर्थो भवति । सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 113-115 quoted in दायभाग XI. 37. The text printed in the Ānan. ed. is slightly different.

the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*[1111] śrāddha for him, he is made one with the pitṛs and he then begins to participate along with his father and grandfather in the three piṇḍas offered by his son to the latter's three ancestors. Thus those to whom he offers piṇḍas and those who offer piṇḍas to him are called, since they share in undivided oblations, *avibhaktadāyāda* sapiṇḍas.' Several objections can be raised against the theory of Jīmūtavāhana. In the first place he assigns the meaning of piṇḍa to the word dāya in Baudhāyana's passage for which there is no warrant. Baudhāyana really means that those enumerated by him are called sapiṇḍas who take undivided wealth i. e. who constitute an undivided family. In the next place on his interpretation the word sapiṇḍa has to be interpreted in entirely different ways for āśauca and marriage. Besides he himself is not sure of his ground, since he says that although learned men may not approve of his theory that spiritual benefit is the guiding principle in taking property by inheritance they must admit that the order of heirs as stated by him relying on Manu IX. 186-187 is the proper one.[1112]

The following table illustrates the sapiṇḍas expressly so stated by the Dāyabhāga where P stands for the *propositus*, S for *son* and F for *father*:

```
GGF12 — S13 — S14 — S15
  |
 GF8  — S9  — S10 — S11
  |
  F   — S5  — S6  — S7
 (4)
  |
  P   — S1  — S2  — S3
```

1111. In the Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa rite four piṇḍas are made, one for the deceased person whose sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is to be effected and three for that person's three paternal ancestors and the piṇḍas are mixed up, thereby indicating that from being a mere preta (one belonging to the region of the unredeemed dead) he becomes one of the pitṛs and dwells in pitṛloka. अस्यार्थः । पित्रादिपिण्डत्रये सपिण्डनेन भोक्तृत्वात् पुत्रादिभिश्च त्रिभिः तत्पिण्डस्यैव दानात् यश्च जीवन् यत्पिण्डदाता स मृतः सन् सपिण्डनात् तत्पिण्डभोक्ता एवं च सति मध्यस्थितः पुरुषः पूर्वेषां जीवन् पिण्डदाता स मृतः तत्पिण्डभोक्ता च परेषां जीवतां पिण्डसंप्रदानभूत आसीत् मृतैश्च तैः सह दौहित्रादिदेयपिण्डभोक्ता अतो येषामयं पिण्डदाता ये चास्य पिण्डदातारः ते अविभक्तपिण्डरूपं दायमदन्तीत्यविभक्तदायादाः सपिण्डाः । दायभाग chap. XI. 1. para 38.

1112. अत्रापरितोषो विदुषां वाचनिक एवायमर्थः, तथापि यथोक्त एव वचनयोरर्थो ग्राह्य इत्यस्तु किं विस्तरेण । दायभाग XI. 6. para 38.

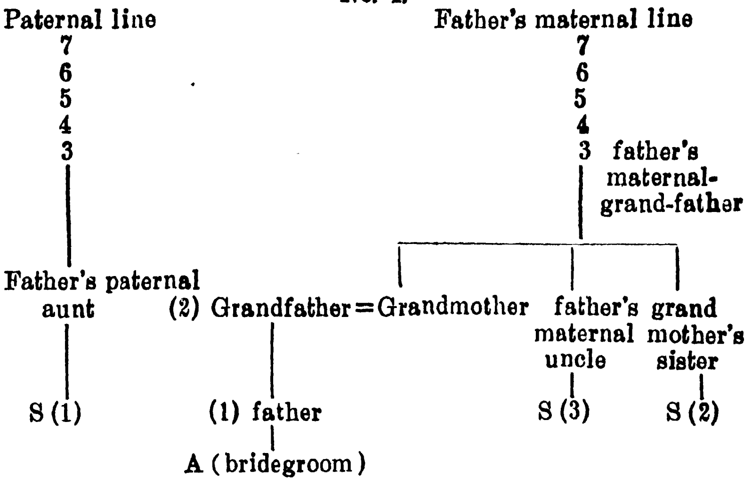
Śrīkṛṣṇa, a commentator of the Dāyabhāga and author of Dāyakramasaṁgraha, and Raghunandana, author of Smṛtitattva, and others elaborate these rules. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in *Guru Govind Shaha Mandal*[1113] v. *Anand Lal Ghose Mazumdar* gives an elaborate statement of the several sapiṇḍas. But as those rules have reference only to succession, they are passed over here. Raghunandana in his work on marriage called Udvāhatattva[1114] quotes the famous verse of the Matsyapurāṇa, 'the fourth and (two beyond him) among ascendants are partakers of *lepa* (the leavings of the boiled rice that become attached to the hand of him who offers piṇḍas), the father and the rest (i. e. two more beyond him) are partakers of the piṇḍa; he who offers the piṇḍa to them is the seventh; sāpiṇḍya extends to seven generations' and refers the readers to his Śuddhitattva for elucidation. Raghunandana does not give any definition of sapiṇḍas for marriage, but discusses the conflict about the several texts such as '7th on the father's side and 5th on the mother's side'. He expressly says (p. 110 of Udvāhatattva) that the words 'who is not a sapiṇḍa of one's mother' are still applicable even if several females intervene between the common ancestor and the girl proposed to be married. He then adds a special rule that descendants of what are called pitṛbandhus and mātṛbandhus also are forbidden if they are within 7 degrees and 5 degrees respectively from these bandhus. The pitṛbandhus[1115] of a person are his paternal grand-father's sister's sons, his paternal grandmother's sister's sons and his father's maternal uncle's sons; while mātṛbandhus are a person's mother's father's sister's sons, mother's mother's sister's sons, mother's maternal uncle's sons. These two latter may be illustrated by two diagrams.

1113. 5 Bengal Law Reports p. 15.

1114. Vide pp. 117–118 of the उद्वाहतत्त्व for a summary of the rules about सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्ति; about पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु he says 'एवं पितृबन्धुप्रभृतिसंबन्धघटकानां सप्तानां संततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या । ...... एवं मातृबन्धुप्रभृतिसंबन्धघटकानां पञ्चानां संततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या । एवं च मनुवचने ...... यदसपिण्डेति पृथगुक्तं तत्सापिण्डकन्यापरंपराजाताया अपि पञ्चमीसप्तमीपर्यन्ताया निषेधार्थम् । उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 110.

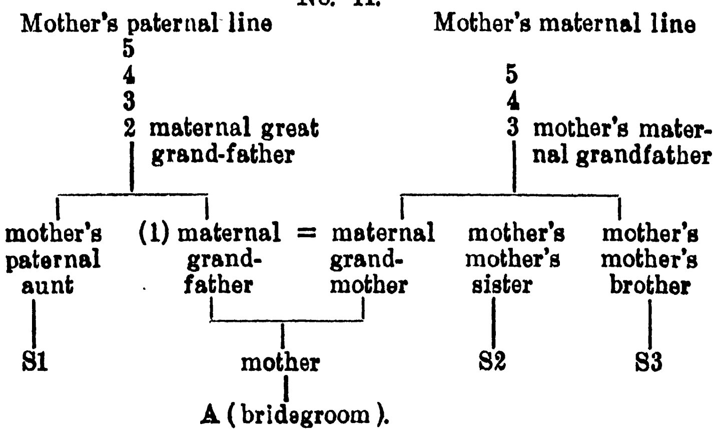
1115. पितुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्राः पितुर्मातुःष्वसुः सुताः । पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः ॥ मातुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्रा मातुर्मातृष्वसुः सुताः । मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥ वृद्धशातातप according to मदनपारिजात p. 674 and बौधायन according to परा. मा.

No. I.



N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are the three pitṛbandhus of A, the bridegroom, and they are the starting points for calculating prohibited degrees among paternal cognates. In the ascending line only the descendants of the common ancestors are excluded. For example, S1 is a pitṛbandhu and his descendants up to 7 degrees are excluded; but S1's father is not a bandhu of the bridegroom; therefore S1's father's sister may be married by the bridegroom. Under this rule the 6th descendant (a girl) of S1 will be ineligible for marriage with A: but she will be 9th from A's grandfather's father who is the common ancestor. So it will be seen that this goes far beyond the limits of sāpiṇḍya generally prescribed and there is no valid reason assigned for this.

No. II.



N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are mātṛbandhus of the bridegroom. The maternal great-grandfather is the starting point in calculating prohibited degrees in the mother's paternal line. In the mother's maternal line the starting points are S2 and S3. In the ascending lines of the mātṛbandhus the descendants of only the common ancestor are excluded. For example, the girl descended from S3's maternal ancestors may be married by the bridegroom and so also a girl descended from the paternal ancestor of S2 or S1.

Another rule propounded by Raghunandana is that even within prohibited degrees a valid marriage may be contracted if three gotras intervene. In the case of girls descended from pitṛbandhus and mātṛbandhus the computation of gotra must be made from them. For want of space it is not thought advisable to illustrate this by citing several examples. But one example is given to illustrate this rule.

```
              A (common ancestor)
                     |
   ------------------------------------
   |                                  |
  D(1)                               S(1)
   |                                  |
  D(2)                               S(2)
   |                                  |
   S                                 S(3)
   |                                  |
  D(3)                               S(4)
   |
  D(4)
```

Here according to the Bengal school S (4) can marry D (4) because three gotras intervene between her and the common ancestor, although S4 is only 5th in descent from the common ancestor; for according to the Bengal school it is not necessary that both the bridegroom and the bride be beyond the limits of sapiṇḍaship, but only the bride need be so; while according to many writers of the Mitākṣarā school both must be beyond the limits of sapiṇḍaship from the common ancestor.[1116]

1116. The निर्णयसिन्धु summarizes the views of Gauḍa writers: अत्र बन्धुभ्य इति पञ्चमीनिर्देशात् पितुःपितृष्वसृपुत्रात्सप्तमीं मातुःपितृष्वसृपुत्राच्च पञ्चमीमपि त्यजेत्। एवमन्यबन्धुषु ज्ञेयम्। तत्रापि त्रिगोत्रात्ययेऽर्वागपि विवाहं कुर्यात् वक्ष्यमाणवचनात्। त्रिगोत्रगणना च मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया न तु स्वापेक्षया अन्यथा पितुः पितामहदुहितुर्दौहित्रीपुत्री परिणेया स्यात्। स्वस्य मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया तु त्रिगोत्रान्तर्गतेन विवाहप्रसङ्ग इति संबन्धतत्त्वादयो गौडग्रन्थाः। pp. 283–284, where a passage of बृहन्मनु is quoted

(Continued on next page)

The Dāyabhāga does not rely upon any Vedic passages for its theory of sapiṇḍa relationship. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 52) relies upon three Vedic passages only in propounding the theory of sapiṇḍa relationship viz. 'indeed the man himself is born from himself (as son, Ait. Br. 33. 1)'; 'thou art born again (or reproduced) in the offspring' (Tai. Br. I. 5. 5) and 'this body is made of six kośas (sheaths); three are derived from the father, three from the mother; bones, muscles and marrow from the mother' (Garbhopaniṣad). These passages at the most say that particles of the bodies of the parents continue in their offspring; but they do not say anything about the meaning of sapiṇḍa or the limits of the sapiṇḍa relationship for marriage or inheritance. Even in the Ṛg. the words jñāti and bandhu' which occur in the dharmasūtras (e. g. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 3, I. 5. 11 17. and Gaut. II. 44, IV. 3 and 5, VI. 3) frequently occur (vide Ṛg. VII. 55. 5 and X. 85. 28 for jñāti and Ṛg. I. 113. 2, V. 73. 4, VII. 72. 2, VII. 67. 9 for bandhu). All that we can say is that both meanings of sapiṇḍa were implicit in the word piṇḍa from the earliest times and that the sūtra writers were conscious of both meanings.

As to the grounds on which marriages between near sapiṇḍas were prohibited various theories have been advanced by anthropologists. Vide Westermarck in his 'History of Human marriage' (ed. of 1921, vol. II. pp. 71–81) and Rivers on 'Marriage of cousins in India' in J. R. A. S. for 1907 pp. 611–640. Some think that the prohibition was due to the abhorrence which men in the primitive times felt for incest. To me it appears more probable that in India at least the prohibition was due to two causes; firstly, the observed fact that, if near relatives marry, their defects are transmitted with aggravation to their offspring and secondly the fear that, if marriages between near relatives by blood were allowed, there may be clandestine love affairs and consequent loss of morals and it would be difficult to secure husbands for girls who would

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(*Continued from last page*)

from शूलपाणि's संबन्धविवेक 'शूलपाणिरप्याह । पञ्चमात्सप्तमाच्चार्वागपि त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता विवाह्या । असंबद्धा भवेन्मातुः पिण्डेनैवोदकेन वा । सा विवाह्या द्विजातीनां त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता च येति बृहन्मनूक्तेः ।.' The निर्णयसिन्धु notes that southern writers (dākṣiṇātya) do not subscribe to this view about three gotras intervening being an exception to sāpiṇḍya in marriage. The संस्कारप्रकाश p. 710 also notes the view of Śūlapāṇi about त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता which means 'मूलपुरुषगोत्राच्चतुर्थगोत्रोत्पन्नेति'.

be living under the same roof with several near or distant cousins.

The Par. M. I. part 2, p. 59 expressly says that only such a girl who is not a sapiṇḍa of the bridegroom within the prohibited degrees on any of the two theories of sāpiṇḍya (viz. by connection with particles of the body or with the balls of rice) is eligible for marriage.

The question what support Vedic Literature lends to the two interpretations of the word sapiṇḍa may now be briefly discussed here.

The word piṇḍa occurs [1117] in the Ṛgveda (I. 162. 19) and the Tai. S. IV. 6. 9. 3 where it seems to mean 'a part of the body of the sacrificial animal thrown into fire as an offering'. Here it is clear that the word piṇḍa is not used in the sense of 'ball of rice'. But in the Tai. S. II. 3. 8. 2 and in the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 24 the word piṇḍa means 'ball of rice' offered to the Manes. The Nirukta III. 4 and 5 twice employs the words 'piṇḍadānāya' (for offering balls of rice). But the word sapiṇḍa hardly ever occurs in the Vedic literature and we have no means of judging in what sense it was used in the Vedic literature. In the dharmasūtras the word *sapiṇḍa* occurs frequently and the dharmasūtras show a close connection between offering piṇḍa and the taking of inheritance (vide Gaut. 14. 13, 28. 21, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2, Vasiṣṭha IV. 16–18, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 40).

It was shown above (pp. 436–37) that some sages prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl while others prohibit it with a sapravara girl. A number of sages and works like Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Yāj. I. 53, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 7) require that the girl to be married must not be a sagotra nor a sapravara. Therefore it is necessary to understand the meaning of gotra and pravara. A detailed treatment of the topics of gotra and pravara would extend to a large treatise. Only a few salient points can be gone into here. The subject of gotra and pravara in the Vedic Literature has been treated at length by me in the J. B. B. R. A. S. (New series vol. II. for 1935). Only the conclusions there drawn will be set out here.

1117. एकस्त्वष्टुरश्वस्या विशस्ता द्वा यन्तारा भवतस्तथ ऋतुः। या ते गात्राणामृतुथा कृणोमि ताता पिण्डानां प्र जुहोम्यग्नौ॥ ऋ. I. 162. 19 = तै. सं. IV. 6. 9. 3. The word sagotra is equal to samāna-gotra as stated by Pāṇini VI. 3.85 and sapiṇḍa and sapravara are similarly formed.

The word gotra in the Ṛg. means 'cow-stable' or 'herd of cows' in a few passages (I. 51. 3, II. 17. 1, III. 39. 4, III. 43. 7, IX. 86. 23, X. 48. 2, X. 120. 8). By a natural metaphor 'gotra' was applied to a cloud (in which waters are pent up as cows in a cow-stable) or to a cloud demon and also to a mountain range or peak which conceals water-yielding clouds. Vide Ṛg. II. 23. 3 (where Bṛhaspati's car is styled 'gotrabhid'), Ṛg. X. 103. 7 (=Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 2, Atharva-veda V. 2. 8. and Vāj. S. 17. 39), Ṛg. VI. 17. 2, X. 103. 6. In some of these verses it is possible to take 'gotra' in the sense of 'fort'. In some cases 'gotra' probably means only "assemblage' (samūha) e. g. Ṛg. II. 23. 18, VI. 65. 5. From this last sense of 'assemblage' the transition to the meaning of 'a group of persons' is both easy and quick. There is no positive instance of the word 'gotra' being unchallengeably used in the sense 'descendants of a common patriarchal ancestor' in the Ṛgveda; but the conception underlying the idea of gotra was, it is plain, quite familiar even in the age of the Ṛgveda. In the Atharvaveda V. 21. 3[1118] the word 'viśvagotryaḥ' (belonging to all families) occurs. Here the word 'gotra' clearly means 'a group of men connected together' (by blood). The Kauśika sūtra IV. 2 quotes a mantra in which gotra undoubtedly means 'a group of persons'.

Several passages of the Tai. S. show that descendants of great sages were called after those sages. In Tai. S. I. 8. 18. 1 it is said 'the Hotṛ is a Bhārgava' (descendant of Bhṛgu). The commentator explains that this is so only in the Rājasūya. It is quite possible that in those days descent was traced through teacher and pupil as well as through father and son. But there being a very few occupations only it is most probable that the son generally learnt from his father the lore of the latter. In Tai. S. VII. 1. 9. 1 we read 'therefore one does not find (or know) two Jāmadagniyas (in succession) who are poor (or grey-haired)'. From this it is clear that in the times of the Tai. S. Jamadagni was regarded as a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jamadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jāmadagnyas (or-gniyas) and that no two descendants were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

1118. वानस्पत्यः संभृत उस्रियाभिर्विश्वगोऽयः । मत्रासममित्रेभ्यो पद्राज्येनाभिघारितः ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 21. 3.

In numerous mantras of the Ṛgveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the plural form of the names of those sages. In Ṛg. X. 66. 14 we read 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father'. In Ṛg. VI. 35. 5 the Bharadvājas are referred to as Āṅgirases. According to Āśv. Śrauta-sūtra Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Aṅgirogaṇa. In the Brāhmaṇa Literature there are ample indications that priestly families had come to be formed into several groups named after their (real or supposed) founders and that such families differed in details of worship according to the group they belonged to. The Tai. Br. (I. 1. 4) prescribes that the consecration (*ādhāna*) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhṛgus or Aṅgirases with the mantra 'bhṛgūṇām (or aṅgirasām) tvādevānām vratapate vratenā-dadhāmi,' that for other brāhmaṇas with the words 'ādityānām tvā devānām vratapate' &c. The Tai. Br. II. 2. 3 speaks of the 'Āṅgirasī prajā' (people of the Aṅgiras group). The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa [1119] prescribes that the *camasa* (cup) made of udumbara was to be given as *dakṣiṇā* to a sagotra brāhmaṇa.' The Kauṣītaki Br. [1120] (25. 15) says that one who has performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything that the sacrificer owned was gifted away) should stay for a year with a brāhmaṇa of the same gotra. The Ait. Br. (30. 7) contains the story of Aitaśa and his son Abhyagni and it is stated that the Aitaśāyanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas. In the Kauṣītaki Br. where the same story occurs it is said that the Aitaśāyanas became lowest among Bhṛgus, as they were cursed by their father. According to Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra the Aitaśāyanas are a sub-section of Bhṛgugaṇa. Śunaḥśepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra, came to be called Devarāta and the Ait. Br. (33. 5) says that the Kāpileyas and Bābhravas were affiliated to Devarāta. According to Baud. śrauta-sūtra Devarāta and Babhru are sub-sections of Viśvāmitra gotra. Śunaḥśepa is said to have been an Āṅgirasa by birth (Ait. Br. 33. 5).[1121] So this makes it clear that gotra relationship was by birth in the times of the Ait. Br. (and not from teacher to pupil). In the Upaniṣads the sages when expounding the knowledge of *brahma*

1119. सगोत्राय ब्रह्मणे देयः सोमपीथस्याविद्रोहाय । ताण्ड्य. 18. 2. 12.

1120. ब्राह्मणे समानगोत्रे वसेद्यत्समाने गोत्रेऽब्राह्मं तस्योपास्यै संवत्सरं चरेद्बुधः संवेश्य । कौषीतकि ब्रा. 25. 15.

1121. आङ्गिरसो जन्मनास्याजीगर्तिः श्रुतः कविः ।, ऋषे पैतामहात्तन्तोर्मापगाः पुनरेहि माम् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा.

addressed their pupils by the gotra names e. g. by the Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana gotras in Praśna I. 1, Vaiyāghrapadya and Gautama in Chāndogya V. 14. 1 and V. 16. 1; Gautama and Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa in Bṛ. Up. II. 2. 4. All this shows that the system of gotras with several sub-sections was well established in the times of the Brāhmaṇas and the ancient Upaniṣads. But the gotras are in these works referred to in connection with sacrifices or education. There is hardly any distinct reference in these to gotra or sagotra in relation to marriage. In the Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra [1122] VIII. 2. 8 and 10 it is prescribed that one who has given away everything in the Viśvajit sacrifice should stay three nights with niṣādas and may partake of their jungle diet and then again three nights with '*jana*' and then the sūtra gives several views about the meaning of 'jana' one of which, that of Dhānañjapya, is that '*jana*' means a person with whom (i. e. with whose daughter) marriage is possible while one who is sagotra is called '*samāna-jana*'. This clearly proves that long before the Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra marriage with a sagotra had been forbidden. Besides several of the gṛhya and dharma sūtras prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl. It is impossible to hold that this was a new conception that arose only about the time of these sūtras. Therefore, it must be supposed that prohibition as to sameness of gotra in marriage had its origin long before the period of the sūtras in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works (if not earlier).

Gotra was of supreme importance in several fundamental matters and it largely entered into several practices of the ancient Aryans. A few examples may be given here. (1) In marriage sagotra girls were forbidden, vide above pp. 436–37. In the Lājāhoma at marriage two offerings were to be made by all except Jāmadagnyas, who had to make three (Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 8–9).

(2) In matters of inheritance the wealth of one dying without issue went to his near sagotras (Gaut. 28. 19).

(3) In śrāddha the brāhmaṇas to be invited should not belong as far as possible to the same gotra as the person inviting (Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Gaut. 15. 20).

1122. विवाह्यो जनः सगोत्रः समानजन इति धानंजप्यः । लाट्यायनश्रौत VIII. 2. 11.

(4) In *pārvaṇa sthālīpāka* and other *pākayajñas*, all were to cut off oblations from the middle and fore-half of the *havis*, but for Jāmadagnyas (who are *pañcāvattins*) they were to be cut off from the middle, the fore-part and the hind part (*vide* Āśv. gṛ. I. 10. 18–19).[1123]

(5) In offering water to a *preta* (a person recently dead) his gotra and name were to be repeated (Āśv. gṛ. IV. 4. 10).

(6) In the *caula* ceremony tufts of hair were to be left in accordance with the gotra and practice of the family (Khādira gṛ. II. 3. 30).

(7) At the time of performing one's daily saṁdhyā prayer, one has to repeat even in modern times one's gotra and pravara, the Vedaśākhā and sūtra which one studies.

As regards śrauta sacrifices a few interesting examples may be given. Jaimini establishes that *sattras* (sacrificial sessions extending over 12 days and more) could be performed only by brāhmaṇas and that among brāhmaṇas the Bhṛgus, Śunakas and Vasiṣṭhas are not entitled to perform them (VI. 6. 24–26). Those of the Atri, Vadhryaśva, Vasiṣṭha, Vaiśya (Vainya ?), Śaunaka, Kaṇva, Kaśyapa and Saṁkṛti gotras took Nārāśaṁsa as the second *prayāja*, while others took Tanūnapāt as the second (vide Śabara on Jaimini VI. 6. 1).

The conception of *pravara* is closely interwoven with that of gotra from very ancient times. The two have to be studied together. 'Pravara' literally means 'choosing' or 'invoking' (*prārthanā*).[1124] As Agni was invoked to carry the offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of the illustrious *ṛṣis* (his remote ancestors) who in former times had invoked Agni, the word *pravara* came to denote one or more illustrious *ṛṣis*, ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of pravara is *ārṣeya* or *ārṣa* (as in Yāj. I. 52). Pravara entered into several domestic ceremonies and practices according to the gṛhya and dharma sūtras. For example :

(1) a bride was to be chosen whose father's pravara was not the same as that of the bridegroom's father. Vide above p. 437.

1123. मध्यात्पूर्वार्धाच्च हविषोऽवद्यति । मध्यात्पूर्वार्धात्पश्चार्धादिति पञ्चावत्तिनाम् । आश्व. गृ. I. 10. 18–19.

1124. समानप्रवराः इत्यार्षेयः प्रवरः ...... इत्यादिषु प्रवरशब्दः प्राप्रियते इति कर्मव्युत्पन्न इति प्रवरमञ्जरीकारः । सं. प्र. p. 598.

(2) In upanayana the girdle (*mekhalā*) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of ṛṣis constituting the boy's pravara (*vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 2).

(3) In *Caula* the tufts of hair to be left on the head depended on the number of sages constituting the pravara of the boy's family (Āp. gṛ. 16. 6).

The mass of material on gotra and pravara in the sūtras, the purāṇas and digests is so vast and so full of contradictions that it is almost an impossible task to reduce it to order and coherence. The learned author of the Pravara-mañjarī (which is the leading work on the subject) wrote in despair 'Here, in the parts of sūtras that have been quoted there is a great divergence in the order (of the names of pravaras) of the texts of the several sūtrakāras, this being specially so in the text of Āśvalāyana (śrauta)-sūtra. Thus, though divergence is clearly established, yet following the order of the texts of the majority of writers such as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana we shall declare (the rules) about marriage or no marriage'.[1125]

We have first to understand what gotra in the sūtras and digests means and how it is inter-related to pravara. Among the sūtras that treat of gotra and pravara the śrauta sūtras of Āśvalāyana (Uttaraṣaṭka VI, khaṇḍas 10–15), Āpastamba (24th praśna) and Baudhāyana (B. I. ed. vol. III pravarādhyāya at end) are the most important. The Pravaramañjarī (p. 5) has a verse to the effect that Baudhāyana's pravarādhyāya is the best on the subject.

The Śrautasūtra of Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśi (21st praśna) has a section on this subject, which is the same as Āpastambaśrauta with a few omissions and variations. The Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra says[1126] 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa are the seven sages and Agastya is the eighth; the progeny of these eight sages is declared to be gotra'. These seven sages are probably derived from what is stated in the Bṛ. Up. II. 2. 3–4 (=Śat. Bṛ.

1125. अत्रोदाहृतेषु सूत्रकाण्डेषु सूत्रकाराणां पाठक्रमव्यत्यासो महानस्ति विशेषतश्चाश्वलायनसूत्रपाठे ।...... एवं भेदे सिद्धे सत्यपि बौधायनापस्तम्बकात्यायनादीनां बहूनां पाठक्रमानुसारेण विवाहाविवाहौ वक्ष्यामः । प्रवरमञ्जरी p. 72 (ed. by Chensalrao).

1126. विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निर्भरद्वाजोऽथ गौतमः । अत्रिर्वसिष्ठः कश्यप इत्येते सप्त ऋषयः । तेषां सप्तर्षीणामगस्त्याष्टमानां यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रमुच्यते । बौ. श्रौ. प्रवराध्याय 54 ; and गोत्राणां तु सहस्राणि प्रयुतान्यर्बुदानि च । ऊनपञ्चाशदेवैषां प्रवरा ऋषिदर्शनात् ॥.

XIV. 5. 2. 6) where these very seven sages are enumerated as those intended in the śloka 'arvāg-bilaścamasa[1127] &c.' quoted there. The same work (Baud. śrauta) states that there are thousands, tens of thousands and *arbudas* (millions of millions) of gotras, but the pravaras are only 49. Besides the sūtra works, some purāṇas like the Matsya (chap. 195–202), the Vāyu (chap. 88 and 99, Ānan. ed.), Skanda III. 2 (Dharmāraṇya kāṇḍa) contain elaborate enumerations of gotras and pravaras. The Mahābhārata sets out at length the subdivisions (such as Madhuc-chandas, Devarāta) of Viśvāmitragotra in Anuśāsanaparva 4. 49–59. Digests like the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 14–17), the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 591–680), the Saṁ. K. (pp. 637–692), the Nirṇaya-sindhu, the Dharmasindhu, the Bālambhaṭṭī contain a vast material on this topic. There are also special works like the Pravaramañjarī on this topic. The general conception about gotra is that it denotes all persons who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common male ancestor. When a person says 'I am Jamadagni-gotra' he means that he traces his descent from the ancient sage Jamadagni by unbroken male descent. As stated by Baud. cited above, from very ancient times these male founders were supposed to be eight. This enumeration of eight primary gotras seems to have been known to Pāṇini. Patañjali says 'there were eighty thousand sages who observed celibacy. The accepted opinion is that the spread of progeny was due to eight sages including Agastya. The offspring (apatya) of these eight are gotras and others than these are called *gotrāvayava*'.[1128] Pāṇini

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1127. Vide Nirukta XII. 38 for another interpretation of the verse अर्वाग्बिलश्चमस &c. In the Nirukta 'the seven sages' are explained either as 'seven rays of the Sun' or as 'the seven indriyas'. The Bṛ. Up. explains the 'seven sages' as the prāṇas (the two ears, eyes, the two holes of the nose and the tongue) and identifies them with the seven sages, Viśvāmitra and others. The Atharva-veda X. 8. 9 reads the verse as 'तिर्यग्बिलश्चमस &c.'.

1128. अष्टाशीतिः सहस्राणि ऊर्ध्वरेतसामृषीणां बभूवुस्तत्रागस्त्याष्टमैर्ऋषिभिः प्रजनोऽभ्युपगतः । तत्रभवतां यदपत्यं तानि गोत्राणि अतोऽन्ये गोत्रावयवाः । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 233 on the sūtra गोत्रावयवात् (पा. IV. 1. 78). The आप. ध. सू. (II. 9. 23. 3–5) quotes passages from a purāṇa about two sorts of 80000 sages (one group desiring offspring and the other not so desiring). याज्ञ. III. 186–187, सभापर्व 11. 54 contain somewhat similar verses. सभापर्व 11. 54 is 'अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ऋषीणामूर्ध्वरेतसाम् । प्रजावतां च पञ्चाशदृषीणामपि पाण्डव ॥'. The reference to fifty sages having progeny is probably to the pravara sages, just as Baud. speaks of 49 pravara groups.

defines gotra for grammatical purposes as 'apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram' (IV. 1. 162), which means 'the word *gotra* denotes (in my work on grammar) the progeny (of a sage) beginning with the son's son'. For example, the son of Garga would be called Gārgi, but the grandson would be called Gārgyaḥ and the plural Gargāḥ would denote all descendants of Garga (downwards from Garga's grand-son). But this definition is a technical one in grammar and is meant to indicate how derived (*taddhita*) words are to be formed by means of terminations. Even Pāṇini makes use of this technical sense only in the *apatyādhikāra*, but elsewhere in his work he uses the word gotra in the popular sense as comprehending all descendants of a common male ancestor. Vide the Kāśikā on Pāṇini II. 4. 63, IV. 2. 39 and IV. 3. 80. The Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 591–592) lucidly explains[1129] this. That a man belongs to a particular gotra is known by him only from tradition, from his father and other elders or from people about him, just as he knows that he is a brāhmaṇa from the same source[1130]. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5. 194 has a very lucid and interesting discussion on this topic. His argument is: just as, though all persons are men, some are called brāhmaṇas, so among brāhmaṇas certain persons are known by immemorial usage (or convention) as belonging to certain gotras like Vasiṣṭha and the sūtra-kāras lay down that a certain gotra has certain pravaras; so the word gotra is applied to Vasiṣṭha and other sages by *rūḍhi* (by convention or long-standing usage). It cannot be supposed that a person called Parāśara was born at a certain time and then his descendants came to be called Parāśaras. In that case the Veda would not be *anādi* (beginningless), as it is supposed to be, since it mentions Parāśara, Vasiṣṭha &c. So gotra is *anādi* like the brāhmaṇa caste and the Veda. The word is also secondarily used to denote a person, who is very illustrious on account of his learning, wealth, valour or generosity,

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1129. अत्र गोत्रभूतमपत्यमनन्तरमपि न तु पाणिनेरिव पारिभाषिकं पौत्रप्रभृत्येव। तथात्वे प्रमाणाभावात्। ...... अपत्याधिकारादन्यत्र लौकिकस्यैव गोत्रस्य ग्रहणमिति भाष्य-कैयटपदमञ्जर्यादिषु स्थितम्। सं. प्र. pp. 591–92.

1130. यथैव समाने पुरुषत्वे ब्राह्मणत्वादिविशेषः, एवं समाने ब्राह्मणत्वे वसिष्ठादि-गोत्रभेदः प्रतिगोत्रं च समानार्षेयाणि। ...... स्मरन्ति च सूत्रकारा गोत्रभेदसंबन्धेन प्रवरान् यस्यैतद्गोत्रं तस्येमे प्रवरा इति। गोत्रभेदस्तु तद्गोत्रजैरेव स्मर्यते वयं पराशरा वयमुपमन्यव इति। यद्यपि गोत्रवत्प्रवरानपि स्मरन्ति तथापि बहुत्वात्कदाचिद्विस्मरेयुरिति गोत्रमुपलक्षणीकृत्य प्रवरस्मृतिरुपनिबद्धा। गोत्रं तु स्मरन्ति। न च तस्य किंचिदुपलक्षणमस्ति य एवंरूपस्तस्यैवं गोत्रमिति। मेधा॰ on मनु III. 5.

who thereby gives a name to his descendants and then becomes the founder of the family. This is *laukika* gotra. But this is not the meaning of gotras which brāhmaṇas have. The secondary meaning may apply to the word gotra when used in the case of kṣatriyas'.[1131] The Mit. on Yāj. I. 53 says 'gotra is that which is known from tradition handed down in the family.'[1132] Each gotra is associated with one, two, three or five sages (but never four or more than five) that constitute the pravara of that gotra.[1133] The gotras are arranged in groups, e. g. there are according to the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra four sub-divisions of the Vasiṣṭha gaṇa, viz. Upamanyu, Parāśara, Kuṇḍina and Vasiṣṭha (other than the first three). Each of these four again has numerous sub-sections, each being called gotra. So the arrangement is first into gaṇas, then into pakṣas, then into individual gotras. The first has survived in the Bhṛgu and Āṅgirasa gaṇa. According to Baud. the principal eight gotras were divided into pakṣas. The pravara of Upamanyu is Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvasu, Indrapramada; the pravara of the Parāśara gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya; the pravara of the Kuṇḍina gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinya and the pravara of Vasiṣṭhas other than these three is simply Vasiṣṭha. It is therefore that some define pravara as 'the group of sages that distinguishes the founder (lit. the starter) of one gotra from another'.[1134]

Though the word pravara does not occur in the Ṛgveda, the word 'ārṣeya' occurs therein and the system of pravara goes back almost to the Ṛgveda. Ṛg. IX. 97. 51 has 'thereby may we acquire wealth and ārṣeya resembling Jamadagni's.' Sometimes the idea of invoking Agni is conveyed without using

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1131. किमेतद्गोत्रं नाम । आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी विद्यावित्तशौर्यौदार्यादिगुणयोगेन ख्याततमो येन कुलं व्यपदिश्यते । ...... ब्राह्मणानां च तैरेव (भृगुगर्गगालवादिभिः) गोत्रव्यपदेशो युक्तः । तानि हि मुख्यानि गोत्राणि रूढिरूपेण तत्र गोत्रशब्दः प्रवर्तते । न हि तेषां गोत्रत्वे एतल्लक्षणमस्ति आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी गोत्रमिति । अनादित्वादेतद्गोत्राणां ब्राह्मणादिजातिवत् । न हि पराशरजन्मत ऊर्ध्वं पाराशरव्यपदेशः केषांचिद्ब्राह्मणानाम् । एवं सति आदिमत्ता वेदस्य प्रसज्यते । ...... नहि यथा ब्राह्मणो नित्यं गोत्रं स्मरति एवं क्षत्रियादयः । तस्मात्तेषां लौकिकमेव गोत्रं, आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी ख्याततम इति । मेधा॰ on मनु. III. 194.

1132. गोत्रं वंशपरंपराप्रसिद्धम् । मिताक्षरा on या. I. 53 ; गोत्रं वंशपरंपराप्रसिद्धमेव यच्च सूत्रादिषु गोत्रपरिगणनं तदपि प्रसिद्धिमूलकमेव । सं. प्र. p. 592.

1133. एकं वृणीते द्वौ वृणीते त्रीन् वृणीते न चतुरो वृणीते न पञ्चातिवृणीत इति विज्ञायते । आप. श्रौ. सू. 24. 6. 7.

1134. प्रवरः गोत्रप्रवर्तकस्य मुनेर्व्यावर्तको मुनिगण इत्यर्थः । परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 70. This is quoted in the उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 111.

the word pravara or ārṣeya. In Ṛg. VIII. 102. 4 [1135] it is said 'I invoke Agni just as Aurva, Bhṛgu and Apnavāna did.' It is remarkable that these are three of the five pravara sages of the Vatsa–Bhṛgus according to Baud. (3). Ṛg. I. 45. 3 has 'O Jātavedas (Agni), give heed to the summons of Praskaṇva, as in the case of Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa and Aṅgiras.' [1136] In Ṛg. VII. 18. 21 it is said 'they who from house to house gladdened thee, being desirous of thee, viz. Parāśara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha, will not forget the friendship of a liberal patron (like thee)'. [1137] It deserves to be noted that this mantra mentions Parāśara (who in later mythology is the grandson of Vasiṣṭha and son of Śakti), Śatayātu (who is Śakti according to Sāyaṇa), and Vasiṣṭha. Parāśara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha constitute the pravara of Parāśara gotra (according to Āśv. and Baud). In the Atharvaveda (XI. 1. 16, XI. 1. 25, 26, 32, 33, 35, XII. 4. 2 and 12, XVI. 8.12–13) ārṣeya means 'descendants of sages or those who are related to sages'. In the Tai. S. both ārṣeya and pravara occur in the sense of the sūtras. In the Tai. S. II. 5. 8. 7 (which refers to the recitation of the Sāmidhenī verses) we read "he says 'choose (or invoke) ye the fire called *havyavāhana*'; he chooses him (the fire) of the gods; he chooses the ārṣeya; in so doing he does not depart from the relationship (by blood) and doing so serves for continuity. He chooses the later ones beginning from the remoter ones". In this passage 'ārṣeyam' appears to be used in the sense of 'one or more illustrious ancestors of the sacrificer' and reference is made to one of the two modes of mentioning the sages constituting the pravara. 'Ārṣeya' may also be taken here as an adjective (qualifying Agni), the meaning being 'he invokes Agni by the names of the illustrious ancestor sages of the yajamāna'. In one mode the remotest ancestor is named first in a taddhita (derivative) formation, then his descendant and so on, the sage nearest the sacrificer being mentioned last. For example, the pravara of Bhṛgu Vatsa is 'Bhārgava-cyavana-apnavānaurva-jāmadagnyeti'. This method is employed by the Hotṛ priest when he invokes fire as the divine Hotṛ with the pravara-mantra 'Agne mahān-asi brāhmaṇa bhārata deveddha

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1135. और्वभृगुवच्छुचिमप्नवानवदा हुवे। अग्निं समुद्रवाससम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 102. 4. According to the अनुक्रमणी this is a sūkta of a भार्गव named प्रयोग.

1136. प्रियमेधवदत्रिवज्जातवेदो विरूपवत् । अङ्गिरस्वन्महिव्रत प्रस्कण्वस्य श्रुधी हवम् ॥ ऋ. I. 45. 3.

1137. प्र ये गृहादममदुस्त्वाया पराशरः शतयातुर्वसिष्ठः । ऋ. VII. 18. 21. शतयातु may literally mean 'one who is master of a hundred magic tricks,' or 'on whom a hundred magic tricks were practised'.

manviddha ṛṣistuta &c.' (vide Tai. S. II. 5. 9. and Śat, Br. I. 4. 2, Aśv. Śr. I. 2, 27–I. 3. 6). In the other mode the affix 'vat' is used after the name of each pravara sage and the remotest one is mentioned last (e. g. Jamadagnivat, Ūrvavat, Apnavānavat, Cyavanavat, Bhṛguvat). This mode is employed by the *adhvaryu* when he chooses the Hotṛ priest.[1138] The Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 9 appears to refer to one (i. e. 2nd) mode. The Kauṣītaki brāhmaṇa explains the purpose of taking the names of ancestors 'as the gods do not partake of the offering of him who has no list of (illustrious) ancestors, therefore he pronounces the ārṣeya of the sacrificer.' The Ait. Br. (34. 7) has an interesting passage on pravara. When a brāhmaṇa is initiated for a sacrifice, that fact is announced in these words 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated for a sacrifice.' How is the initiation of the kṣatriya to be announced ? The reply of the Ait. Br. is 'even in the case of the kṣatriya the announcement is to be in the same form (viz. a brāhmaṇa has been initiated); but with the pravara of the family priest. Therefore they should proclaim the kṣatriya's initiation as a sacrificer with the ārṣeya of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.'[1139] The Aśv. Śr. (Uttara ṣaṭka VI. 15. 4–5) and Baud. Śr. (pravarapraśna 54) say that in the case of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the pravara of their purohita was to be employed or the pravara 'Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa' or simply 'Manuvat.' The origin of that rule is to be found in the above passage of the Ait. Br. There is another similar passage in the Ait. Br. (35. 5). The Śat. Br.

1138. This rule is stated in Āp. Śrauta (24. 5. 8) and Baud. Śrauta (pravarādhyāya 2.) 'अत ऊर्ध्वानर्ध्वर्युर्वृणीतेऽमुतोर्वाञ्चो होतेत्येष एवोभयोः सर्वत्रोद्देशः'.

1139. अथ यद्यजमानस्यार्षेयमाह न ह वा अनार्षेयस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्माद्यजमानस्यार्षेयमाह । कौषीतकि ब्रा. III. 2. After the words अग्ने महाँ असि ब्राह्मण भारत are recited, the invoking of the ārṣeya of the sacrificer by the Hotṛ priest takes place and then the remaining words of the formula देवेद्ध मन्विद्ध ऋषिस्तुत &c. are uttered. This is shown by the Tai. S. itself (II. 5. 7. 8) and by the Śat. Br. I. 4. 2.. 2–5. Agni is styled by *ṛṣi* names such as Bhārgava, Cyavana &c. because fire was kindled by these ancient sages and oblations were thrown into it by them. The Adhvaryu recites the mantra अग्निर्देवो होता देवान् यक्षद्विद्वांश्चिकित्वान्मनुष्वद्भरतवत् and then recites the pravara of the *yajamāna* with '*vat*' added to each name and then proceeds ब्रह्मण्वदा च वक्षद् ब्राह्मणा अस्य यज्ञस्य प्रावितारः (*vide* Śat. Br. I. 5, 1. 5–13, Āp. Śr. II. 16. 5–11). It is on account of this that the Saṁskāraratnamālā (p. 416) explains *pravara* as प्रव्रियन्ते अग्नेर्विशेषणत्वेनोत्कीर्त्यन्ते इति प्रवराः. The names of the ancient illustrious sages become the attributes of Fire that is invoked by the hotṛ.

I. 4. 2. 3–4[1140] shows that the illustrious ancestors to be invoked were supposed to be related as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

The Mahābhārata says that the original gotras were only four viz. Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu.[1141] The verses are rather abruptly introduced in the epic and there is nothing to show on what this statement was based and it appears that it is due to the imagination of the writer. Baud. as shown above states that the original gotras are eight. But it is remarkable that Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras (whose divisions and sub-divisions are many) are not included by him in these eight. Therefore, it appears that even Baudhāyana is not correctly stating the number of original gotras. Gautama and Bharadvāja are stated to be two out of the original eight, but both of them instead of being separately dealt with are grouped under the comprehensive Āṅgirasagaṇa. So even Baud. is not to be implicitly followed. The Bālambhaṭṭī mentions eighteen principal gotras (eight as in Baud. plus ten more some of which are names of mythical kings[1142]). Baud. himself says that there are millions of gotras and in the Baud. Pravarādhyāya there are over 500 names of gotra and pravara sages; while the Pravaramañjarī quotes a verse that 'there are three crores of them[1143] and so the gotra system is difficult to comprehend', and it mentions about 5000 gotras. Therefore, as the Smṛtyarthasāra says the nibandhas endeavour to place the innumerable gotras under groups and distribute them among 49 pravaras (mentioned by Baud.)[1144]. Some idea of these

1140. अर्थार्षेयं प्रवृणीते । ...... परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते परस्ताद्ध्यर्वाञ्चः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते । ज्यायसस्पतय उ चैवैतं निह्नुते । इदं हि पितैवाग्रेऽथ पुत्रोऽथ पौत्रस्तस्मात्परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते । शतपथ I. 4. 2. 3–4; compare कात्यायनश्रौत III. 2. 7–11 अथ प्रवृणीतेऽग्निर्देवो दैव्यो होता देवान्यक्षद्विद्वांश्चिकित्वान्मनुष्वद्भरतवदमुवदमुवदिति यजमानार्षेयाण्याह परस्तादर्वाञ्चि त्रीणि । यावन्तो वा मन्त्रकृतः । पुरोहितार्षेयेण वा । क्षत्रियवैश्ययोश्च नित्यम् । मनुवदिति वा सर्वेषाम् ।

1141. मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि समुत्पन्नानि पार्थिव । अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च ॥ कर्मतोऽन्यानि गोत्राणि समुत्पन्नानि पार्थिव । नामधेयानि तपसा तानि च ग्रहणं सताम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 297. 17–18.

1142. अथ संग्रहकृदुक्तसंग्रह उच्यते । जामदग्न्यो वीतहव्यो वैन्यो गृत्समदाह्वयः । बाभ्रव्यश्चो गौतमाख्यश्च भरद्वाजाह्वयः कपिः ॥ हारितो मौद्गल्यकण्वौ विरूपो विष्णुवृद्धकः । अत्रिविश्वामित्रकौ च वसिष्ठः कश्यपाह्वयः ॥ अगस्त्यश्चेति मुनयो ह्यष्टादशगणाः स्मृताः । बाळम्भट्टी on मिता॰ on या. I. 53 (p. 176, ed. by Gharpure).

1143. 'गोत्राणां कोटिसंख्यात्रितयमितिमतां दुर्ग्रहत्वाच्च तस्मात् । प्रवरमञ्जरी p. 2.

1144. मुनिप्रणीतप्रवरैरूनपञ्चाशता वयम् । अनन्तान्यपि गोत्राणि वर्गीकृत्याभिदध्महे ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 15.

gotras and their distribution among the pravaras is given below. The appendix under note No. 1144 collects together the 49 pravara groups.

The Bhṛgugaṇa and the Aṅgirogaṇa are very extensive. The Bhṛgus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are again towfold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas); the non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are fivefold viz. Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, Yāskas, Mitrayus, Vainyas and Śunakas (these latter five are called *kevala Bhṛgus*). Under each of these sub-divisions there are many gotras, on the names and number of which the sūtrakāras are not agreed. The pravara of Jāmadagnya Vatsas is constituted by five sages according to Baud. and by three according to Kātyāyana. The pravara of the Bidas and the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas also has five sages.[1145] These three (viz. Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas) are styled *pañcāvattin* (Baud. 5) and they cannot inter-marry (the reason will be explained below). The five non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus have each of them numerous sub-divisions. These divisions of Bhṛgus are given here according to Baud. Āp. has only six of them (and not seven as he excludes Bidas from this group). According to Kātyāyana, Bhṛgus have twelve sub-divisions (vide Saṁ. Pr. p. 625).

The Aṅgirogaṇa has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvājas and kevalāṅgirases ; out of whom Gautamas have seven sub-divisions, Bharadvājas have four (Raukṣāyaṇas, Gargas, Kapis and Kevala-Bharadvājas), and Kevala-Āṅgirases have six sub-divisions and each of these again is sub-divided into numerous gotras. This is according to Baud. Other sūtrakāras differ as to the subdivisions. Atri (one of the eight primary gotras) is subdivided into four (Atris proper, Vādbhūtakas, Gaviṣṭhiras, Mudgalas). Viśvāmitra is sub-divided into ten, which are further sub-divided into 72 gotras. Kaśyapas are sub-divided into Kaśyapas, Nidhruvas, Rebhas, and Śaṇḍilas. Vasiṣṭha has four sub-divisions (Vasiṣṭhas with one pravara only, Kuṇḍinas, Upamanyus and Parāśaras) which are further sub-divided into 105 gotras. Agastya has three sub-divisions (Agastyas, Somavāhas and Yajñavāhas), the first of which is further sub-divided into twenty gotras.

1145. इत्येते वत्साः । तेषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानौर्वजामदग्न्येति होता जमदग्निवदूर्ववदप्नवानवच्च्यवनवद्भृगुवदित्यध्वर्युः । बौ. (3); इत्येते बिदास्तेषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानौर्वबैदेति होता बिदवदूर्ववदप्नवानवच्च्यवनवद्भृगुवदित्यध्वर्युः । बौ. (4); आर्ष्टिषेणानां भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानार्ष्टिषेणानूपेति । आश्व० (also बौ. 5.)

When it is said that marriage with a sagotra or a sapravara girl is forbidden, each of these is separately an obstacle to marriage. Therefore, a girl, though not sapravara, may be yet sagotra and so ineligible for marriage or though not sagotra may yet be sapravara and not eligible. For example, the gotras of Yaska, Vādhūla, Mauna, Mauka are different, yet a marriage between persons belonging to these gotras is not possible, because the pravara of all these is the same, viz. 'Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Sāvetasa-iti'.[1146] So also though the gotras Saṁkṛti, Pūtimāṣa, Taṇḍi, Śambu and Śaṁgava are different, there can be no marriage between them as the pravara is the same, viz. 'Āṅgirasa, Gaurivīta, Sāṁkṛtya' (acc. to Āśv. Śrauta). When it is said that samānapravaras cannot marry, sameness may be due to only one sage being the same in the pravaras of two gotras or there may be two or three or more sages that are common. The general rule is that if even one sage is the same[1147] in the pravaras of two different gotras, then they are sapravara, except in the case of the Bhṛgu group and the group of Aṅgirases. In these two latter unless there are at least three sages common (when the pravara is constituted by five sages) or at least two sages are common (when pravara consists of only three sages), there is no sapravaratva and no bar to marriage. It will be noticed that among the five pravara sages of the Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas quoted above there are three sages that are common and so they cannot inter-marry.

Though the vast majority of gotras have three pravara sages, a few have only one pravara sage or two sages or five. Those who have only one sage are Mitrayus (pravara Vādhryaśva according to Āśv.), the Vasiṣṭhas (other than Kuṇḍina, Parāśara and Upamanyu) have only one pravara Vāsiṣṭha, the Śunakas have one pravara Gṛtsamada (according to Āśv.) or Śaunaka or Gārtsamada (according to Baud. 9); the Agastis have one pravara Āgastya (according to Āp. Śr. 24. 10. 9); Āśv. optionally allows three pravaras to Mitrayus (Bhārgava-Daivodāsa-Vādhryaśva) and to Śunakas (viz. Bhārgava-

1146. आश्वलायनश्रौत says 'यास्कवाधूलमौनमौकशार्कराक्षिसार्ष्टिसावर्णिशालंकायन-जैमिनि-दैवन्त्यायनानां भार्गववैतहव्यसावेतसेति।; vide also स्मृतिच० I. p. 68, मदनपारिजात p. 138.

1147. द्व्यार्षेयसंनिपातेऽविवाहस्त्र्यार्षेयाणां त्र्यार्षेयसंनिपातेऽविवाहः पञ्चार्षेयाणाम्। असमानप्रवरैर्विवाहः। एक एव ऋषिर्यावत्प्रवरेष्वनुवर्तते। तावत्समानगोत्रत्वमन्यत्र भृग्वङ्गिरसां गणात्। इति। पञ्चानां त्रिषु सामान्यादविवाहस्त्रिषु द्वयोः। भृग्वङ्गिरोगणेष्वेव शेषेष्वेकोपि वारयेत्। बौ० (प्रवराध्याय 2).

Śaunahotra-Gārtsamada) and Āp. also allows to Agastis three pravaras (Viz. Āgastya-Dārdhacyuta-Aidmavāha-iti). According to Āp. and the purāṇas, Dhāpayantas have two pravaras (Vaiśvāmitra-Paurana-iti), Aṣṭakas Lohitas have two (Vaiśvāmitra-Āṣṭaka iti), and Śaṇḍilas also have two (Daivala-Asita iti). But he says that according to some the latter have three pravaras also (Kāśypa-Daivala-Asita-iti), while Baudhāyana gives four optional groups of three sages each for Śāṇḍilas (Baud. 43). For Vāri-Dhāpayantas Āśv. prescribes three only (Vaiśvāmitra-Devarāta-Paurana) and also for the Aṣṭakas. According to Baud. the Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas (among the Bhṛgus) have five pravara sages; so also among Aṅgirases, the Kaumaṇḍas, Dīrghatamasas, Raukṣāyaṇas and Gargas have five pravara sages, though the last have optionally three also.

The Āp. śr.[1148] (24. 5 6) says 'the sages to be invoked were to be three and they were to be seers of mantras'. It is therefore that the number of pravara sages is limited; there was no such requirement for a gotra and so gotras multiplied to an unlimited extent.

There are certain families that are dvigotras (i. e. have two gotras). Āśv. uses the word 'dvipravācanāḥ' for them[1149]. They are principally three viz. Śauṅga–śaiśiris, Saṁkṛtis and Laugākṣis. From a Śuṅga, a sub-division of Bharadvāja gotra, was born a son to the wife of a Śaiśiri, a sub-division of Viśvāmitra (by *niyoga*); the son, therefore, came to be called Śauṅga-Śaiśiri. Therefore Śauṅga–Śaiśiris cannot marry in both Bharadvāja and Viśvāmitra gotras. Their pravaras are given below[1150]. They have to select one pravara sage from one gotra and two from the other gotra or two from the first and three from the other. A pravara of four sages is not allowed nor of one beyond five. For the other dvigotras, the Saṁ. K. (pp. 682–686), Nirṇayasindhu p. 300 ff. may be consulted. In the case of the adopted son also, on the analogy of the Śauṅga-śaiśiris,

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1148. त्रीन्वृणीते मन्त्रकृतो वृणीते यथर्षि मन्त्रकृतो वृणीत इति विज्ञायते। आप. श्रौ. 24. 5–6.

1149. अथ य एते द्विप्रवाचना: यथैतच्छौङ्गशैशिरय: । भरद्वाजा ह शुङ्गा: कता: शैशिरय: । आश्व. श्रौ. (Uttarasaṭka VI).

1150. According to आश्व. the प्रवर of शौङ्गशैशिरि is आङ्गिरसबार्हस्पत्य-भारद्वाजकात्यात्कीलेति ।. According to others it is आङ्गिरसबार्हस्पत्य-भारद्वाज-शौङ्गशैशिरेति or they are only त्रिप्रवर, आङ्गिरसकात्यात्कीलेति । vide सं. प्र. p. 642 and सं. कौ. p. 682.

both gotras and the pravaras of both gotras have to be considered and the dictum of Manu (IX. 142) that 'the son given does not share the gotra and inheritance of the genitive father and the *svadhā* (śrāddhas etc.) of the giver ceases', is restricted only to matters of inheritance, śrāddha and the like and does not apply to marriage. [1151]

A few words must be said about the gotra and pravara of kings and other kṣatriyas. It appears from the Ait.Br. quoted above (p. 488) that in the case of kṣatriyas the pravara of their *purohita* was employed in religious acts where pravara had to be recited. This leads to the inference that most kṣatriyas had forgotten their gotras and pravaras by that time. The Śrauta sūtras allow [1152] an option to kṣatriyas (to kings according to Āśv.). 'They may employ the pravara of their purohitas or all kṣatriyas may employ the same pravara viz. Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa-iti'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5 states that the distinctions of gotras and pravaras concern primarily brāhmaṇas alone and not kṣatriyas and vaiśyas and quotes Āśv. Śr. (I. 3) in support. The Mit. and other nibandhakāras rely on the first alternative mentioned in the sūtras and say that in marriages of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the gotras and pravaras of their purohitas should be considered, as they have no specific gotras of their own [1153]. This is carrying the doctrine of *atideśa* (extension) too far or with a vengeance. The Saṁ. K. (pp. 689-690) assigns reasons for this attitude of the Mit. but they are not satisfactory. Ancient literature and epigraphic records show that kings had gotras of their own. In the Mahābhārata it is said that when Yudhiṣṭhira

1151. उक्तं च पारिजाते संग्रहे-द्व्यामुष्यायणका ये च दत्तकक्रीतकादयः। गोत्रद्वये-प्यनुद्वाह्याः शौङ्गशैशिरयो तथा॥ तथा नारायणवृत्तौ। दत्तक्रीतादीनां जनकपालकयोर्गोत्र-निषेधः शौङ्गशैशिरस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वादिति। सं. कौ. p. 688; विवाहे तु दत्तकमात्रेण चीजि-प्रतिग्रहीत्रोः पित्रोर्गोत्रप्रवरवर्जनं कार्यम्। प्रवरमञ्जर्यादिनिबन्धेषु तन्निषेधोक्तेः। सं. कौ. p. 182; compare सं. प्र. pp. 656-657, संस्काररत्नमाला pp. 451-456 (where the rules about marriage, āśauca and offering of piṇḍa as to adopted sons are considered).

1152. पुरोहितप्रवरो राज्ञाम्। अथ यदि सार्ष्टं प्रवृणीरन् मानवैलपौरूरवसेति। आश्व. श्रौ.; अथ क्षत्रियाणाम्। यद्यह सार्ष्टं प्रवृणीरन्नेक एवैषां प्रवरः मानवैलपौरूरवसेति। पुरूरवो-वदिडावन्मनुवदिति। आप. श्रौ. 24. 10. 11-12; क्षत्रियाणां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति मानवैलपौरूरवसेति होता पुरू ... ... मनुवदित्यध्वर्युः। ... ... क्षत्रियवैश्यानां पुरोहितप्रवरो भवतीति विज्ञायते। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 52-54).

1153. यद्यपि राजन्यविशां प्रातिस्विकगोत्राभावात्प्रवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ। तथा च 'यजमानस्यार्षेयान् प्रवृणीते' इत्युक्त्वा 'पौरोहित्यान्राजन्यविशां प्रवृणीते' इत्याहाश्वलायनः। मिता० on या. I. 52. The quotation is from आश्व. श्रौ. I. 3. The मिता० passage is quoted in the उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 111.

went to the court of Virāṭa in the guise of a brāhmaṇa and was asked by the king to state his gotra he said that he was of the Vaiyāghrapadya gotra (Virāṭa-parva 7. 8–12). That this was the gotra of the Pāṇḍavas also follows from the fact that in the Bhīṣmatarpaṇa[1154] that is performed on the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha, Bhīṣma's gotra is given as Vaiyāghrapāda or–padya and pravara as Sāṁkṛti. Jaimini (VI. 6. 12–15) establishes that the Kulāyayajña was to be performed jointly by a king and his purohita (and so they could use different pravaras it appears). The Pallavas of Kāñcī had Bhāradvāja as their gotra (vide E. I. vol. I p. 5). The Cālukyas are often described as 'mānavya-gotra' (vide E. I. vol. VI. p. 337). In a copper-plate grant of Jayacandradeva (dated saṁvat 1233 i. e. 1176 A. D.) the donee was a kṣatriya described as Rāuta-śrī-Rājyadharavarman of the Vatsa gotra and of five pravaras viz. Bhārgava-Cyavana-Apnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya.[1155] In the Garra (Bundelkhand) plate of the Candella king Trailokyavarma of Kālañjara a village is granted to Rāuta Sāmanta of the Bhāradvāja gotra in recognition of his father's death in battle with the Turuṣkas (E. I. vol. 16, p. 274).

In many inscriptions and copper-plate grants hundreds of donees with their gotras and pravaras occur and it would be an interesting study to compare the latter with the material derived from the sūtras and nibandhas. For example, vide E. I. vol. 19, pp. 115–117 and 248–250 for about 205 donees and their gotras in the plates of Bhāskaravarman, E. I. vol. 14, p. 202ff (500 donees with gotras in the time of Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla, *saṁvat* 1150), E. I. vol. 13 p. 237, E. I. vol. 8 pp. 316–317 (*śake* 1346), E. I. vol. 9 p. 103 (32 donees with gotras, pravaras, śākhās &c.), E. I. vol. 12 pp. 163–167 (120 donees with gotras, *śake* 1508), Gupta Ins. No. 55 Chammak plate of Pravarasena &c. Even the Buddhists kept the system of gotras (vide E. I. vol. 10, Lüder's list, No. 158).

According to Āp. Śr. the vaiśyas had[1156] a single pravara 'Vātsapra', while according to Baud. they had three, *viz.*

1154. The मन्त्र in the भीष्मतर्पण is वैयाघ्रपादगोत्राय सांकृतिप्रवराय च। गङ्गापुत्राय भीष्माय प्रदास्येहं तिलोदकम्। अपुत्राय ददाम्येतत्सलिलं भीष्मवर्मणे । स्मृतिच० I. p. 198 ; vide also कृत्यरत्नाकर pp. 509–10.

1155. *Vide* I. A. vol 18 pp. 136–138.

1156. एकार्षेया विशः। वात्सप्रेति होता। वत्सप्रवदित्यध्वर्युः। आप. 24. 10. 16; वैश्यानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भालन्दनवात्सप्रमाङ्किलेति होता। माङ्किलवद्वत्सप्रवद्भलन्दनवदित्यध्वर्युः। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 53).

Bhālandana-Vātsapra-Māṅktila'. They could also employ the pravara of their purohitas. The Saṁ. Pr. (p. 659) says that Bhālandana is the gotra of vaiśyas.

If a person does not know his own gotra and pravara he should take those of his ācārya (teacher of Veda), according to Āp.[1157] Though he takes his teacher's gotra, it is only the teacher's daughter that is forbidden to him in marriage and not other girls of the same gotra as the ācārya's. Both Saṁ. K. and Saṁ. Pr. (p. 650) quote a verse that when one does not know one's gotra one should call oneself of Kāśyapa gotra. This is so when he does not know even his teacher's gotra. The Sm. C. (śrāddha section p. 481) says that this is so even when one does not know the gotra of one's maternal grand-father (i.e. he should offer piṇḍa with Kāśyapa gotra to his maternal grand-father).

The word gotra also came to mean any family name (surname). In the inscriptions we find this usage very often. For example, in the Bannahaḷḷi plate of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarma II (E. I. vol. VI, p. 18) a śreṣṭhin (a merchant) is said to have been of the Tuṭhiyalla gotra and pravara. The Reḍḍi king (a śūdra) Allaya Vema of Rajahmundry was said to have been of the Polvola gotra (E. I. vol, XIII. p. 237, of *śake* 1356).

A few interesting matters about pravaras are noted below. It is noteworthy that even as to the same gotra, there is great divergence among the sūtrakāras about the sages constituting the pravara e. g. as to Śāṇḍilyagotra. Āśv. gives two groups of the sages 'Śāṇḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti' or 'Kāśyapa-Asita-Daivala-iti', but Āp. states his own view that there are only two sages in the pravara viz. 'Daivala–Asita iti' and that some say they are three, Kāśyapa–Daivala–Asita–iti; while Baud. states four groups, 'Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Daivala-iti, Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Asita-iti; Śāṇḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti; Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Śāṇḍila-iti.' No adequate reasons can be given why even at so early an age as the sūtras, not only the order of the names in the pravara, but the very names in the pravara and their number should have varied so much. Baud.[1158] (pravarādhyāya sec. 44) notes that

1157. अथासंप्रज्ञातबन्धुराचार्यामुष्यायणमनुप्रब्रधीताचार्यप्रवरं प्रवृणीत । आप. श्रौ. 24. 10. 17.

1158. इत्येते लोकाक्षयोऽहर्वासिष्ठा नक्तं कश्यपास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति काश्यपावत्सारवासिष्ठेति होता काश्यपावत्साराासितेति वा । बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 44). वासिष्ठैः काश्यपैर्नित्यं लौगाक्षीणामनन्वयः । अहर्वसिष्ठोक्तिस्तु प्रयाजाद्यादिगोचरा ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 15; अथ वीतहव्या यास्कवाधूलमौनमौकाः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः । भार्गव-वैतहव्य-सावेदसेति ।... अथ वैन्याः पार्थाः तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः । भार्गववैन्यपार्थेति । आप. श्रौ. 24. 6. 1–2 and 7–8.

the Laugākṣis (or Laukākṣis) are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night and their pravaras also show this double relationship. The Smṛtyarthasāra says that this picturesque description of them has reference to the *prayājas* and the like i. e. by day they follow the procedure of prayājas peculiar to Vasiṣṭhas and by night that peculiar to the Kaśyapas.

Among the gotras there are names of mythical kṣatriyas and kings like Vītahavya and Vainya and among the names of pravara sages many legendary kings like Māndhātṛ, Ambarīṣa, Yuvanāśva, Divodāsa appear. Vītahavya figures even in the Ṛgveda as closely connected with the Bhṛgus (Ṛg. VI. 15. 2–3). In the Mahābhārata it is narrated that Vītahavya, being a king, attacked Divodāsa, whose son Pratardana pursued Vītahavya, whereupon Vītahavya took shelter with Bhṛgu and that when Pratardana asked Bhṛgu whether there was any kṣatriya in the hermitage, Bhṛgu replied that there were all brāhmaṇas and that by this Vītahavya became a brāhmaṇa (Anuśāsana chap. 30).

Similarly the pravara of the Hārītas is either Āṅgirasa-Ambarīṣa-Yauvanāśva-iti or Māndhātṛ-Ambarīṣa-Yauvanāśva-iti. These are mythical royal sages. Among [1159] the Bhṛgus is a sub-division called Vainya which is further subdivided into Pārthas and Bāṣkalas. The story of Pṛthu who milked the earth is well-known (Droṇa-parva 69); he is called 'ādirāja' in Anuśāsana 166. 55. The Vāyupurāṇa in several places narrates that some kṣatriyas became the pravaras of brāhmaṇas. Vide chap. 88. 72–79, (about Viṣṇuvṛddha,[1160] who was descended from Purukutsa, whose son was Trasadasyu), chap. 88. 6–7, 92. 6, 99. 158–161, 99. 169–170 (Ānan. ed.) for other examples[1161]. How and why kṣatriya names were adopted as brahmanical pravaras is obscure and difficult to understand. If one may hazard a guess, it is probably due to the fact that the purāṇas retain very ancient traditions of times when there were no water-tight varṇas and that ancient kings were learned in the

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1159. वैन्याः पार्था बाष्कलास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गववैन्यपार्थेति होता। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 8).

1160. The प्रवर of विष्णुवृद्धगोत्र is आङ्गिरसपौरुकुत्सत्रासदस्यवेति (vide Baud. sec. 20).

1161. अम्बरीषस्तु नाभागिर्विरूपस्तस्य चात्मजः। पृषदश्वो विरूपस्य तस्य पुत्रो रथीतरः। एते क्षत्रप्रसूता वै पुनश्चाङ्गिरसः स्मृताः। रथीतराणां प्रवराः क्षात्रोपेता द्विजातयः॥ वायु 88. 6–7.

Vedic lore and maintained śrauta fires also, became famous as sages in whose name fire was to be invoked to carry offerings to Gods even by brāhmaṇas who came ages after them.

The connection of gotra and pravara may be stated thus: Gotra is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations; while pravara is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the gotra sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone.

It has been seen (pp.437–38) that marriage between parties that are sagotra or sapravara is no marriage and the woman does not become the man's wife. What were the consequences of such a void union? Baud.[1163] (pravarādhyāya 54) says that if a man has intercourse with a sagotra girl he should undergo the penance of cāndrāyaṇa, after that he should not abandon the woman, but should only maintain her as if she were a mother or a sister; if a child is born it does not incur sin and it should take the gotra of Kaśyapa. Aparārka quotes (p. 80) Sumantu and another smṛti to the effect that if a person inadvertently marries a sagotra or samāna-pravara woman he should give up intercourse with her, should maintain her and undergo cāndrāyaṇa.[1163] But if he knowingly marries a sagotra or sapravara girl the penance was heavier (viz. that for incest) and if he has intercourse with her or begets a child from her he loses his caste and the child will be a cāṇḍāla[1164]. The rule of Baud. that there would be no blemish and the child will be of Kaśyapa gotra is restricted to inadvertently marrying such a girl.[1165] The Saṁ. Pr. quotes a verse of Kātyāyana to the effect that if a marriage is gone

1162. सगोत्रां गत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेद् व्रते परिनिष्ठिते ब्राह्मणीं न त्यजेन्मातृवद्भगिनीवद् गर्भो न दुष्यति कश्यप इति विज्ञायते। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 54).

1163. परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा। त्यागं कृत्वा द्विजस्तस्यास्ततश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ ...... त्यागश्चोपभोगस्य न तु तस्याः। यथाह सुमन्तुः। मातुलसुतां पैतृष्वसेयीं समानार्षगोत्रां च परिणीय चान्द्रायणं चरेत्। परित्यज्यैनां बिभृयादिति। एतच्चामतिपूर्वं वेदितव्यम्। अपरार्क p. 80. The verse परिणीय is ascribed to शातातप by सं. प्र. p. 680 and other writers; सुमन्तु is quoted in उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 111.

1164. समानगोत्रप्रवरां कन्यामूढ्वोपगम्य च। तस्यामुत्पाद्य चण्डालं ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted in सं. प्र. p. 680 and उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 112.

1165. यदि कश्चिज्ज्ञानतस्तां कन्यामूढ्वापि गच्छति। गुरुतल्पव्रताच्छुध्येद्गर्भस्तज्जोऽन्त्यतां व्रजेत्॥ भोगतस्तां परित्यज्य पालयेज्जननीमिव। अज्ञानादैन्दवैः शुध्येत्रिभिर्गर्भस्तु काश्यपः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 16.

through with a sagotra, the girl may be again given in marriage to another. But the Saṁ. Pr. gets rid of that inconvenient text by saying that it does not apply to the present age. So the poor girl for no fault of hers had to pass her whole life in enforced celibacy, being neither an unmarried woman nor a widow.[1166]

Questions about the validity of sagotra or sapravara marriages have not yet come before the courts; but it is likely that in the near future courts will have to deal with such cases. If a marriage takes place under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 (as amended in 1923) no difficulty will arise; but recently several marriages have been celebrated under the old *Śāstric* procedure between persons who are sagotra or sapravara. Upon the strict letter of the dharmaśāstra texts such marriages are absolutely void. But it seems that the legislature should intervene and declare sagotra and sapravara marriages valid. Whatever may have been the case thousands of years ago when there were no means of communication and when there were small communities, the prohibition of sagotra relationship had some plausibility and real feeling of close kinship about it; but now the prohibition has become meaningless. A man from Kashmir may marry a girl from Madras and the parents of both may have the same gotra. Granting for argument that the gotra sage was a common ancestor, one does not know how many generations have intervened between that remote ancestor and the intending spouses and particles of the ancestor's body, if they have survived at all in the intending spouses of the same gotra, must be in the present generation in the most attenuated state. The prohibitions based upon gotra and pravara are said by orthodox people to be prescribed upon unseen (adṛṣṭa) grounds and so they argue that they must be held to be absolute and not admitting of any evasion by any one calling himself a Vedic Hindu. One may be permitted to reply to these people that when almost every-body has given up the ancient cult of the śrauta and gṛhya fires and when hundreds of other innovations in ancient practices have been accepted without demur, there is hardly any justification for sticking to this one remnant of ancient practices. As a matter of fact many brāhmaṇas now do not remember their pravara themselves but have to be told by the priests what their pravara is. Certain prohibitions against

1166. विकर्मस्थः सगोत्रो वा क्लीबो दीर्घामयोऽपि वा। ऊढापि देया साऽन्यस्मै सप्रावरणभूषणा। इति कात्यायनीयं सगोत्रोढायाः पुनर्विवाहस्मरणं तद्युगान्तरविषयम्। सं. प्र. p. 681.

marriage between near sapiṇḍa relations may be respected on account of their universal acceptance. Even the Special Marriage Act of 1872 prescribes that there can be no marriage between parties when they trace descent to a common ancestor who is the great-grandfather or great-grandmother (or who is nearer even than these) of any one of them.

Sagotra relationship is in one direction wider than sapiṇḍa relationship and narrower than it in another so far as marriage is concerned. A man cannot marry the daughter of any sagotra, however distant the sagotra may be. Similarly even an adopted man cannot marry the daughter of a sagotra of his genitive father for two reasons, firstly because, though on adoption he becomes severed from his natural family for inheritance and offering of piṇḍa (vide Manu IX. 142), his other relationships with the natural family remain intact; and secondly because Manu (III. 5) says that the girl must not be a sagotra of the bridegroom's father (and so even if by adoption a man goes into another gotra, it is the father's gotra that is to be considered). Sapiṇḍa relationship prohibiting marriage extends only to seven or five generations, but prohibitions on the ground of sagotra relationship extend to any number of generations. On the other hand sapiṇḍas may be either of the same gotra(i. e. sagotra) or of a different gotra (i.e. bhinnagotra). Thus up to a certain limit sapiṇḍas include both *sagotras* and *bhinnagotras*. The latter are called bandhus by the Mit.; they are all cognate relations and have an important place in inheritance. We have seen (p. 436–37) that sagotra marriages were totally forbidden in the sūtras (in the śrauta sūtras like Lāṭyāyana śrauta and in gṛhya and dharma sūtras). A passage of the Śat. Br. (quoted above at p. 461) is relied upon by Professors Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index vol. I. p. 236) for holding that marriages within the third and fourth degrees on both maternal and paternal sides were allowed in the days of the Śatapatha and that therefore a man could marry in those days his paternal uncle's daughter. This latter is a startling proposition. The passage in the Śat. Br. is no doubt expressed in general words ('one may be united in the third or fourth generation'). But that passage is generally applicable even if only a marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter is meant. The passage does not expressly allow paternal cousins' marriages. The dharma-sūtras prohibit sagotra marriages. Both the learned Professors, as most western scholars do, probably hold that

the Śatapatha is not separated from the sūtras by more than a few centuries. If a paternal uncle's daughter had been eligible for marriage in the times of the Śatapatha, but became forbidden in the times of the sūtras we shall have to suppose that an usage died out from one end of the country to another and an opposite usage became prevalent throughout within a few centuries. The smṛtis are not afraid of stating ancient practices which they themselves do not accept (i. e. *niyoga*). The smṛtis do not say that marriages with paternal uncle's daughters were ever allowed anywhere. So it appears that the Śatapatha is not referring to marriage with paternal uncle's daughter, but to marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. It must however be pointed out that Aparārka (pp. 15. 63), the Sm. C. (I. p. 12), Par. M. I. part 1 p. 133 and other digests quote a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa [1167] that sagotra and sapiṇḍa marriages are forbidden in the Kali age. It may be argued with some force that this implies that sagotra marriages once took place. But there are various ways of explaining this. It is possible that in the purāṇa the word gotra is not used in the technical sense, but only in the sense of family or surname. Among śūdras there is no gotra in the strict sense, but they also do not marry a girl who is believed to be of the same family, though the exact relationships or generations are not known. Besides it has been shown above that if a woman was a putrikā or married in the Gāndharva or Āsura form she retained the gotra of her father and the son of the putrikā would have the gotra of his maternal grand-father and yet being of a different family his marriage with the daugther of a sagotra of the maternal grand-father might have taken place in ancient times and was forbidden in the Kali age by the purāṇa. Similarly the implied reference to marriages of sapiṇḍas as taking place in former ages has probably marriage with maternal uncle's daughter in view. When in the kalivarjya texts it is said 'these dharmas are declared to be prohibited by the sages in the Kali age' (vide Vyavahāra-mayūkha p. 242), it is not proper to argue that everyone of the practices forbidden in the kali age was valid in former ages. All that is meant seems to be that most of them were allowed in former ages and these along with others enumerated are not to be practised in the Kali age, just

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1167. सगोत्राद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा। नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in अपरार्क pp. 15 and 63 &c.

as when in a crowd many have umbrellas and a few have not, a speaker still says with reference to the whole crowd 'chatriṇo gacchanti' (here go persons with umbrellas).

There are certain other prohibitions about marriage. The Smṛtimuktāphala [1168] quotes a verse of Hārīta that one should not give one's daughter in exchange to another's son and receive that other's daughter in marriage for one's son, one should not give two daughters to the same man (at the same time), nor should one give one's two daughters to two persons who are brothers. But these dicta will now certainly be held as merely recommendatory. Besides there is no objection in India in modern times to marrying the deceased wife's sister, though even in England the deceased wife's sister could not be married until 1907 (when the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act, 1907, Edw. 7 chap. 47 legalised such marriages).

The next question is as to who have power to arrange for the marriage of a girl and to give her away. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (24. 38–39) specifies the order of persons who are entitled to exercise this right of guardianship in marriage 'the father, the paternal grand-father, a brother, a kinsman, a maternal grand-father and the mother are the persons, by whom the girl may be given away in marriage. In the absence of the preceding one (the right) devolves upon the next in order, in case he is able'. Yāj. (I. 63–64) gives a slightly different order viz. he omits the maternal grand-father and adds that the right can be exercised only when the guardian is not affected by lunacy and similar defects and that in the absence of these the girl should perform svayaṁvara (i. e. choose a husband herself). Nārada[1169]

1168. प्रत्युद्वाहो नैव कार्यो नैकस्मै दुहितृद्वयम् । न चैकजातयोः पुंसोः प्रयच्छेद्दुहितृद्वयम् ॥ स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 148) ; vide also सं. प्र. 725–26 quoting प्रयोगपारिजात for similar verses ; सं. कौ. p. 694 quotes almost the same verse as नारद's. We know from the Mahābhārata Ādiparva that Bhīṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśī for his *protégé* Vicitravīrya and got two of them married to him. Similarly the Sinda chief Cāvuṇḍa appears to have married Lakṣmādevī and Siriyādevī, the two daughters of Kalacurya Bijjala, at the same time (E. I. vol. 20 pp. 109, 111, dated śake 1109).

1169. पिता दद्यात्स्वयं कन्यां भ्राता वानुमते पितुः । पितामहो मातुलश्च सकुल्या बान्धवास्तथा ॥ माता त्वभावे सर्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदि वर्तते । तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां दद्युः कन्यां सनाभयः । यदि तु नैव कश्चित्स्यात्कन्या राजानमाश्रयेत् । अनुज्ञया तस्य वरं प्रतीत्य वरयेत्स्वयम् ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 20–22).

(strīpuṁsa verses 20–22) gives the order as father, brother (with father's consent), paternal grand-father, maternal uncle, agnates, cognates, mother (if sound in mind and body), then distant relations, then the maiden may perform svayaṁvara with the king's permission. To give away a girl in marriage was not only a right but was rather a heavy responsibility, as (Yāj. I. 64) and others declare that if a girl is not got married by the guardian at the proper time the latter incurs the sin of the murder of an embryo. The practice of svayaṁvara is well known from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, but it was confined mostly to the princely families. Manu (IX. 90–91) required a girl to wait for three years after she became marriageable before she could choose her husband herself. But Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 40 says that a girl should wait only for three monthly periods after she attains puberty and that after that period she has full power to dispose of herself in marriage as she thinks best.

There are no rules in the smṛtis as to who is to arrange the marriage of a male, since in ancient times they did not contemplate the marriages of minor males.

The mother has been put low in the order of guardians probably because of the dependent status assigned to women and because of the fact that in the ceremony of *kanyādāna* she cannot personally engage but has to get it done through some male relative. The courts in modern India, however, have held that the mother is entitled to select a husband for her daughter even when the girl's paternal grand-father is living, though the actual gift may be made by a male. Vide *Bai Ramkore v. Jamnadas*, I. L. R. 37 Bom. 18, where Yāj. I. 63 is interpreted as only laying down who are to make a gift of the girl and as not intended to take away altogether the mother's right of selecting a bridegroom in favour of even distant relations. Vide also *Indi v. Ghania* (I. L. R. 1 Lahore 146), *Jawani v. Mula Ram* (I. L. R. 3 Lahore 29, where it was held that, after the father, the mother of a girl has the preferential right to select a bridegroom for her and that she is under no obligation to consult the girl's paternal kindred such as a paternal uncle), *Ranganaiki v. Ramanuja* I. L. R. 35 Mad. 728, (where all the authorities are examined). The Dharmasindhu states the important proposition that when the girl performs svayaṁvara or when the mother is to give away the girl in marriage, the girl or mother should perform the Nāndīśrāddha and the principal saṁkalpa is to be pronounced by her and the rest of the

rite is to be performed through a brāhmaṇa.[1170] Nārada states the general rule that if anything is done by one who is afflicted with lunacy or similar defects, what he does is as if not done. So a marriage settled even by the father if he is a lunatic need not be performed.[1171] If an unauthorized person (like a maternal uncle) were to give away a girl in marriage though her father is alive and fit, what is the result? The digests state[1171a] that if the marriage has been completed by the performance of *saptapadī*, it cannot be set aside merely on the ground of the want of authority in the giver, since marriage rites are the principal matter and the authority to give is a very subsidiary matter, the absence of which cannot affect the principal matter. But before the marriage takes place a person who wants to give away a girl, though persons better qualified exist, can be prevented from doing so. Courts in modern India have followed these rules, relying on the doctrine of '*factum valet quod fieri non debuit*' (what ought not to be done when done is valid) and holding that when once a marriage is duly solemnized and is otherwise valid, it is not rendered invalid because it was brought about without the consent of the proper guardian for marriage or in contravention of an express order of the court. Vide *Khushalchand v. Bai Mani* (I. L. R. 11 Bombay 247) and *Bai Diwali v. Moti* (I. L. R. 22 Bom. 509).

A few words must be said about the sale of girls in marriage. We read in the Maitrāyaṇīya S. I. 10. 11 'she indeed commits falsehood (or sin) who being purchased by her husband roams about with other males.'[1172] There is another passage of the Veda relied upon along with the above by the *pūrvapakṣa* (the plausible view-point) in Jaimini (VI. 1. 10–11) which denies that women have a right to

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1170. कन्यास्वयंवरे मातुर्दातृत्वे च ताभ्यामेव नान्दीश्राद्धं कार्यं तत्र माता कन्या वा स्वयं प्रधानसङ्कल्पमात्रं कृत्वा अन्यद् ब्राह्मणद्वारा कारयेत्। धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 251. These words are taken from the प्रयोगपारिजात; vide निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 306.

1171. यदाह नारदः। स्वतन्त्रोपि हि यत्कार्यं कुर्यादप्रकृतिं गतः। तदप्यकृतमेव स्यादस्वातन्त्र्यस्य हेतुतः॥ अपरार्क p. 92 on या. I. 63.

1171 a. यदि तु विवाहो निवृत्तस्तदा प्रधानस्य निष्पन्नत्वेनाधिकारवैकल्यान्न तस्य पुनरावृत्तिरिति। उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 127 ; यदि तु सप्तपदीविवाहहोमादि प्रधानं जातं तदङ्गवैकल्येनापि नावृत्तिर्विवाहस्य। गौडा अप्येवमाहुः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 307 ; vide also सं. र. मा. p. 497 to the same effect.

1172. अनृतं वै सत्यं यज्ञोऽनृतं स्त्री अनृतं वा एषा करोति या पत्युः क्रीता सत्यथान्यैश्चरति। मैत्रा. सं. I. 10. 11.

take part in Vedic sacrifices, viz. 'one should give to the daughter's father a hundred (cows) plus a chariot.' Jaimini replies (VI. 1. 15) that the giving of a hundred with a chariot is not for purchasing a bride, but it is only a duty and a hundred must be offered as a present (whether the girl is beautiful or not).[1173] This shows that, even if some girls were purchased for marriage in the times of the Maitrāyaṇīya S., there was a popular revulsion of sentiment about this practice and the sale of girls was severely condemned by the time of the sūtrakāras. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10–11) also makes interesting remarks on this point [1174] " there is no gift and the incidents of purchase about one's children; in marriage the gift ordained by Veda to be made to the daughter's father in the words 'therefore one should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot to the girl's father and that (gift) should be made to belong to the (married) couple' is due to the desire (of the father to give a status to the daughter and her sons) and is meant as a fulfilment of duty (and not as a sale transaction). The word 'purchase' applied to such a transaction is merely figurative, since the relationship (as husband and wife) arises (not from the so called purchase but) from *dharma*." Vas. Dh. S. (I. 36–37) quotes the two passages of the Veda (from Mait. S. and the other about the gift of one hundred cows) in support of the Mānuṣa (i. e. Āsura) form of marriage. The Nirukta VI. 9 [1175] while explaining Ṛg. I. 109. 2 ('O Indra and Agni, I have heard you to be greater donors than a partially fit son-in-law or a brother-in-law') remarks that "the word 'vijāmātā' means among the southerners the husband of a woman who is purchased; what is meant is that he is a

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1173. शबर on जै. VI. 1. 10 puts the पूर्वपक्ष view as 'क्रयविक्रयसंयुक्ता हि स्त्रियः। पित्रा विक्रीयन्ते भर्त्रा क्रीयन्ते : ...... विक्रयो हि श्रूयते 'शतमतिरथं दुहितृमते दद्यात्।' &c. and on जै. VI. 1. 11 he says 'या पत्या क्रीता सत्यथान्यैश्चरतीति क्रीततां दर्शयति'. क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्। जै. VI. 1. 15 ; शबर 'यस्तु क्रयः श्रूयते धर्ममात्रं तु तत्। नासौ क्रय इति। ...... नियतं त्विदं दानम्। शतमतिरथं शोभनामशोभनां च कन्यां प्रति।'.

1174. दानं क्रयधर्मश्चापत्यस्य न विद्यते। विवाहे दुहितृमते दानं काम्यं धर्मार्थं श्रूयते तस्माद् दुहितृमतेऽतिरथं शतं देयं तन्मिथुया कुर्यादिति तस्यां क्रयशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रं धर्माद्धि संबन्धः। आप. ध. सूत्र. II. 6. 13. 10–11. The words तन्मिथुया कुर्यात् are translated in S.B.E. II. p. 132 as 'that gift he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver)'.

1175. अश्रवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वां विजामातुरुत वा घा स्यालात्। (ऋ. I. 109. 2)... अश्रौषं हि बहुदातृतरौ वां विजामातुः असुसमाप्ताज्जामातुः। विजामाता इति शश्वद् दाक्षिणाजाः क्रीतापतिमाचक्षते। असुसमाप्त इव वरोऽभिप्रेतः। निरुक्त VI. 9.

bridegroom who is deficient and not endowed with all good qualities." So Yāska implies that in the south girls were sold for substantial sums of money to persons who (either because they were old or wanting in some qualities desirable in a good bridegroom) were therefore really deficient as bridegrooms. In the Nirukta (III. 4) while discussing the several views about the obscure verse of the Ṛgveda III. 31. 1 (śāsad-vahnir &c.) one of the reasons assigned for the view that women do not inherit is that gift, sale and abandonment in the case of women exist, but not in the case of men, to which some reply that these (gift, sale &c.) can be made of males also as is seen in the story of Śunaḥśepa (in the Ait. Br. 33, Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 3, Tai. Br. I. 7. 10.).

These passages lead to the inference that in ancient times girls were sometimes purchased for marriage, as was the case in many other countries. But gradually public feeling entirely changed and not only was the sale of daughters by the father or brother severely condemned, but even taking of presents by them was looked down upon. Āp. Dh. S. has already been quoted above (note 1174). The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 11. 20-21)[1176] quotes two verses 'that woman who is purchased with wealth is not declared to be a legally wedded wife (a *patnī*); she is not (to be associated with the husband) in rites for the gods or manes and Kaśyapa declares that she is a *dāsī* (slave girl). Those, who, blinded by greed, give their daughters in marriage for a fee (*śulka*), are sinners, sellers of their own selves and perpetrators of great sin and they fall into hell &c.' In another place Baud. says 'he who gives his daughter (in marriage) by sale (as a chattel) sells his merit (*puṇya*)'. Manu (III. 51, 54-55) strikes[1177] a tender note about daughters when he says 'a father should not take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; if he takes a gratuity through greed he becomes the seller of his child; when relations do not take for themselves wealth given by the bridegroom as gratuity (but hand it over to the girl) there is no sale (of the girl); the wealth so taken is for

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1176. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । क्रीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते । सा न दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासीं तां काश्यपोऽब्रवीत् ॥ शुल्केन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः । आत्मविक्रयिणो पापा महाकिल्बिषकारकाः ॥ पतन्ति नरके घोरे घ्नन्ति चासप्तमं कुलम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 20-22; सुकृतांशान्वा एष विक्रीणीते यः पणमानो दुहितरं ददाति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 79.

1177. अनुशासन 46. 2-3 are the same as मनु III. 54-55.

honouring the maidens and is only taken from the bridegroom out of loving concern for them. Fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law desiring their own welfare should honour women and should give them ornaments'. Manu (IX. 98) further recommends that 'even a śūdra should not take a gratuity when giving his daughter (in marriage), since in taking a gratuity he clandestinely sells his daughter'. Yāj. III. 236, Manu XI. 61 include the sale of children among upapātakas. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 93. 133 and 94. 3) condemns the taking of a gratuity for giving a girl and Anuśāsana (45. 18–19) speaks of *gāthās* of Yama contained in dharma-śāstras 'whoever sells his son for a price, or gives a daughter for the sake of his own liveli-hood in return for a gratuity, would fall into a most horrible hell called Kālasūtra'. Verse 23 of the same chapter says 'even a stranger cannot be sold, what of one's own children'. Verse 20 (= Manu III. 53) condemns even the ārṣa form of marriage as a sale because a pair of cattle is therein taken by the girl's father. In Kerala or Malabar it is believed that the great teacher Śaṁkara laid down 64 *ācāras*, among which are prohibition of the sale of girls, prohibition of *satī* &c. *Vide* I. A. vol. IV, pp. 255–256 and also Atri v. 389 and Āp. (in verse) IX. 25 (ed. by Jivānanda). This practice, however, persisted till modern times. For example, in an inscription dated about 1425[1178] A. D. from Paḍaivīḍu (North Arcot District) we find an agreement signed by the representatives of Karṇāṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa (South Gujarat) brāhmaṇas that they would give up taking gold for their daughters and get them married by the simple *kanyādāna* (the Brāhma form) and that the father who accepted gold and the bridegroom who paid gold were to be punished by the king and were to be excommunicated from the brāhmaṇa caste. The Peshwa[1179] issued orders (about 1800 A. D.) addressed to the brāhmaṇas of Wai (in the Satara District) forbidding them to take money for giving their daughters in marriage and prescribing fines for the father

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1178. *Vide* South Indian Inscriptions (ed. by Hultzsch, 1890) No. 56.

1179. Vide काव्येतिहाससंग्रह, पत्रें यादी No. 145, pp. 121–122 (of first edition) and No. 470 p 425 (of the 2nd edition of 1930). The most important portion is set out here 'प्रान्त वाई येथें ब्राह्मण ज्ञातींत कोणी कन्येचे रुपये घेऊन विवाह करूं नये, जो कन्येचा ऐवज घेईल त्याजपासून दुप्पट व जो देईल त्यानें कन्येचे बापास रुपये दिले असतील तितके व मध्यस्ती करून पैका घेईल तो ऐवज त्याजपासून सरकारांत घेतला जाईल. याप्रमाणें ज्ञातीस व जमीदार व धर्माधिकारी व उपाध्ये जोशी व पाटील कुलकर्णी यांस लिहून ताकीद करावी'.

who took money, for the giver and the intermediary who brought about the marriage. Among certain castes and among the śūdras even now money or money's worth is often taken when a daughter is married, but generally the money is meant as a provision for the girl and for defraying the expenses of the girl's father.

The question of the sale of girls in marriage has been from the remotest ages bound up with the question of the father's power over his children Ṛg. I. 116. 16[1180] and I. 117. 17 refer to the story of Ṛjrāśva who was deprived of his eye-sight by his father because the former gave a hundred rams to a she-wolf. The verses refer to some natural phenomena under a metaphorical garb and cannot be used for drawing the inference that a father could in law deprive his son of eye-sight at his will. The story of Śunaḥśepa (Ait. Br. 33) shows that in rare cases the father did sell his son. The passage of the Nirukta about the power to sell, to gift away or to abandon daughters has been already cited (p. 505). The Vas. Dh. S.[1181] (XVII. 30–31) says 'Śunaḥśepa is an example of the son bought' (one of the twelve kinds of sons). The same sūtra (XVII. 36–37) defines the *apaviddha* kind of son as one, who being cast off by his parents, is accepted (as a son) by another. Manu IX. 171 also defines the 'apaviddha' in the same way. Vas. Dh. S. (XV. 1–3) propounds the absolute power of the parents over their children in the words 'man produced from seed and uterine blood springs from the father and the mother; (therefore) the parents have power to give, to sell or to abandon him; but one should not give nor accept an only son'. Here Vas. states the right of *patria potestas* several centuries before Justinian, who makes the vain boast (Institutes, Lib. I. Tit. IX. 2) that 'no other people have a power over their children such as we have over ours'. Manu (VIII. 416) and the Mahābhārata[1182] (Udyoga 33. 64) both state that the wife, the son and the slave are without wealth and that whatever they acquire belongs to him whose they are. Manu (in V. 152) says that 'gift (by the father of the bride) is the source of (the husband's) ownership (over her)'. But gradually the

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1180. शतं मेषान्वृकये चक्षदानमृज्राश्वं तं पितान्धं चकार । ऋ. I. 116. 16.

1181. क्रीतस्तृतीयः । तच्छुनःशेपेन व्याख्यातम् । ...... अपविद्धः पञ्चमः । यं माता पितृभ्यामपास्तं गृह्णीयात् । वसिष्ठ XVII. 30–31 and 36–37.

1182. Śabara on जै. VI. 1. 12 quotes the verse भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416. Compare Nārada VIII. 41.

rigour of the father's power was lessened by other competing considerations such as the ideas that the son was the father himself born again, and that the son conferred great spiritual benefit on the souls of the father and his ancestors by the balls of rice offered in *śrāddha*. So gradually the father's power over the son became restricted. Kauṭilya (III. 13) gives the interesting information that *mlecchas* incur no blame by selling or pledging their children, but an *ārya* cannot be reduced to the state of slavery. Yāj. II. 175 and Nārada (dattāpradānika 4) both forbid the gift of one's son or wife. Kātyāyana [1183] says that though the father has powers of control over the wife and the son, he has not the power to sell or make a gift of his son. Yāj. (II. 118-119) modified the rule about the son's acquisitions also. Manu VIII. 389 prescribes a fine of 600 *paṇas* for abandoning one's mother, father, wife or son when they are not sinners. Vide Yāj. II. 237, Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 113-114, Kauṭilya III. 20 (p. 199) for a similar provision. Manu (VIII. 299-300) restricted a man's power to award corporal punishment for misconduct to his wife, son or slave to striking with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo.

One question discussed by dharmasūtra writers is whether one has ownership over one's wife and children. In Jaimini [1184] (VI. 7. 1-2) it is decided that in the Viśvajit sacrifice where one is to give away all that one has, one cannot give away one's parents and other relatives as one can make a gift only of what one is master of. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 175 says 'though one cannot make a gift of one's wife or child to another, one is still owner of them.' The Vīramitrodaya [1185] (*vyavahāra* p. 567) is of the same opinion. On the other hand the Tantraratna (of Pārthasārathimiśra) says that the word gift with reference to the son and the like is used only in a secondary sense viz. that of passing to another the power of control over the son

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1183. सुतस्य सुतदाराणां वशित्वं त्वनुशासने। विक्रये चैव दाने च वशित्वं न सुते पितुः। कात्यायन quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 132) and परा. मा. III. p. 219.

1184. स्वदाने सर्वमविशेषात्। यस्य वा प्रभुः स्यादितरस्याशक्यत्वात्। जै. VI. 7. 1-2. शबर says तस्मान्न पित्रादयो देयाः। तस्माद्यत्रैव प्रभुत्वयोगेन स्वत्वं तदेव देयमिति।

1185. एतद्देयत्वमात्राभिप्रायेण न पुनः स्वत्वाभावाभिप्रायेण। पुत्रदारसर्वस्वप्रतिश्रुतेषु स्वत्वस्य सद्भावात्। मिता० on या. II. 175; अत एव पुत्रकन्यादानादिविधयो मुख्यार्था एव न पुत्रादिपरतन्त्रीकरणरूपगौणदानार्थाः। वीरमित्रोदय p. 567 (Jiv. व्यवहार); गवादाविव भार्यायां स्वत्वाभावेन तस्यामुत्पन्नेऽपत्ये तदभावात्। व्य. म. p. 92 (my edition).

or the daughter. The Vyavahāramayūkha is also of the same opinion.

A few words may be said about infanticide. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas' vol. I. (1906) pp. 393–413 furnishes an exhaustive account of this practice in ancient and modern times among barbarous and civilised communities from various countries, e. g. in Sparta (for the purpose of securing strong and healthy fighters), among the Rajputs (from family pride and fear of the crushing burden of expenses at marriage).[1186] He is wrong in saying that in the Vedic times infanticide or exposure of children was practised. Ṛg. II. 29. 1 [1187] is of no use on this point; it says 'cast off from me sin as a woman who secretly gives birth to a child (casts it off).' This is not a reference to infanticide of children born in wedlock, but refers to the exposure of a child by an unmarried woman which is clandestinely practised everywhere and as regards which even in England a very lenient attitude is shown as manifested by the passing of the Infanticide Act (12 and 13 Geo. V. Chap. 18). The most important passage on which some European scholars like Zimmer and Delbrück rely upon for this proposition is Tai. S. VI. 5. 10. 3 'They go to the *avabhṛtha*[1188] (the final sacrificial bath); they keep aside the *sthālīs* (pots) and take up the vessels for vāyu : therefore they (the people) keep aside the girl when she is born and lift up (i. e. greet with pride and joy) the son'. This simply refers to the fact that a daughter was not greeted as much as the son. It has nothing to do with exposure or infanticide. That passage only expresses the sentiment contained in the Ait. Br.[1189] (33. 1)

1186. Vide Tod's 'Annals and antiquities of Rājasthān' (Calcutta edition) vol. I. pp. 659–665 (for infanticide among Rajputs), 'Indian Infanticide' by J. C. Browne (1857), Dr. John Wilson's 'History of the suppression of infanticide in Western India' (1855) in which he refers at length to a prize-essay of Dr. Bhau Daji, written in 1844. Winternitz 'Die Frau' pp. 24–25. Vide the Female Infanticide Prevention Act VIII. of 1878 (in India)

1187. आरे मत्कर्त रहसूरिवागः। ऋ. II. 29. 1.

1188. अवभृथमवयन्ति परा स्थालीरस्यन्ति उद्वायव्यानि हरन्ति तस्मात् स्त्रियं जातां परास्यन्ति उत्पुमांसं हरन्ति। तै. सं VI. 5. 10. 3. The निरुक्त III. 4 quotes this last sentence. Vide Vedic Index, vol. I. p. 487 for references to the views of Zimmer and others.

1189. सखा ह जाया कृपणं हि दुहिता ज्योतिर्ह पुत्रः परमे व्योमन्। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1. आत्मा पुत्रः सखा भार्या कृच्छ्रं तु दुहिता किल। आदिपर्व 159. 11. Compare मनु IV. 184–185 'भार्या पुत्रः स्वका तनुः॥ छाया स्वो दासवर्गश्च दुहिता कृपणं परम्।

'the wife is indeed a friend, the daughter is distress (or humiliation), the son is light in the highest heaven'. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 159. 11) in a similar vein says 'the son is one's self, the wife is one's friend, but the daughter is indeed a difficulty'. But all the same the Gṛhyasūtras like Āp. (15. 13) call upon the father to greet his daughter also with a mantra when he returned from a journey, the differance being that in the case of the son there is kissing of the son's head and muttering of certain mantras in his right ear. Manu (IX. 232) advises the king to award death sentence to him who kills a woman, a child or a brāhmaṇa. Manu IX. 130 (=Anuśāsana 45. 11) expressly says that 'just as the son is one's own self, so is the daughter like the son; how can another person take the wealth (of the deceased) when his daughter who is his own self is there to take it'? Nārada[1190] (dāyabhāga v. 50) reasons that both the son and the daughter continue the line of the father and therefore in the absence of the son the daughter succeeds as heir. Bṛhaspati exclaims 'the daughter is born from the limbs of the parents as much as the son; when she is alive how can another take her father's estate'? Bāṇa, who as a great poet had unparalleled sympathy with the emotions and feelings of the average man, makes even the king Prabhākaravardhana say about his daughter what every Indian father has felt for thousands of years 'this rule of law laid down by some one viz. that one's own children (daughters) sprung from one's body, fondled on one's knees and whom one would never forsake, are taken away all of a sudden by persons (husbands) who till then were quite unfamiliar. It is on account of this sorrow that although both (son and daughter) are one's own children the good feel sorrow when a daughter is born and who offer water in the form of tears to their daughters at the very time of their birth'. A daughter was not greeted at birth, not because the father had no love for her, but because

1190. पुत्राभावे तु दुहिता तुल्यसंतानदर्शनात् । पुत्रश्च दुहिता चोभौ पितुः संतानकारकौ ॥ नारद (दायभाग 50); अङ्गादङ्गात् संभवति पुत्रवद्दुहिता नृणाम् । तस्यां पितृधनं त्वन्यः कथं गृह्णीत मानवः ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 743; केनापि कृता धर्म्या नाभिमता मे स्थितिरियं यदङ्गसंभूतान्यङ्कलालितान्यपरित्याज्यान्यपत्यकान्यकाण्ड एवागत्यासंस्तुतैर्नीयन्ते । ...... यदपत्यत्वे समानेऽपि दूयन्ते सन्तः । एतदर्थं जन्मकाल एव कन्यकाभ्यः प्रयच्छन्ति सलिलमश्रुभिः साधवः । हर्षचरित 4th Ucchvāsa. कन्यापितृत्वं दुःखं हि सर्वेषां मानकाङ्क्षिणाम् । न ज्ञायते च कः कन्यां वरयेदिति कन्यके ॥ मातुः कुलं पितृकुलं यत्र चैव च दीयते । कुलत्रयं सदा कन्या संशये स्थाप्य तिष्ठति ॥ रामायण (उत्तरकाण्ड 9. 10–11.). उद्योगपर्व 97. 16 has मातुःकुलं ...... कुलत्रयं संशयितं कुरुते कन्यका सताम् ।

he felt that a daughter meant a source of anxiety all her life to him. It was the great concern felt for a daughter's well-being in life and her character that made the parents anxious that no daughter be born to them. Society expected a very high moral rectitude from women and treated lapses of men with leniency. This is finely expressed in the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara-kāṇḍa 9. 10–11). Ancient literature did not everywhere treat women with scorn and contempt. It has already been shown how highly the wife was regarded even in the most ancient days as a man's half. Ṛg. III. 53. 4 speaks of the wife as a haven of rest (jāyed-astam). The Chān. Up.[1191] looks upon the sight of a woman in a dream as very auspicious and as prognosticating success in religious rites already undertaken. Manu (III. 56 = Anuśāsana 46. 5), though he has said, as will be shown later on, some very hard things about women, was not unmindful of the honour due to them and says in a chivalrous spirit 'where women are honoured there the gods love to reside; where they are not honoured, there all religious acts come to nought.' Maidens were regarded as pure (vide p. 296 above) and auspicious. When the king passed through his capital it was customary to greet him with fried grain showered by maidens (Raghuvaṁśa II. 10). The Śaunaka-kārikā[1192] (ms. in Bombay University Library folio 22 b) includes a maiden among the eight objects which were auspicious. The Droṇaparva (82. 20–22) mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious when starting for battle, among which well-decked maidens are mentioned. Gobhila-smṛti II. 163 says that one that sees on rising from bed in the morning among others a woman whose husband is living is free from all difficulties. The Vāmana-purāṇa (14. 35–36) mentions several objects which are auspicious when one is about to leave home, among which figure brāhmaṇa maidens. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 168.

Some remarks must be made about the times auspicious for marriage. In the marriage hymn (Ṛgveda[1193] X. 85. 13) the

1191. स यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समृद्धं कर्मेति विद्यात् । तदेष श्लोकः । यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति । समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन् स्वप्ननिदर्शने ॥ छान्दोग्य V. 2. 7–8. This passage is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2. 4.

1192. दर्पणः पूर्णकलशः कन्या सुमनसोऽक्षताः । दीपमाला ध्वजा लाजाः संप्रोक्तं चाष्टमङ्गलम् ॥ शौनककारिका.

1193. अघासु हन्यन्ते गावो फल्गुन्योः पर्युह्यते । ऋ. X. 85. 13 and अथर्व XIV. 1. 13. कौशिकसूत्र 75. 5 quotes these words. मघाभिर्गावो गृह्यन्ते । फल्गुनीभ्यां व्यूह्यते । आप. गृ. 3. 1–2.

words occur 'the cows are killed on the Aghās and (the bride) is carried away (from her father's house) on the Phalgunīs'. The cow was killed in Madhuparka which was offered to the bridegroom on the day of marriage. Or this may be a reference to the giving of cows by the bridegroom to the bride's father (as in the form later called ārṣa). So it appears probable that this is a reference to marriage being performed on the day when the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Aghās (i. e. Maghā). The two Phalgunīs follow immediately after the Maghā nakṣatra. There is an echo of this in the Āp. gṛ. III. 1–2 which says 'cows are accepted on the Maghās and (the bride) is carried (to the bridegroom's house) on the Phalgunīs'. This means that the marriage (probably in the ārṣa form) is celebrated on the Maghās and the bride goes from her father's house on the next day after marriage or after one day more. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 4. 1) says [1194] that 'in the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious lunar mansion, caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage are to be performed and that according to some teachers marriage may be celebrated at all times' (not necessarily in northward passage &c). The Āp. gṛ. (2. 12–13) prescribes that all seasons except the two months of Śiśira (i. e. Māgha and Phālguna) and the last of the two months of summer (viz. Āṣāḍha) are fit for marriage and all nakṣatras which are declared to be auspicious (or holy). Āp. gṛ. further [1195] adds (3. 3) 'a father who desires that his daughter should be dear (to her husband) should give her in marriage on the Niṣṭyā (i. e. Svāti constellation); thus she becomes dear (to her husband), she does not return (to her parent's house); this is a procedure based upon the Brāhmaṇa passage.' The Brāhmaṇa passage is Tai. Br. I. 5, 2. The Baud. gṛ. (I. 1. 18–19) is the same [1196] as Āp. gṛ. about months and adds that the nakṣatras for marriage are Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Uttarā Phalgunī, Svāti; while Punarvasu,

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1194. उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः। सार्वकालमेके विवाहम्। आश्व. गृ. I. 4. 1–2; शाङ्खायनगृह्य I. 5. 5 is to the same effect.

1195. यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्ट्यायां दद्यात् प्रियैव भवति नैव तु पुनरागच्छति इति ब्राह्मणावेक्षो विधिः। आप. गृ. 3. 3. The words यां...गच्छति occur in तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. भरद्वाजगृ. I. 12. quotes the ब्राह्मणवाक्य.

1196. सर्वे मासा विवाहस्य। शुचितपस्तपस्यवर्जमित्येके। रोहिणी मृगशीर्षमुत्तरे फल्गुनी स्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि। पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः श्रोणा रेवतीत्यन्येषां भूतिकर्मणाम्। बौ. गृ. I. 1. 18–21.

Tiśya (Puṣya), Hasta, Śravaṇa and Revatī are suitable for other ceremonies of an auspicious character. The Mānava gṛ. (I. 7. 5) says that the nakṣatras Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Śravaṇa, Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā) and the Uttarās (i. e. Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarā Phalgunī and Uttarā Bhādrapadā) are fit for marriage and for taking the bride from her parent's house and whatever other (nakṣatra) is declared to be auspicious. Kāṭhaka gṛ. 14. 9-10 and Vārāha gṛ. 10 are similar. The Rāmāyaṇa [1197] (Bālakāṇḍa 72. 13 and 71. 24) speaks of marriage being performed on Uttarā Phalgunī, of which Bhaga is the deity. The Mahābhārata also speaks of marriage on a nakṣatra presided over by Bhaga (Ādiparva 8. 16). The Kauśika sūtra (75. 2-4) makes an approach to modern practice when it prescribes that marriage should be celebrated after the full moon of Kārtika and up to the full moon of Vaiśākha or one may do as one likes but should avoid the month or half month of *Caitra.* [1198]

Medieval digests introduce many detailed rules derived from astrology which it is not possible to set out here. A few only will be indicated. The Udvāhatattva (p. 124) quotes Rājamārtaṇḍa [1199] and Bhuja-balabhīma to the effect that all months are auspicious for marriage except Caitra and Pauṣa and that when a girl is very much grown-up one should not wait for auspicious seasons, but she should be given away on any day when the moon and the zodiacal sign rising at the moment of marriage are favourable, and that one should go into questions of auspicious *ayana*, month, day &c. up to only the tenth year of girls. The Saṁskāraratnamālā (p. 460) says that as there is conflict among the dicta of sūtra and smṛti

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1197. मघा ह्यद्य महाबाहो तृतीये दिवसे प्रभो। फल्गुन्यामुत्तरे राजंस्तस्मिन्वैवाहिकं कुरु॥ उत्तरे दिवसे ब्रह्मन् फल्गुनीभ्यां मनीषिणः। वैवाहिकं प्रशंसन्ति भगो यत्र प्रजापतिः॥ बालकाण्ड 71. 24 and 72. 13. According to the तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 2. भग is the देवता of उत्तराफल्गुनी.

1198. ऊर्ध्वं कार्तिक्या आ वैशाख्याः। याथाकामी वा। चित्रापक्षं तु वर्जयेत्। कौशिकसूत्र 75. 2-4.

1199. राजमार्तण्डीये। राजग्रस्ते तथा युद्धे पितॄणां प्राणसंशये। अतिप्रौढा च या कन्या नानुकूल्यं प्रतीक्षते। अतिवृद्धा च या कन्या कुलधर्मविरोधिनी। अविशुद्धापि सा देया चन्द्रलग्नबलेन तु। भुजबलभीमे। ग्रहशुद्धिमब्दशुद्धिं शुद्धिं मासायनर्तुदिवसानाम्। अर्वाक्-दशवर्षेभ्यो मुनयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम्। दशवर्षाभ्यन्तरे शुद्धौ ग्रहाब्दादीनां विशेषोपादानात् तदूर्ध्वं तावन्मात्रानियमः। अत्रैव विषये 'मङ्गल्येषु विवाहेषु कन्यासंवरणेषु च। दशमासाः प्रशस्यन्ते चैत्रपौषविवर्जिताः' इति राजमार्तण्डोक्तम्। उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 124.

writers about months one should follow the usage of one's country. One should not celebrate the marriage of the eldest son with the eldest daugter of a man in the month of Jyeṣṭha (or on Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra) nor should one celebrate a marriage in the month of birth or on the day of birth or nakṣatra of birth (of the eldest son or daughter). Wednesday, Monday, Friday and Thursday are the best days of the week, but the Madanapārijāta says that any day is good if the marriage is celebrated at night.[1200] In marriage the moon must be in a strong position for girls. One should avoid Jupiter being the 4th, 8th or 12th from one's rāśi (zodiacal sign in which the moon was at the time of birth). The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a verse that when the girl has reached puberty, then one should not wait till Jupiter is favourable, but marriage should be performed even when Jupiter is 8th from the zodiacal sign of birth, propitiatory rites however being performed for Jupiter.[1201] Upanayana and marriage cannot be performed when Jupiter is in the zodiacal sign called Leo (Siṁha), but this applies only to the tract between the river Godāvarī and the Ganges.[1202] From the nakṣatra and zodiacal sign at the time of birth (in the case of both the girl and the bridegroom) certain astrological calculations were made in eight ways[1203] called kūṭas. They were Varṇa, Vaśya, Nakṣatra, Yoni, Graha (planets governing the twelve rāśis), Gaṇa, Rāśi, and Nāḍī, each later one of which was more powerful than each preceding one and marks (guṇa) from 1 to 8 were respectively assigned to each of these if the conditions laid down were satisfied. Two of these viz. gaṇa and nāḍī are attached great importance even now among brāhmaṇas and other classes also and so they may be illustrated here, though very briefly. The 27 nakṣatras are arranged in three groups of nine each, each group being assigned to Devagaṇa, Manuṣyagaṇa and Rākṣasagaṇa as follows:

1200. सं. र. मा. p. 464 न वारदोषाः प्रभवन्ति रात्रौ इति मदनपारिजाते.

1201. रजस्वलायाः कन्याया गुरुशुद्धिं न चिन्तयेत्। अष्टमेपि प्रकर्तव्यो विवाहस्त्रिगुणार्चनात्॥ निर्णयसिन्धु III Pūrvārdha p. 304.

1202. लल्लः। गोदावर्युत्तरतो यावद्भागीरथीतटं याम्यम्। तत्र विवाहो नेष्टः सिंहस्थे देवपतिपूज्ये॥ ...... भागीरथ्युत्तरे कूले गौतम्या दक्षिणे तथा। विवाहो व्रतबन्धो वा सिंहस्थेज्ये न दुष्यति। इति वसिष्ठेन गङ्गागोदान्तरालातिरिक्तदेशे विवाहव्रतबन्धयोरभ्यनुज्ञानात्। सं. प्र. p. 806.

1203. See सं. प्र. p. 773 ff. and सं. र. मा. 519 ff. for कूटs.

Devagaṇa	Manuṣyagaṇa	Rākṣasagaṇa
Aśvinī	Bharaṇī	Kṛttikā
Mṛgaśiras	Rohiṇī	Āśleṣā
Punarvasu	Ārdrā	Maghā
Puṣya	Pūrvā	Citrā
Hasta	Uttarā	Viśākhā
Svāti	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	Jyeṣṭhā
Anurādhā	Uttarāṣāḍhā	Mūla
Śravaṇa	Pūrvābhādrapadā	Dhaniṣṭhā
Revatī	Uttarābhādrapadā	Śatatārakā

If the bride and bridegroom are born on nakṣatras that belong to the same class out of these three groups it is the best thing but if their nakṣatras of birth belong to different groups, then the rules are: it is middling if their nakṣatras belong to the deva group or the human group respectively, or if the bridegroom's nakṣatra being of the devagaṇa or rākṣasagaṇa, the bride's is of the manuṣyagaṇa, while if the nakṣatra of the bride is of the rākṣasa group and the bridegroom's of the manuṣya type, then death would result. Similarly if the nakṣatras of the pair respectively belong to the deva aud rākṣasa groups, there would be quarrels and enmity between the two.

For the purpose of nāḍī the nakṣatras are divided into three groups of nine each, ādyanāḍī, madhyanāḍī and antyanāḍī, as follows:

Ādyanāḍī	Madhyanāḍī	Antyanāḍī
Aśvinī	Bharaṇī	Kṛttikā
Ārdrā	Mṛgaśiras	Rohiṇī
Punarvasu	Puṣya	Āśleṣā
Uttarā	Pūrvā	Maghā
Hasta	Citrā	Svāti
Jyeṣṭhā	Anurādhā	Viśākhā
Mūla	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	Uttarāṣāḍhā
Śatatārakā	Dhaniṣṭhā	Śravaṇa
Pūrvābhādrapadā	Uttarābhādrapadā	Revatī

If the nakṣatras of the intended pair belong to the same nāḍī, then that portends death and so there is to be no marriage in such a case. The respective nakṣatras of birth in the case of the two should belong to different nāḍīs.

The anxieties of the girls' father did not end here. If after the marriage was settled but before it actually took place any relative in any of the two families died, then the marriage agreement was to be broken off according to some writers, but Śaunaka [1204] mercifully states a more sensible and reasonable rule viz. if the father or mother or paternal grand-father or paternal grand-mother or paternal uncle, brother or unmarried sister of the intended bride or bridegroom dies, or the bride-groom's first wife or his son from another wife dies, then only it is *pratikūla* and the marriage should not be performed, but the death of any one else presents no obstacle.

If before the rites of marriage begin (i. e. before the performance of nāndīśrāddha), the mother of the bride or of the bride-groom has her monthly illness then the marriage has to be postponed till she becomes pure (till the fifth day after the illness).

Forms of marriage: From the times of the gṛhya sūtras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis the forms of marriage are said to be eight, viz. Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca (vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 6, Gaut. IV. 6–13, Baud. Dh. S. I. 11, Manu III. 21 = Ādi-parva 73. 8–9), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24.18–19, Yāj. I. 58, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verses 38–39), Kauṭilya III. 1, 59th prakaraṇa, Ādi-parva 102. 12–15 (they are described but not named); some of these arrange the first four differently, e. g. Āśv. gṛ. arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya and Ārṣa, while Viṣṇu arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa and Prājāpatya; Āśv. gṛ. I. 6 places Paiśāca before Rākṣasa. The Mānava gṛ. speaks of only two Brāhma and Śaulka (i. e. Āsura), probably because these two were the forms most current. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 17–20—II. 5. 12. 1–2) speaks of only six, omitting Prājāpatya and Paiśāca; while Vas. Dh. S. I. 28–29 expressly says that there are only six forms of marriage viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra and Mānuṣa (the last two being the same as Rākṣasa and Āsura). It is impossible for want of space to set out the various definitions of the several forms given by the several authors. There is general agreement on the special characteristics of each and it is sufficient to point out these as given in Manu III. 27–34.

1204. शौनकः । पिता पितामहश्चैव माता चैव पितामही । पितृव्यः स्त्री सुतो भ्राता भगिनी चाविवाहिता । एभिरत्र विपन्नैश्च प्रतिकूलं बुधैः स्मृतम् । अन्यैरपि विपन्नैस्तु केचिदूचुर्न तद्भवेत् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 311.

The gift of a daughter, after decking her (with valuable garments) and honouring her (with jewels &c.), to a man learned in the Vedas and of good conduct, whom the father of the girl himself invites, is called Brāhma. When the father gives away his daughter after decking her (with ornaments &c.) to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, it is the Daiva form.[1205] When there is a gift of one's daughter, after taking one pair of cattle (a cow and a bull) or two pairs only as a matter of fulfilling the law (and not as a sale of the girl), that is named the ārṣa form. The gift of a daughter, after the father has addressed (the couple with the words 'may both of you perform your religious duties together') and after he has honoured the bride-groom (with Madhuparka &c.), is declared to constitute the Prājāpatya form. Yāj. I. 60 calls this 'kāya', because in the Brāhmaṇa works 'ka' means 'Prajāpati'. When the girl is given away at the father's will after the bride-groom gives as much wealth as he can afford to pay to the relatives of the girl and to the girl herself, that is called the Āsura form. The union of a girl and the bride-groom by their mutual consent is known as Gāndharva, which springs from the passion of love and has intercourse as its purpose. The forcible abduction of a maiden from her house, while she weeps and cries aloud, after her kinsmen have been slain (or beaten), wounded and (their houses or fortresses) are broken open, is called the Rākṣasa form. When a man has intercourse with a girl stealthily while she is asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind (or unconscious), that is the Paiśāca form, which is the basest and the most sinful of all forms.

In the first four forms there is the gift of the girl (*kanyādāna*) by the father or other guardian to the bride-groom. The word 'dāna' here is used in a secondary sense (as stated above on p. 504) viz. in the sense of transfer of the father's right of guardianship and control of the maiden to the husband. All gifts are to be made with water in the case of brāhmaṇas as stated by Manu

1205. Baud. Dh. I. 11. 5 दक्षिणासु नीयमानास्वन्तर्वेदि ऋत्विजे स दैवः । According to him the girl becomes part of the *dakṣiṇā* (fee) for officiating. But in the Vedas and Srauta sūtras a bride is nowhere spoken of as dakṣiṇā. Medhātithi on Manu III. 28 is against the idea of the bride being part of the sacrificial fee. Viśvarūpa also says so; but Aparārka p. 89 holds that the girl is given as fee.

(III. 35) and Gaut. V. 16-17.[1206] Similarly in all the four forms where there is *kanyādāna* the girl is to be well dressed and decked with ornaments. The essence of the brāhma form is that the girl is given without receiving anything from the bride-groom, who is invited and honoured by the girl's father. It is called brāhma either because brahma means the holy Veda and this mode being sanctioned by the most ancient texts it is the holiest and best form, or *brahma* means *dharma* and being the best of all forms it is called brāhma (vide Smṛtimuktāphala part I. p. 140). In the ārṣa form a pair of cattle is received from the bride-groom and it is somewhat inferior to the brāhma form. But the pair is given not as a price (i. e. there is no purchase), but because that is one way of effecting a marriage laid down by the śāstras (*vide* the passage quoted above at p. 504 'therefore one should give a hundred cows &c' and Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 11, which is opposed to Vas. Dh. S. I. 36) and the gift is made to show one's regard for the girl (vide Manu III. 53-54). The daiva form is only appropriate to brāhmaṇas as only [1207] a brāhmaṇa could officiate at a sacrifice. It is so called because the bridegroom is engaged at the time in rites for the gods and it is inferior to the brāhma inasmuch as in it there is some trace of benefit to the father (that the priest may do his best in the rite for the gods). Govindasvāmin on Baud. Dh. S. says 'the bride is in this form part of the sacrificial fee'. In all forms of marriage the husband and wife have to perform all religious acts together, as forcibly put by Āp. Dh. S.[1208] (there is no separation between husband and wife, since from the time of taking the hand of the wife there is joint performance of all religious actions). But in the Prājāpatya the words used indicate according to the commentators (vide Saṁ.

1206. स्वस्तिवाच्य भिक्षादानमप्पूर्वम् । दृद्वातिषु चैवं धर्म्येषु । गौतम V. 16-17. Strabo (XV. 1. 54) refers to purchase of a wife in exchange for two oxen.

1207. देवा ऋत्विजस्ते एनमर्हन्तीति दैवः । ...... दक्षिणातिरिक्तं चैतन्न् दानं फलश्रवणात् । ...... मन्त्रद्रष्टारो ब्राह्मणा ऋषयः । ते एनमर्हन्तीत्यार्षः । प्रजोत्पादनेच्छासामान्यात्प्रजापतिः स्नातकः स एनमर्हतीति प्राजापत्यः । विश्वरूप on या I. 59-60.

1208. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु । तथा पुण्यफलेषु द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च । आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 16-18. About प्राजापत्य the सं. कौ. (p. 732) quotes the पारिजात "अत्र विशेषं पारिजाते भगवान् ॥ अन्येष्वपि विवाहेषु धर्मस्याचरणं सह । यद्यप्युक्तं तथाप्यत्र विशेषोक्तिर्गृहाश्रमात् । आश्रमान्तरसंप्राप्तेर्निषेधार्थेति गम्यते । न चात्र तस्यां जीवन्त्यां विवाहस्य परिग्रहः । आश्रमान्तरयोगो वा मृतायां भवतस्तु तौ ॥ इति । अन्ये तु पूर्तादावनग्निसाध्येषु साहित्यनियमार्था सेति ।; the सं. प्र. p. 852 quotes the first two views as those of देवस्वामिन्.

Pr. p. 852 and Haradatta on Gaut. IV. 5) one or more of several things, viz. that the husband will remain a house-holder all his life and will not become a recluse while the wife is living or that he will not marry another wife i. e. it will be a strictly monogamous marriage which is defined in *Hyde v. Hyde* (1866), P. and M. p. 130 as 'the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others' (p. 133), or that he will associate the wife with himself not only in sacrifices but also in works of charity (like building tanks, wells &c.). This form is inferior to brāhma in that the father, as it were, makes a special stipulation with the bride-groom, while in the brāhma there is no such special stipulation, but the bride-groom promises that he will not break faith with his wife in the matter of the three puruṣārthas, dharma, artha, kāma.[1209]

In the āsura form there is practically a sale of the girl for money or money's worth and so it is not approved. The ārṣa is distinguished from āsura in this that in the latter there is no limit to what is taken from the bride-groom, while in the former a pair of cattle is offered as a matter of form. In the gāndharva there is no gift by the father; on the contrary the father's authority is set at naught by the girl for the time being. Marriage was a sacrament according to ancient sages, and its principal purposes as stated above (pp. 428–29) were the acquisition of merit by the performance of religious duty and of progeny. In the gāndharva form the principal object was gratification of carnal desires and so it is held inferior to the first four forms and is disapproved. This kind of marriage is so called because it is prompted by mutual love and the Gandharvas were known to be libidinous, as the Tai. S. VI. 1. 6. 5 (strīkāmā vai Gandharvāḥ) and Ait. Br. V. 1 state. In this form at least the girl's feelings are consulted. In the rākṣasa and the paiśāca, there is no gift by the father and both are or may be against the wish of the girl. The forcible carrying of the girl is the essence of the rākṣasa (even if there is no fight because the girl's father takes no retaliatory steps in fear of the abductor's strength). It is called rākṣasa because rākṣasas (demons) are known from legends to have been addicted to cruel and forceful methods. The paiśāca is so called because in it there is action like that of *piśācas* (goblins) that are supposed to act stealthily by night.

1209. 'एवं हि स्मरन्ति । धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्येति ।' शबर on जैमिनि VI. 1. 17. The सं. प्र. (pp. 848 and 852) says that these words occur in the काठकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट on ब्राह्मविधि.

It is not to be supposed that when ancient sages held that rākṣasa and paiśāca were forms of marriage, they legalized marriage by capture or stealth. What they meant was that these were the means of securing [1210] wives and that there are not really eight kinds of *vivāhas*, but rather there are eight ways in which wives may be secured. It is for this reason that Vatsa says that if a fine girl cannot be secured by any means she may be approached even in private by stealth and married. The sages condemned in no measured terms the paiśāca. From the fact that Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha both ignore the Paiśāca and Prājāpatya it may be inferred that these two had ceased to be recognised by their time and that the other sages enumerated them only because they appeared in ancient works and for the sake of completeness of treatment. Vasiṣṭha (17. 73) expressly repudiates the idea that legal wifehood can arise by forcible seizure of a girl 'if a damsel [1211] has been abducted by force and not wedded with sacred texts she may lawfully be given to another man (in marriage); she is just as good as a maiden '. The smṛtis out of regard for the future welfare of the girl preferred to blink at the wrong done, but insisted upon the abductor or stealthy seducer performing the rites of *homa* and *saptapadī* in order to confer on the girl wronged the status of a legally married wife. But if the wrong-doer was unwilling to do this they recommended that the girl may be given to another in marriage and pronounced very heavy punishments for the abductor or seducer of a girl (*vide* Manu VIII. 366 and Yāj. II. 287–288). Sir Gooroodas Banerjee [1212] rightly expresses surprise at Macnaughten's saying that fraud was legalised by the Hindu Law in the case of the paiśāca form. Manu VIII. 366 says that if a man has intercourse with a girl of his own caste with her consent, he will have to give a fee to the father if the latter so desires and

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1210. न चेच्छासंयोगमात्रं विवाहः स्वीकरणोपायभेदादष्टौ विवाहा न पुनर्विवाहभेदात् । मेधा० on मनु VIII. 366; सर्वोपायैरसाध्या स्यात्सुकन्या पुरुषस्य या । चौर्येणापि विवाहेन सा विवाह्या रहः स्थिता ॥ वत्स quoted in स्मृतिमु० (वर्णा०) p. 142; सं. प्र. p. 861; सं. कौ. p. 735; माधव allows the गान्धर्व only to kṣatriyas and others (not to ब्राह्मणs).

1211. बलाच्चेत्प्रहृता कन्या मन्त्रैर्यदि न संस्कृता । अन्यस्मै विधिवद्देया यथा कन्या तथैव सा ॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 73. This is also बौ. ध. IV. 1. 17 and it is quoted and explained by विश्वरूप on या. I. 69.

1212. Vide 'Marriage and strīdhana' (5th ed. of 1923 p. 94). Macnaughten in his 'Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law' p. 60 said so in a note.

Medhātithi [1213] adds that if the father does not desire money the lover will have to pay a fine to the king, that the girl may be given to him or if she has lost her love for him, she may be given to another and if the lover himself wants to discard her he should be forced to accept her (as a wife). Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 72) similarly says that if a man has sexual intercourse with a maiden who is a consenting party, then there is no offence, but he must marry her after decking her (with ornaments) and treating her with honour.

The Sm. C. and other digests state that in the gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa and paiśāca homa and *saptapadī* are necessary and they quote Devala and the Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa in support. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 195. 7) [1214] expressly says that even after svayaṁvara religious rites had to be performed. Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa VII describes how after the svayaṁvara of Indumatī the principal religious rites of madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa took place. Since Āśvalāyana first speaks of eight forms and then prescribes the performance of homa and saptapadī, he implies that these are necessary in all forms.

The smṛtis contain several views about the suitability of these eight to various varṇas. All are agreed that the first four, brāhma, daiva, ārṣa and prājāpatya, are the approved forms (praśasta or dharmya). Vide Gaut. IV. 12, Āp. Dh. S II. 5. 12. 3, Manu III. 24, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 44) &c. Most say that each preceding one out of the first four is superior to each succeeding one and that thus brāhma is the best (*vide* Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 4, Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 11). Almost all are agreed that paiśāca is the worst. Manu III. 23–26 refers to several views. One view is that the first four (brāhma &c.) are the proper forms for brāhmaṇas (Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 10, Manu III. 24). Another view was that the first six (out of the eight i. e. all except rākṣasa and paiśāca) are allowed to brāhmaṇas and the last four to kṣatriyas, and the gāndharva, āsura and paiśāca to vaiśyas and śūdras (Manu III. 23). A third view was that prājāpatya, gāndharva and āsura may be resorted to

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1213. अथवा ऋतुदर्शनकालोत्तरं गान्धर्वः । प्रावृतोः शुल्को दण्डो वा । अथ कन्यायाः का प्रतिपत्तिः । तस्मा एव देया । निवृत्ताभिलाषा चेत्काममन्यत्र प्रतिपाद्या । ...वरश्चेन्निवृत्ताभिलाषो हठाद् ग्राहयितव्यः । मेधा° on मनु VIII. 367; सकामायां तु कन्यायां संगमे नास्त्यतिक्रमः । किंत्वलंकृत्य सत्कृत्य स एवैनां समुद्वहेत् ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस° verse 72).

1214. ध्रुवं विवाहकरणमास्थास्यामि विधानतः । आदिपर्व 195. 7.

by all varṇas and paiśāca and āsura should not be resorted to by any one of any varṇa (Manu III. 25 = Anuśāsana 44. 9–10), but in another verse (III. 24) Manu allows āsura to vaiśyas and śūdras[1214a]. Manu mentions the view that the gāndharva and rākṣasa are proper (dharmya) for a kṣatriya or a mixture of these two viz. where the girl loves the bride-groom, but her parents or guardians disapprove or cause obstacles and the lover takes away the girl after a fight with her relations (Manu III. 26 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 13). Baud. Dh.S. [1215] (I. 11. 14–16) recommends āsura and paiśāca to vaiśyas and śūdras and assigns the interesting reason 'for the vaiśyas and śūdras do not keep their wives under restraints, they having to do the work of ploughing and waiting upon (the other varṇas)'. Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 40) says that gāndharva is common to all varṇas. The Kāmasūtra (III. 5. 28) first speaks of the brāhma as the best (following the view of the dharmaśāstra writers) and then, true to its own particular subject, gives its own opinion that gāndharva is the best (Kāmasūtra III. 5. 29–30).

The gāndharva form was very much in vogue among royal families. In the Śākuntala, [1216] Kālidāsa gives expression to this practice. In the Mahābhārata [1217] Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna who was in love with Subhadrā that carrying away by force one's lady-love is commended in the case of valiant kṣatriyas. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa (dated *śake* 793) it is stated that Indrarāja married the daughter of the Cālukya king at Kaira by the rākṣasa form of marriage (E. I. vol. 18, p. 235 at p. 243). Another and a very famous historic example of the rākṣasa form is the forcible abduction after a most dashing and valiant fight by Pṛthvīrāja Cohan of the daughter of

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1214 a. न चासुरादिविवाहेषु सप्तपद्यादिक्रमणाद्यभावेन पतित्वभार्यात्वयोरनुपपत्तिरिति शङ्कनीयम् । तत्रापि स्वीकारानन्तरमेव संस्कारविधानात् । तथा च देवलः । गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पुनर्वैवाहिको विधिः । कर्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्वर्णैः समयेनाग्निसाक्षिकः ॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्टेपि गान्धर्वासुरपैशाचविवाहा राक्षसश्च यः । पूर्वं परिणयस्तेषां पश्चाद्धोमो विधीयते । परिणयः स्वीकारः । स्मृतिच° I. p. 87 ; the same words occur in स्मृतिमुक्ताफल p. 145 ; vide उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 129 also.

1215. पञ्चमाष्टमौ वैश्यशूद्राणाम् । अयन्त्रितकलत्रा हि वैश्यशूद्रा भवन्ति । कर्षणशुश्रूषाधिकृतत्वात् । बौ. गृ. I. 11. 14–16.

1216. गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्व्यो राजर्षिकन्यकाः । श्रूयन्ते परिणीतास्ताः पितृभिश्चाभिनन्दिताः ॥ शाकुन्तल III.

1217. प्रसह्य हरणं चापि क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते । विवाहहेतुः शूराणामिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ आदिपर्व 219. 22.

Jayacandra, the king of Kanoj.[1218] It is said that the daughter of Jayacandra was a consenting party; in that case this would be a mixture of the two forms of gāndharva and rākṣasa (compare Manu III. 26).

The *svayaṁvara* very often spoken of in the dharmaśāstras was practically the gāndharva as stated by the commentary Vīramitrodaya.[1219] It had several varieties. The simplest form of svayaṁvara occurs when, as described by Vas. Dh. S. 17. 67–68, Manu IX. 90, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 13, a girl, who attains puberty and whose father does not find a proper husband for three years, herself seeks her husband (or after three months from puberty according to Gaut. 18. 20, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 40–41). Yāj. I. 64 also recommends svayaṁvara to every girl when there is no parent or other guardian who can find out a worthy husband for her. When a girl chose her own husband as above she had to return all ornaments given to her by her parents or brother and the husband who married her had to pay no *śulka* (dowry) to the father as the latter lost his power over her by not giving her away in time (vide Gaut. 18. 20 and Manu IX. 92). This simple svayaṁvara was applicable to girls of all castes. Sāvitrī indulged in this kind of svayaṁvara, when she went about in a chariot to find out a suitable husband for herself. But the svayaṁvaras described in the two great epics are often most elaborate and spectacular affairs and were confined to royal families. The Ādiparva says that kṣatriyas commend svayaṁvara and resort to it, but they prefer a girl who is carried off after subduing her relatives. Bhīṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśī and got two of them (Ambikā and Ambālikā) married to his ward Vicitravīrya.[1220] The svayaṁvara of Sītā or Draupadī did not depend upon the will of the bride, but the bride was to be given in marriage to whomsoever showed a certain skill as a warrior. In the case of Damayantī it was a real choice of her husband by her (Vanaparva 54 ff.) though she chose Nala in a vast and splendid assembly of royal suitors. Kālidāsa also

1218. Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. II. pp. 314–315 (in 1908); Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan Vol. II. p. 834.

1219. त्वं मे पतिस्त्वं मे भार्येत्येवं कन्यावरयोः परस्परं नियमबन्धात् पित्रादिकर्तृकदानानिरपेक्षायो विवाहः स गान्धर्व इत्यर्थः । ...एवं च स्वयंवरोपि गान्धर्वविवाह एव। वीरमित्रोदय on या. I. 61.

1220. स्वयंवरं तु राजन्याः प्रशंसन्त्युपयान्ति च । प्रमथ्य तु हृतामाहुर्ज्यायसीं धर्मवादिनः ॥ आदिपर्व 102. 16.

gives us a fine description of the svayaṁvara of Indumatī in the Raghuvaṁśa. Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅka-devacarita (canto IX) gives a description of the historic svayaṁvara of Candralekhā (or Candaladevī) daughter of the Śilāhāra prince of Karahāṭa (modern Karad), when she chose Āhavamalla or Vikramāṅka, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa (latter half of 11th century). Such a svayaṁvara, it appears, was thought to be unsuitable to brāhmaṇas according to the Ādiparva. [1221] In the Kādambarī (Pūrvabhāga, penultimate para) Pattralekhā says that svayaṁvara is ordained in the Dharmaśāstras. [1222]

The Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 4 makes a general statement that the progeny of a couple partakes of the character of the form in which they were married [1223] (i. e. if the marriage is in the best or in an approved form the son is good; if the marriage is in a condemned form, the son bears a low character). Manu (III. 39–42) expands the same idea by stating that sons born of marriages in the brāhma and other three forms are full of spiritual eminence and are endowed with beauty, virtues, wealth, fame and very long life, while sons of marriages of the other four forms are cruel, are liars, haters of the Veda and of dharma. Some sūtras and smṛtis state how many generations are rendered holy by a son born in one of the first four forms. For example, Āśv. gṛ. (I. 6) says that a son born of parents married in the brāhma, daiva, prājāpatya or ārṣa forms respectively brings purification to twelve descendants and twelve ancestors on both sides (i. e. his father's and mother's), to ten descendants and ten ancestors on both sides, to eight descendants and ascendants on both sides and to seven descendants and ascendants. Manu (III. 37–38) and Yāj. (I. 58–60) put the matter somewhat differently. According to them the son of a brāhma marriage brings purification to ten paternal ancestors, to ten male descendants and to himself (in all 21), of the daiva marriage to seven paternal ancestors and seven male descendants, of the prājāpatya marriage to six male ancestors, to six male descendants and to himself (in all 13), of the ārṣa marriage to three male ancestors and three male descendants. Gaut.

1221. न च विप्रेष्वधीकारो विद्यते वरणं प्रति। स्वयंवरः क्षत्रियाणामितीयं प्रथिता श्रुतिः। आदिपर्व 189. 7.

1222. किमिव कथयामि ते याः स्वयं वृतवत्यः पतीन्। यदि चैवमनर्थक एव तर्हि धर्मशास्त्रोपदिष्टः स्वयंवरविधिः। कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग, para 225 (of my edition).

1223. यथायुक्तो विवाहस्तथायुक्ता प्रजा भवति। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 12. 4.

(IV. 24-27) has similar provisions. Commentators like Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi explain that these verses are not to be taken literally. They merely praise the extreme desirability of the brāhma form. Viśvarūpa, however, alternatively proposes that one may accept the texts of the holy sages as literally true, following the *dictum* of Śabara that there is nothing too heavy (or impossible) for a holy text.[1224] One may laugh at these texts about the virtues of the several forms of marriage, but they are really intended to emphasize the high importance to the future of the race and to society of noble ideals of marriage, of morals and of a decent and peaceful mode of life.

The forms of marriage have their roots deep down in the Vedic Literature. Ṛg. X. 85 gives expression to a marriage in the brāhma form (there is *kanyādāna* and so forth). The āsura form (by payment of money) is referred to in Ṛg. I. 109. 2 and Nirukta VI. 9 (quoted above in note 1175). The gāndharva form or svayaṁvara is indicated by Ṛg. X. 27. 12 (quoted above p.439) and Ṛg. I. 119. 5. The story of Śyāvāśva narrated in the Bṛhad-devatā (V. 50) in connection with Ṛg. V. 61 makes an approach to the daiva form. It is related in the Bṛhad-devatā that Ātreya Arcanānas who officiated as a priest at a sacrifice for king Rathavīti asked for his son Śyāvāśva the hand of the king's daughter.

In modern times two forms are in vogue, the brāhma and āsura. In the brāhma form it is a gift of the girl pure and simple; in the āsura form it is like the sale of the bride for pecuniary consideration paid to the father or other guardian for his benefit. If this element of pecuniary consideration paid to the guardian exists, its effects cannot be undone by the form of a gift being gone through.[1225] The gāndharva form is said to be obsolete now, yet in some cases before the courts it has been held that it is still in vogue.[1226] There can be no gāndharva if the girl is a minor. Further if a widow remarries, that marriage

1224. स्तुतिमात्रमेतत्। भूतानां भाविनां पावनानुपपत्तेः। उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाशाकृतागमप्रसङ्गात्। यद्वास्तु फलविधिः। विवाहविशेषस्य फलविशेषापेक्षत्वात्। न चागमानुसारिण्यर्थेऽनुपपत्तिरिति शक्यं वक्तुम्। तथा च नैयायिकाः। न हि वचनस्यातिभारोस्तीत्याहुः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 58. The words नहि...भारोस्ति are from शबर's भाष्य on जै. III. 2. 3.

1225. Vide *Chunilal v. Surajram* 33 Bom. 433 at p. 438; *Hira v. Hansji Pema* 37 Bom. 295 at p. 299; *Kailasanatha v. Parasakthi* 58 Mad. 488, 491.

1226. *Vide* 12 Mad. 72; 17 Patna 134, 141; but in A.I. R. 1930 Oudh p. 426 it is held that the gāndharva form is obsolete.

will be ordinarily regarded as gāndharva, because there will be no gift of a *kanyā* (as she is a widow) and because she herself will generally arrange such a marriage.

Before proceeding to set out in detail the ceremonies of marriage, it would be best to analyse the contents of Ṛgveda X. 85, which is a marriage hymn redolent of the highest ideal of marriage and conjugal felicity and several verses of which are recited even now in the marriage rites. The hymn refers to a mythical marriage of Sūryā, daughter of Savitṛ, with Soma and the important features of the marriage, though not arranged in a regular sequence in the hymn, are: the two Aśvins went to ask for Sūryā as a bride for Soma[1227] (verses 8–9); Savitṛ agreed to give her (v. 9), the bride-groom was treated with honour, presents were made to him and cows were killed for (or presented to) him; Soma took hold of her hand with the verse (36) 'I[1228] take thy hand for prosperity (or love) so that you may grow to old age with me thy husband; the gods, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitṛ, the wise Pūṣan have given thee to me for performing the duties of a house-holder'; the bride is a gift by her father in the presence of gods and the fire (v. 40–41); the girl passes from the dominion and control of her father and becomes united with her husband (v. 24); the bride is blest as follows: 'may you stay here together, may you not be separated, may you compass all life (long life), happy in your own house and playing with your sons and grandsons; O Indra! make her endowed with worthy sons and prosperity; bestow on her ten sons and make her husband the eleventh (male); may you be queen over your father-in-law, mother-in-law, over the husband's brother and sister (vv. 42, 45–46)'.[1229] Among subordinate items it is noteworthy that Raibhyā was sent along with Sūryā as her friend (*anudeyī*) to make her time not hang heavy on her hands

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1227. सोमो वधूयुरभवदश्विनास्तामुभा वरा। सूर्यां यत्पत्ये शंसन्तीं मनसा सविताददात् ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 9. The word वर here and in some of the gṛhyasūtras also (e. g. Āp. gr. II. 16) means those who ask for the girl on behalf of the bride-groom.

1228. गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथासः। भगो अर्यमा सविता पुरन्धिर्मह्यं त्वादुर्गार्हपत्याय देवाः ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 36. In the आप. म. पाठ. I. 3. 3 the reading is सुप्रजास्त्वाय (for worthy progeny) instead of सौभगत्वाय.

1229. इहैव स्तं मा वि यौष्टं विश्वमायुर्व्यश्नुतम्। क्रीळन्तौ पुत्रैर्नप्तृभिर्मोदमानौ स्वे गृहे ॥ इमां त्वमिन्द्र मीढ्वः सुपुत्रां सुभगां कृणु। दशास्यां पुत्राना धेहि पतिमेकादशं कृधि ॥ सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वां भव। ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 42, 45–46.

(v. 6) when she first went to her husband's family (just as in modern times in Western India some woman accompanies the bride for a few days as *pātharākhiṇ* 'one who guards'), that even a female servant accompanied Sūryā. [1230]

In connection with the rites of marriage it is necessary to observe that the greatest divergence prevailed from very ancient times. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 1–2) says 'various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages; what, however, is common (to all or most) that we shall declare'. Similarly Āp. gṛ. (2. 15) declares 'people should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be observed according to custom)' and the commentator Sudarśanācārya notes that certain rites like the worship of planets, aṅkurāropaṇa and the tying of pratisara (the marriage string or ribbon round the wrist) are usual and are performed with Vedic mantras, while others like Nāgabali, Yakṣabali and the worship of Indrāṇī are performed without Vedic mantras. The Kāṭhakagṛhya 25. 7 allows usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the commentators mention several such usages. As the gṛhya-sūtra of Āśvalāyana contains perhaps the shortest account of marriage rites and as that sūtra is probably the most ancient among the gṛhya sūtras I shall set out below the entire ceremony of marriage from that sūtra Then a few important details from other gṛhya sūtras will be added and it will be pointed out how in modern times a marriage is celebrated, particularly among higher classes. It must be remembered that there is not only great divergence as to the number of separate ceremonies that constitute the saṁskāra of marriage, but the sequence of even the most important ceremonies is different in the several sūtras and the mantras also are different (though some like Ṛg. X. 185. 36 are common to all). It is remarkable that out of the 47 verses of Ṛg. X. 85, the Āp. Mantrapāṭha employs as many as 29 (most of which are quoted in connection with marriage). The main outlines of the marriage saṁskāra show a remarkable continuity for several thousand years from the times of the Ṛgveda down to modern times.

The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 3–I. 8.) deals with all the marriage rites as follows †: Having placed to the west of the fire (that is

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1230. रैभ्यासीदनुदेयी नाराशंसी न्योचनी । ऋ. X. 185. 6. अनुदेयी means वयस्या and न्योचनी means दासी.

† *Vide* Appendix for text under note 1230.

kindled on the altar as described already) a mill-stone and to the north-east (of the fire) a water jar, he should offer sacrifice (with the *sruva*), while the bride takes hold of him (touches his right hand). Standing with his face turned to the west, while the bride is sitting and has her face turned to the east, he should seize only her thumb with the mantra 'I take hold of thy hand for happiness' (Ṛg. X. 85. 36 quoted in note 1228), if he desires that only male children be born to him; he may seize her other fingers if he is desirous of female children; he may seize her hand on the hair side together with the thumb if he be desirous of both (male and female children). Leading her thrice round the fire and the water jar so that their right sides are turned towards (the fire &c.) he murmurs[1231] 'I am *ama* (this), thou art *sā* (she), thou art *sā*, I am *ama*; I am heaven, thou art the earth; I am the *sāman*, thou art the *ṛk*. Let us both marry here. Let us beget offspring. Dear to each other, bright, having well disposed minds, may we live for a hundred years!' Each time he leads her round (the fire) he makes her tread on the stone with (the words) 'tread on this stone; be firm like a stone; overcome the enemies; trample down the foes'.[1232] Having first poured clarified butter over her joined hands, the bride's brother or some one who is in the place of brother pours fried grain twice over the bride's joined hands, three times in the case of those whose gotra is Jamadagni (i. e. if the bridegroom is of that gotra). Then he pours clarified butter over what has been left of the *havis* (sacrificial material or offering) and over what has been cut off (separated from the aggregate). This is the rule about the portions to be cut off (in every case where there is *avadāna*).[1233] With the following verses (recited by the bride-groom)

1231. *Vide* the same passage with slight differences quoted on p. 202 in the Garbhādhāna ceremony from the Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 20; the Tai. Bṛ. III. 7. 1 has the words 'अमूहमास्मि सा त्वम्। द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वम्। सामाहमृक्त्वम्। तावेहि संभवाव। सह रेतो दधावहै पुंसे पुत्राय वेत्तवै। रायस्पोषाय सुप्रजास्त्वाय सुवीर्यायेति।'

1232. In the आप. म. पाठ I. 5. 1. this mantra is आतिष्ठेममश्मानमश्मेव ......भव। अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः॥'.

1233. The two portions of *lāja* (fried grain) poured into the bride's hands together with the first pouring of ājya (called उपस्तरण) and the subsequent pouring of ājya (called प्रत्यभिघारण) constitute the four *avattas* or portions cut off from the material for *havis*. The descendants of Jamadagni are पञ्चावत्तिनः (*vide* above p. 490); therefore three portions of *lāja* are to be poured out (in order to make with उपस्तरण and प्रत्यभिघारण, five *avattas*). For these terms (चतुरवत्त and पञ्चावत्त) *vide* शतपथ I. 7. 2. 7–8.

viz. 'to god Aryaman the girls offered sacrifice; may he the god Aryaman loosen her from this (i. e. her father's) and not from that place (the bride-groom's), *svāhā* ! to god Varuṇa the girls have offered sacrifice; may he, god Varuṇa &c. To god Pūṣan the girls have offered sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Pūṣan &c. ; with these (the bride) should sacrifice (the fried grain) without opening her joined hands, as if they were the spoon called *sruc.* Without going round the fire the bride sacrifices fried grain a fourth time silently with the neb of the *śūrpa* (winnowing basket) towards herself. Some[1234] lead the bride round each time after fried grain has been poured out, so that the two last oblations do not follow immediately after each other. Then he loosens her two locks of hair if they are made up (that is if her hair has been bound round on two sides with two tufts of wool), (the right one) with the mantra 'I release thee from the fetter of Varuṇa' (Ṛg. X. 85. 24) and the left one with the following mantra (Ṛg. X. 85. 25). Then he causes her to step forward in a north-eastern direction seven steps with the words 'may you take one step for sap, second step for juice (or vigour), third step for the thriving of wealth, fourth step for comfort, fifth step for offspring, sixth step for seasons, may you be my friend with your seventh step ! May you be devoted to me; let us have many sons, may they reach old age'.[1235] Bringing the heads of the two (bride and bride-groom) together, he (the ācārya) sprinkles

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1234. The first view requires that leading the bride round the fire, making her tread on the stone and the offering of fried grain are each repeated thrice; so that when the offering prescribed here for the 4th time is made, it follows immediately on the third offering of *lājas.* Other teachers made the bride first offer *lājas*, then she was led round the fire. When this was done the 4th oblation of *lājas* would not come immediately after the third oblation of *lājas*, but after she went round the fire the third time. The Gobhila gṛ. II. 1. 14 prescribes that the fried grain to be offered into fire is mixed with tendrils of the śamī plant and Kālidāsa (in Raghuvaṁśa VII. 25–26) refers to śamī and *lājas.*

1235. This (the सप्तपदी–taking seven steps together) is the most important rite in the marriage saṁskāra. We have to understand 'भव' after each sentence' इष एकपदी भव ऊर्जे द्विपदी भव.' These words occur in all gṛhyasūtras, e. g. *vide* Āp. M. P. I. 3. 7–14 and Āp. gṛ. 4. 15–16, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 14. 6, Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 11, Hir. gṛ. I. 21. 1 &c. But there are slight variations as well. For example, पारस्कर, भरद्वाज, हिरण्य० and शाङ्खायन substitute पशुभ्यः for प्रजाभ्यः, while the first three of these and मानव and बौधायनगृह्य add विष्णुस्त्वा नयतु (or विष्णुस्त्वान्वेतु in भरद्वाज) after each of the seven clauses. पारस्कर reads सखे सप्तपदा for सखा सप्तपदी.

their heads with water from the water jar. And the bride should dwell that night in the house of an old brāhmaṇa woman whose husband and children are alive.[1236] When she (the bride) has seen the Pole star, the star Arundhatī and the seven sages (the constellation of Ursa Major), let her break her silence and say 'may my husband live and may I secure offspring'.[1237] If (the newly married couple) have to make a journey (to their home in another village), let him cause the bride to mount a chariot with the verse 'may Pūṣan lead thee from here holding thy hand' (Ṛg. X. 85. 26); he should make her ascend into a boat with the hemistitch 'carrying stones (or the river called Aśmanvatī) flows; get ready' (Ṛg. X. 53. 8) and let him make her descend from the boat with the following hemistitch; if she weeps let him pronounce the verse 'they weep for the living' (Ṛg. X. 40. 10). They constantly carry the nuptial fire in front. At pleasing places, trees and cross roads, let him mutter 'may no way-layers meet us' (Ṛg. X. 85. 32). At every dwelling place (on the way) let him look at the onlookers with the mantra 'this newly married bride brings good luck' (Ṛg. X. 85. 33). He should make her enter his house with the verse 'here may happiness increase unto you through offspring' (Ṛg. X. 85. 27). Having kindled with fuel sticks the nuptial fire and having spread to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck turned towards the east and the hair outside he makes oblations, while she (the bride) is sitting (on that hide) and takes hold of him, with the four verses (one oblation with each verse) 'may Prajāpati create offspring to us' (Ṛg. X. 85. 43–46); and then he partakes of curds with the verse 'may all the gods unite our hearts' (Ṛg. X. 85. 47) and gives (the remaining curds) to her or he besmears the heart (of both) with the rest of the *ājya* (with part of which he had already sacrificed). From that time they should not eat *kṣāra*[1238] and *lavaṇa*, should observe celibacy, wear ornaments and sleep on the ground (not on cots) for three nights or twelve nights or for a year according to some (teachers); thus (those

1236. This rule has no application if the bride and the bride-groom belong to the same village. But if they belong to different villages and the newly married couple have to stay somewhere for the night on their journey then this rule applies.

1237. This indicates that after the *homa* is finished, the bride is to observe silence till she sees the Pole star.

1238. For the meaning of *kṣāra* and *lavaṇa* see note 723 above.

teachers say) a ṛṣi will be born as a son (to them). When he has fulfilled these observances he should give the bride's shift to a brāhmaṇa who knows the Sūryā hymn (Ṛg. X. 85) and food to brāhmaṇas. Then he should cause the brāhmaṇas to pronounce auspicious words.

In this description of the saṁskāra of marriage there are three parts. There are certain rites that are preliminary, there are then a few rites that are of the essence of the saṁskāra viz. pāṇigrahaṇa, homa, going round the fire and the saptapadī, and there are certain rites like the seeing of the Pole star &c. that are subsequent to the central rites. The essential rites are mentioned by all sūtrakāras, but as to the preceding and subsequent rites there is a great divergence in the details. Even as regards the essential rites the sequence in which they take place differs. For example, the Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 7) describes going round the fire before saptapadī, while the Āp. gṛ. describes saptapadī (IV. 16) before the act of going round the fire (V. 1). The Gobhila gṛhya (II. 2. 16), the Khādira gṛ. (I. 3. 31), and Baud. gṛ. (I. 4. 10) describe pāṇigrahaṇa after *saptapadī* while many other sūtrakāras describe it before saptapadī. Then again there are many acts reference to which is altogether omitted in the Āśv. gṛ., e. g. there is no reference to madhuparka (which is mentioned in Āp. gṛ. III. 8, Baud. gṛ. I. 2. 1, Mānava gṛ. I. 9) nor to *kanyādāna* (which is referred to in Pār. gṛ. I. 4 and described in detail in Mānava gṛ. I. 8. 6–9). Āśv. probably omitted express mention of kanyādāna, because in defining the first four forms he uses the word 'dadyāt' while in the last four there is no *kanyādāna* and Āśv. wanted to describe ceremonies that were common to all forms.

Taking as many gṛhya sūtras as I could read, the following is a fairly exhaustive list of the different matters described in the saṁskāra of marriage. A few notes are added against those that are deemed important.[1239]

Vadhūvara-guṇaparīkṣā: (examining the suitability of a girl or a bride-groom). This has been dealt with already (vide pp. 429–436 above).

Varapreṣaṇa: (sending persons to negotiate for the hand of the girl). The ancient custom seems to have been to send

1239. Among the principal ceremonies in marriage described by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa VII are madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa, lāja-homa and ārdrākṣatā-ropaṇa.

some person or persons (Ṛg. X. 85. 8–9) to the father of the girl for asking her in marriage. The same was the practice in the sūtras. *Vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 6. 1–4 (where Ṛg. X. 85. 23 is the mantra recited when sending them), Baud. gṛ. I. 1. 14–15, Āp. gṛ. II. 16 and IV. 1–2 and 7. Even in medieval times, particularly among kṣatriyas, the bride-groom was the first to seek for the hand of a girl. In the Harṣacarita, prince Grahavarmā of the Maukhari race sent messengers for the hand of princess Rājyaśrī, sister of Harṣa[1240]. In modern times among the brāhmaṇas and many other castes, the girl's father has to seek a bride-groom, though among the śūdras and several other castes the old practice is retained.

Vāgdāna or *Vāṅ-niścaya*: (settling the marriage). This is described by Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 6. 5–6. Medieval works like the S. R. M. pp. 529–533 describe this ceremony at great length.

Maṇḍapa-karaṇa: Erecting a *pandal* where the ceremonies are to be performed. Pār. gṛ. I. 4 says that marriage, caula, upanayana, keśānta and sīmanta are to be performed outside the house in a *pandal.* Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 817–818.

Nāndī-śrāddha and Puṇyāhavācana: These are referred to by Baud. gṛ. I. 1. 24; most of the gṛhyasūtras are silent about these. *Vide* for these pp. 216, 218 above.

Vadhūgṛhāgamana: (bride-groom's going to the bride's house). *Vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12. 1.

Madhuparka: (reception of the bride-groom at the bride's house). Āp. gṛ. III. 8, Baud. gṛ. I. 2. 1, Mānava gṛ. I. 9 and Kāṭhaka gṛ. 24. 1–3 prescribe this. *Vide* below chap. X for madhuparka. Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12. 10 appears to refer to two madhuparkas, one before marriage and one after marriage (when the bride-groom returned to his own house). The commentator Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gṛ. 24. 1 refers to the opinion of some that madhuparka should be offered at the close of the marriage, but states his own view that in all countries it is offered before marriage.

Snāpana, Paridhāpana and Saṁnahana: (making the bride bathe, put on new clothes and girding her with a string or rope of darbha.) *Vide* Āp. gṛ. IV. 8 and Kāṭhaka gṛ. 25. 4. Pār. gṛ.

1240. शोभने च दिवसे ग्रहवर्मणा कन्यां प्रार्थयितुं प्रेषितस्य पूर्वागतस्यैव प्रधानदूतपुरुषस्य करे सर्वराजकुलसमक्षं दुहितृदानजलमपातयत् । हर्षचरित 4th उच्छ्वास.

I. 4 refers only to the putting on of two garments, Gobhila gṛ. (II. 1. 17–18) refers to bathing and putting on a garment, Mānava gṛ. (I. 11. 4–6) refers to paridhāpana and saṁnahana. Strangely enough Gobhila gṛ. II. 1. 10 speaks of the sprinkling of the girl's head with the best of *surā* (wine), which the commentator explains as water.

Samañjana : (anointing the bride and bride-groom). *Vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12. 5, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 15, Pār. gṛ. I. 4, in all of which Ṛg. X. 85. 47 is cited as the mantra with which anointing or sprinkling is done.

Pratisarabandha : (tying an amulet string on the bride's hand). Vide Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12, 6–8 ; Kauśika sūtra 76. 8.

Vadhūvara-niṣkramaṇa : (the coming out into the *pandal* of the bride and bride-groom from the inner part of the house). Pār. gṛ. I. 4.

Parasparasamīkṣaṇa : (looking at each other). *Vide* Pār. gṛ. I. 4, Āp. gṛ. IV. 4, Baud. gṛ. I. 1. 24–25. Pār. gṛ. I. 4 says that the bride-groom recites Ṛg. X. 85. 44, 40, 41 and 37 at this time. Āp. gṛ. IV. 4 and Baud. gṛ. say he recites Ṛg. X. 85. 44. The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa I. 23 says that first of all a piece of cloth is held between the bride-groom and bride and that at the proper astrological moment it is removed and then the two see each other. Laghu–Āśvalāyana-smṛti (15. 20) also says the same. This practice is observed even now. When the interposed cloth is held between the bride and bride-groom verses called maṅgalāṣṭakas are repeated by brāhmaṇas, the last of which verses is 'tad-eva lagnaṁ sudinam tad-eva' &c.

Kanyādāna : (the gift of the bride). Vide Pār. gṛ. I. 4, Mānava gṛ. I. 8. 6–9, Vārāha gṛ. 13. The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa sets out the procedure about the *kanyādāna* which is the same even now. The Saṁ. K. p. 779 notes about half a dozen different methods of uttering the formula in *kanyādāna*. It is in this rite that the father of the girl says that the bride-groom should not prove false to the bride in dharma, artha and kāma and he responds with the words 'I shall not do so' (nāticarāmi).[1241] This is done even now.

1241. शबर on जैमिनि VI. 1. 14 says 'एवं दानकाले संवादः क्रियते-धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्येति'. *Vide* also note 1209 above. लघ्वाश्व० 15. 27 has 'एषा धर्मार्थकामेषु न त्याज्या स्वीकृता ह्यतः।'. According to मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 101 the words धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या' occur in आपस्तम्ब.

Agnisthāpana and homa: (establishing the fire and offering of *ājya* oblations into fire). Here there is great divergence about the number of āhutis and the mantras to be recited. *Vide* Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 3 and I. 4. 3–7, Āp. gṛ. V. 1 (16 āhutis with 16 mantras), Gobhila gṛ. II. 1. 24–26, Mānava gṛ. I. 8, Bhāradvāja I. 13 &c.

Pāṇigrahaṇa: (Taking hold of the bride's hand).

Lājahoma: (Offering of fried grain into fire by the bride). Vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 7–13, Pār. gṛ. I. 6, Āp. gṛ. V. 3–5, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 13. 15–17, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 11. 11, Baud. gṛ. I. 4. 25. &c. Āśv. gṛ. says that the bride makes three offerings of fried grain when mantras are repeated by the bridegroom and a fourth is made of the remaining lājas by the bride silently. Some others speak of only three offerings by the bride.

Agnipariṇayana: (the bride-groom going in front takes the bride round the fire and water jar). It is while doing this that he utters the words ' amohasmi ' &c. (*vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 13. 4, Hir. gṛ. I. 20. 2 &c).

Aśmārohaṇa: (making the bride tread on a mill-stone). These three are done thrice viz. lājahoma, then agnipariṇayana and aśmārohaṇa, one after another.

Saptapadī: (taking seven steps together). This is done to the north of the fire; there are seven small heaps of rice and the bride-groom makes the bride step on each of these seven with her right foot beginning from the west.

Mūrdhābhiṣeka: (sprinkling holy water on the head of the bride and of the bride-groom according to some and on the head of the bride only according to others). Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 20, Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 15–16 &c.

Sūryodīkṣaṇa: (making the bride look towards the sun). Pār. gṛ. I. 8 speaks of this and employs the mantra 'tac-cakṣur' (Ṛg. VII. 66. 16 = Vāj. S. 36. 24).

Hṛdayasparśa: (touching the bride' heart with a mantra). Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Bhār. gṛ. I. 17, Baud. gṛ. I. 4. 1.

Prekṣakānumantraṇa: (addressing the spectators with reference to the newly married bride). Mānava gṛ. I. 12. 1 (which employs Ṛg. X. 85. 33). Pār. I. 8 employs that verse for reciting over the bride.

Dakṣiṇādāna: (gifts to the ācārya). Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 14. 13–17 (both prescribe a cow as the fee in the case of

brāhmaṇas, a village in marriages of kings and nobles, a horse in marriages of vaiśyas &c.). Gobhila gr. II. 3. 23, Baud. gr. I. 4. 38 speak of only a cow.

Gṛhapraveśa: (entering the bride-groom's house).

Gṛhapraveśanīya homa: (sacrifice on entering the bride-groom's house). Śāṅ. gr. I. 16. 1–12, Gobhila gr. II. 3. 8–12, Āp. gr. VI. 6–10.

Dhruvārundhatī-darśana: (pointing out the Pole star and Arundhatī to the bride at night on the day of marriage). Āśv. gr. I. 7. 22 speaks of the seven sages in addition, Mānava gr. I. 14. 9 speaks of the same three and adds Jīvantī, Bhār. gr. I. 19 speaks of Dhruva, Arundhatī and other nakṣatras, Āp. gr. VI. 12 (only Dhruva and Arundhatī), Pār. I. 8 (only Dhruva). According to Śāṅ. gr. I. 17. 2, Hir. gr. I. 22. 10 both the bride and the bride-groom remain silent till night. According to Āśv. gr. only the bride does so. Gobhila gr. II. 3. 8–12 describes Dhruvārundhatī-darśana before *gṛhapraveśa*.

Āgneya Sthālīpāka: (mess of cooked food offered to Agni). Vide Āp. gr. VII. 1–5, Gobhila II. 3. 19–21, Bhār. gr. I. 18, Hir. gr. I. 23. 1–6.

Trirātravrata: (keeping for three nights after marriage certain observances). Vide Āśv. above p. 530 for the observances which are enumerated by almost all sūtrakāras. Āp. gr. VIII. 8–10, Baud. gr. I. 5. 16–17 contain the interesting injunction that the newly married pair should sleep on the ground on the same bed for three nights, but should interpose between them a staff of *udumbara* wood anointed with perfumes and wrapped round with a garment or a thread and that on the fourth night it should be removed with the verses Ṛg. X. 85. 21–22 and thrown into water.

Caturthīkarma: (rite on the fourth night after marriage). This has been described above (pp. 202–204).

In the medieval digests certain other ceremonies are mentioned and they are observed in modern times also. A few of them will be noted below. Here again the order is not the same in all works. The Dharmasindhu p. 265 refers to this divergence.

Sīmāntapūjana: (honouring the bride-groom and his party on their arrival at the bride's village). This is done before vāgniścaya in modern times. Vide Saṁ. K. p. 768; Dharmasindhu III. p. 261.

Gaurī-Hara-pūjā: (worship of Śiva and his consort Gaurī). Saṁ. K. p. 766, S. R. M. p. 534 and 544, Dharmasindhu p. 261 (notes that there are several views as to when kanyādāna takes place) describe this. Images of Gaurī and Hara are to be made of gold or silver or pictures of them on a wall &c. or on a piece of cloth or stone are to be drawn and worshipped by the intending bride after puṇyāhavācana and before kanyādāna. Vide Laghu-Āśvalāyana 15. 35.

Indrāṇī-pūjā: (worship of Indrāṇī, the consort of god Indra). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 756, S. R. M. p. 545. This seems to have been comparatively an ancient practice as Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa VII. 3 seems to refer to it (' there was absence of disturbers of svayaṁvara on account of the presence of Śacī '). Probably Śacī was worshipped before the *svayaṁvara* began.

Taila-haridrāropaṇa: (Applying turmeric powder to the bride-groom's body from what is left after the bride's body has been so treated). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 757, Dharmasindhu III. p. 257.

Ārdrākṣatāropaṇa: (mutual showering of wet unbroken rice grains by the bride and bride-groom). In a vessel of some metal like silver a little milk is poured and clarified butter is sprinkled over it and unbroken wet rice grains are poured therein. The bridegroom applies milk and ghee to the joined hands of the bride twice and thrice places rice grains in the joined hands of the bride so that her *añjali* becomes filled up and twice sprinkles ghee over her joined hands. Some other person does the same to the joined hands of the bride-groom and the bride's father places a golden piece on the joined hands of both. Then the bride-groom places his joined hands on those of the bride whose father then repeats a mantra and raises her up; she then pours the rice over the head of the bridegroom who follows her in the same way. This is done thrice by each and then lastly by the bride (i. e. seven times in all). Then the priest sprinkles on their heads water with an udumbara twig together with *dūrvā* grass after reciting verses ' Āpo hi ṣṭhā &c. (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3) '. Then the couple make a *tilaka* mark on each other's forehead, garland each other and tie a thread with a turmeric piece on each other's hand (which is variously called 'kaṅkaṇa-bandhana' or 'kautuka-bandhana'). Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 828-829, S. R. M. p. 556. Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa VII describes ārdrākṣatā-ropaṇa as the last of the rites of marriage and in VIII. 1 speaks of the kautuka.

Maṅgalasūtra-bandhana: (tying a string having golden and other beads on it round the neck of the bride). This is now regarded as the most important ornament which no woman will part with as long as her husband is alive. But the sūtras are entirely silent about it. Among the earliest references is one from Śaunaka smṛti[1242] (ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 39 b). The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti 15. 33 also prescribes it and the mantra to be employed when doing so. Gadādhara on Pār. gṛ. I. 8 says that maṅgala-sūtra should be worn and garlands be placed round their necks by the bride and bride-groom, though the sūtra of Pāraskara is silent on the point. The Baud. gṛ. śeṣa sūtra V. 5 in describing 'arkavivāha' speaks of māṅgalya sūtra to be tied to the plant. It is not clear whether it means the same as the maṅgalasūtra now tied by married women round their necks. About the nose-ring or nose ornament to which all women whose husbands are living attach the greatest importance in modern times, the sūtras, smṛtis and even the early digests are entirely silent. Dr. Altekar in his recent work 'Position of Hindu women in Hindu Civilization' pp. 362–64 holds from the evidence of the sculptures throughout India-that the 'nose-ring was unknown throughout the whole of India during the entire Hindu period' (i. e. till about 1000 A. D.). Mr. P. K. Gode in Annals of B. O. R. I. vol. XIX (for 1939) pp. 313–34 adduces evidence to show that a nose-ornament was known to literary works from at least about 1000 A. D.

Uttarīyaprānta-bandhana: (Tying turmeric pieces and betelnut on to the end of the upper garments of both and making a knot of their two garments together). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 799, S. Pr. p. 829.

Airiṇīdāna[1243]: (Presenting the mother of the bride-groom with several gifts in a large wicker-work basket with lamps

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1242. ततो मङ्गलसूत्रं च ध्यात्वाभीष्टां च देवताम् । बद्ध्वा कण्ठप्रदेशे स्याद्भूषणानि च शक्तितः ॥ शौनक; बध्नीयात्कन्यकाकण्ठे सूत्रं मणिसमन्वितम् । माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन मन्त्रेण स्यात् सदा सती ॥ लघ्वाश्व 15. 33. The मन्त्र is माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन भर्तुजीवनहेतुना । कण्ठे बध्नामि सुभगे सा जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ . 'सूत्रेऽनुपलब्धमपि वधूवरयोर्मङ्गलसूत्रं गले मालाधारणं' etc. गदाधर on पारस्कर I. 1.

1243. सवस्त्रफलताम्बूलं दम्पत्योर्वंशवर्धनम् । ऐरिण्याख्यं वंशपात्रं पक्वान्नैः परिपूरितम् ॥ करकै रुद्रसंख्यैस्तु सुवर्णेन समन्वितैः । एतावदैरिणीरूपं कर्तव्यं किल सूरिभिः ॥ quoted in सं. र. मा. p. 580. The request to show affection is made as follows 'अष्टवर्षा त्वियं कन्या पुत्रवत्पालिता मया । इदानीं तव पुत्राय दत्ता स्नेहेन पाल्यताम् ॥'. Appropriate changes are to be made, according to the age of the bride and the relationship of the bridegroom to the principal lady.

lighted and requesting her and the relatives of the bride-groom to treat the bride affectionately). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 811, Dharmasindhu p. 267. A basket of bamboo (*vaṁśa*) is used probably to symbolize the continuity of the family (vaṁśa) of the bride-groom. This is done when the bride is about to leave the father's place to go to the bride-groom's place after marriage.

Devakotthāpana and *Maṇḍapodvāsana* : (taking leave of the deities that had been invoked before the ceremonies began and taking down the *pandal*). Sam. K. pp. 532–533, S. R. M. pp. 555–556.

Two interesting questions arise viz. when can a marriage be said to be final and irrevocable and what would happen if a marriage is brought about by force or fraud.

Manu says (VIII. 168) 'what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, also what has been caused to be written by force and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void;' and in VIII. 165 he places fraudulent transactions on the same footing as those brought about by force. There is great difficulty in applying these dicta to marriages. We saw above that Vas. Dh. S. (17. 73) and Baud. Dh. S. declare that if a girl has been carried off by force and has not been wedded with the repetition of sacred texts she may be given to another man in marriage. Viśvarūpa (p. 74) and Aparārka (p. 79) add a gloss that this can be done only after she has undergone a prāyaścitta. From this it appears that if the marriage rites (like saptapadī) have been performed, the ancient law-givers would not have declared the marriage null and void even if the girl had been carried away by force or married by fraud. In modern works on Hindu Law the proposition is stated[1244] that 'a marriage, though performed with the necessary ceremonies, may be set aside by the court, if it was brought about by force or fraud.' This opinion is based on what was said in some decided cases e. g. *Aunjona Dasi v. Prahlada Chandra* (6 Bengal L. R. 243 at p. 254), *Venkatachargulu v. Rangacharyulu* I. L. R. 14 Mad. 316 at p. 320, *Mulchand v. Bhudhia* I. L. R. 22 Bom. 812. But in none of these cases was a marriage duly solemnized by the performance of the rites of pāṇigrahaṇa, going round the fire and saptapadī, set aside. There are mere

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1244. Vide Mulla's Hindu Law (9th ed. of 1940) p. 504.

obiter dicta in these cases to the effect that a marriage may be set aside by the court for force or fraud.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 72) goes so far as to observe 'when a girl has been promised in marriage (and the promise has been confirmed) with water, if the intended bride-groom dies, but the Vedic mantras have not been recited, that girl still belongs to her father (and may be given to another)'. Kātyāyana[1245] has a similar verse 'if after choosing a girl as his bride, a man dies (or is unheard of) the girl after the lapse of three monthly periods may marry another'. And another verse of the same author says that if a person after giving a gratuity for a girl and *strīdhana* to her goes abroad, the girl may be kept unmarried for a year and then may be given to another. Manu (VIII. 227) says 'the Vedic mantras recited in the marriage rite are a sure indication of wife-hood; but their completion should be understood by the wise as occurring on taking the seventh step'. Aparārka p. 94 (on Yāj. I. 65) quotes a similar verse from Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 3). The Udvāhatattva p. 129 quotes Yama to the same effect. So it follows that the marriage becomes complete and irrevocable the moment the saptapadī rite is performed, but before that rite is gone through there is a *locus pœnitentiœ* or a power to resile from what has been undertaken. Before the saptapadī is performed, if the bride-groom dies, the bride is still a maiden and not a widow and can be married again[1246]. The most essential ceremonies of marriage are the homa and saptapadī. The Droṇaparva[1247] says that promise of a daughter and giving a daughter with water are not certain means of knowing wife-hood but saptapadī is known to be the completion of marriage. If any of the other ceremonies are wanting that would not vitiate the marriage. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 140, it has been held that the vṛddhi-śrāddha is not an essential ceremony and its absence would not vitiate marriage.

1245. वरयित्वा तु यः कश्चित्प्रणश्येत्पुरुषो यदा । रक्तागमांस्त्रीनतीत्य कन्यान्यं वरयेद्वरम् ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 94; प्रदाय शुल्कं गच्छेद्यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा । धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देयान्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ कात्यायन quoted in सं. कौ. p. 737.

1246. नोदकेन न वाचा वा कन्यायाः पतिरिष्यते । पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ॥ यम quoted in गृ. र. p. 55, उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 129 and in स्मृ. मु. (वर्णाश्रम) p. 138, which latter adds 'एवं च सप्तमपदादर्वाक् परिणेतुर्मरणेपि न विधवात्वमित्युक्तं भवति।'. This last remark is made by the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 82 also.

1247. मनोवाग्बुद्धिसंभाषा दत्ता चोदकपूर्वकम् ॥ पाणिग्रहणमन्त्राश्च प्रथितं वरलक्षणम् ॥ न त्वेषा निश्चिता निष्ठा निष्ठा सप्तपदी स्मृता ॥ द्रोणपर्व 55. 15–16.

Even the Kāmaśūtra[1248] quotes the unanimous opinion of the ācāryas that marriages celebrated before fire as a witness cannot be revoked. In the case of śūdras there are no Vedic mantras and so in their case the completion of marriage will be determined according to custom. The digests like Gr. R. say (p. 57) that in the case of śūdras the marriage will be complete when the śūdra girl holds the fringe of the garment of the bride-groom.

Manu (IX. 47) declares 'once is the partition of inheritance made, once is a maiden given in marriage'. This rule really means that once the ceremony of marriage is completed by saptapadī, the marriage is irrevocable and the girl cannot thereafter be given to any one else. But if a girl is only promised in marriage and if a more worthy suitor subsequently presents himself, then the father may commit breach of promise and give her in marriage to another. Vide also Manu (IX. 71 and VIII. 98). Yāj. I. 65 states the rule and the exception 'A girl is given only once; a person who after having promised to give, deprives that man of her, is liable to the punishment of a thief; but if a more worthy suitor approaches, the father may deprive the former (suitor) of her (hand) though promised'. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 44. 35) says that up to pāṇigrahaṇa any one may ask for the hand of a maiden (even though promised before to another). Nārada (strīpuṁsa vv. 30 and 32) contains similar provisions.[1249] Conversely, if a man agrees to marry a girl and subsequently discovers defects in her or if she is diseased or already deflowered or given by practising fraud he may refuse to marry her. Vide Manu IX. 72. If a guardian gives away a girl without declaring the defects of a girl (and they are subsequently discovered) the guardian should be fined in the highest ammercement (according to Yāj. I. 66 and the lowest, according to Nārada, strīpuṁsa v. 33). Aparārka[1250] (p. 95) and others add that the defects referred to must be latent and not apparent or patent to view. If a suitor repudiates a girl who is free from defects he should be fined in the highest ammercement and if he falsely accuses her of defects he should be fined one hundred paṇas (Yāj I. 66

1248. अग्निसाक्षिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन्त इत्याचार्यसमयः। कामसूत्र III. 5. 13.

1249. कन्यायां दत्तशुल्कायां ज्यायांश्चेद्वर आव्रजेत्। धर्मार्थकामसंयुक्तो वाक्यं तत्रानृतं भवेत्॥ दत्त्वा न्यायेन यः कन्यां वराय न ददाति ताम्। अदुष्टश्चेद्वरो राज्ञा स दण्ड्यस्तत्र चौरवत्॥ नारद, स्त्रीपुंस 30 and 32.

1250. कन्याप्रदः कन्यादोषं स्वयं जानन्वरेणाविदितं तस्य च प्रत्यक्षायोग्यमकथयित्वा यदि प्रयच्छति &c.। अपरार्क p. 95.

and Nārada, strīpuṁsa v. 34). Nārada adds that he who abandons a faultless girl should be punished and should be made to marry the same girl.[1251]

Some of the smṛtis and digests are very much exercised over the question of the bride having menstruation while the marriage ceremonies are in progress and *homa* is about to be performed. Atri[1252] (Jīvānanda part 1, p. 11, chap. V) prescribes that having made the girl bathe with the Haviṣmatī (with a verse in which the word havis occurs, probably Ṛg. X. 88. 1 or VIII. 72. 1) and to put on other garments and having offered an *āhuti* of clarified butter with the verse 'Yuñjate manaḥ' (Ṛg. V. 81. 1) the ceremonies should be proceeded with. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 17) first quotes two verses (the same as Atri's) and proposes an alternative method viz. that the bride and the bride-groom should stay separate from each other for three days and on the fourth day after ceremonially bathing themselves should perform the homa in the same fire.

1251. प्रतिगृह्य तु यः कन्यामदुष्टामुत्सृजेन्नरः । स विनेयस्त्वकामोऽपि कन्यां तामेव चोद्वहेत् ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 35).

1252. विवाहे वितते तन्त्रे होमकाल उपस्थिते । कन्यामृतुमतीं दृष्ट्वा कथं कुर्वन्ति याज्ञिकाः ॥ हविष्मत्या स्नापयित्वा अन्यवस्त्रमलंकृता । युञ्जानामाहुतिं कृत्वा ततः कर्म प्रवर्तते ॥ अत्रि V. This is quoted as यज्ञपार्श्व in सं. र. मा. p. 500 and सं. कौ. p. 714, while the उद्वाहतत्त्व quotes (pp. 146–147) two verses (one of which is the same as विवाहे and the other very similar) from वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य as quoted in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर.

CHAPTER X

MADHUPARKA AND OTHER USAGES

Madhuparka: (offering of honey by way of honour to a distinguished guest). The word literally means 'a ceremony in which honey is shed or poured' (on the hand of a person). The word occurs in the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa[1253] 18. 4. The Nirukta (I. 16) also refers to the usage of offering madhuparka with the word madhuparka repeated thrice. It appears that the Ait. Br. III. 4 when it says that 'if the ruler of men comes as a guest or any one else deserving of honour comes, people kill a bull or a cow (that has contracted a habit of abortion)' refers to Madhuparka,[1254] though that word is not actually used. In all gṛhya sūtras it is described at length. Most of the details are the same, the principal difference being that often different mantras are prescribed, though some (like the verse 'mātā rudrāṇām') are the same. The madhuparka[1255] is offered to *ṛtviks* (priests officiating at sacrifices) when they are chosen for a sacrifice, to a snātaka who has come to one's house, to the king (who rules one's country, when he comes to one's house), to one's ācārya, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles. The Mānava gṛ. (I. 9. 1), Khādira gṛ. IV. 4. 21, Yāj. I. 110 say that six persons deserve *arghya* (madhuparka) viz. ṛtvik, ācārya, the bride-groom, the king, the snātaka and a person who is dear to one. Some like Baud.[1256] gṛ. I. 2. 65 add 'atithi' (guest). *Vide* Gaut. V. 25, Āp. gṛ. 13. 19–20, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 5–6, Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 63–64,

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1253. तं होवाच किं विद्वान्सो दाल्भ्यानामन्ध्य मधुपर्कं पिबसीति। जै. उ. ब्रा. 18. 4; जानते मधुपर्कं प्राह। निरुक्त I. 16.

1254. तद्यथैवादो मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वार्हति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्ते। ऐ. ब्रा. III. 4. This is quoted by मेधा० on मनु III. 119 and by हरदत्त on गौतम 17. 30.

1255. ऋत्विजो वृत्वा मधुपर्कमाहरेत्। स्नातकायोपस्थिताय। राज्ञे च। आचार्यश्वशुरपितृव्यमातुलानां च। आश्व. गृ. I.24. 1–4. The bride-groom, when he comes to the bride's house, is to be honoured with मधुपर्क because he also is generally a स्नातक. The आचार्य is one who performs one's उपनयन and teaches the Veda.

1256. तथैते अर्घ्या ऋत्विक् श्वशुरः पितृव्यो मातुल आचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो वरोऽतिथिरिति। बौ. गृ. I. 2. 65.

Manu III. 119, Sabhāparva 36. 23–24, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 23–24. It is laid down that if the persons enumerated come to one's house within a year after madhuparka has been once offered, then it need not be offered again (in the same year), but when a marriage is being celebrated in one's house or a *yajña* is being performed, then madhuparka must be offered to those persons (even if one year has not elapsed since the madhuparka was previously offered). Vide Gaut. V. 26–27, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 6, Yāj. I. 110, Khādira gr. IV. 4. 26, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 26. *Ṛtviks* are to be honoured in each yājña, even though several yajñas are performed in the same year (Yāj. I. 110). Manu (III. 120) says that a king and a snātaka are to be honoured with madhuparka only when they visit one's house in a yajña. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 109) says that madhuparka is to be offered to the king only and not to any kṣatriya. Medhātithi on Manu III. 119 says that when a king, whether a kṣatriya or not, comes to one's place madhuparka was to be offered, but not to a śūdra king. According to gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa the madhuparka is to be performed according to the rites prescribed in the śākhā of the receiver and not of the giver.[1257]

The procedure of madhuparka is set out from the Āśv. gr.[1258] (I. 24. 5–26) " He pours honey into curds or clarified butter if no honey can be had. A seat,[1259] water for washing the feet, *arghya* water (i. e. water perfumed with flowers &c.), water for ācamana, honey mixture, a cow; every one of these they announce three times (to the person who has arrived). The person (to be honoured) should sit down on the seat made of northward pointed darbha grass with the verse[1260] 'I am the highest one among my kindred, as the sun among lights ' (lightnings). Here I tread on whomsoever bears enmity to me.' Or he should repeat this verse after he has trodden on it. He should make (the host) wash his feet ; the right foot he should

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1257. वरस्य या भवेच्छाखा तच्छाखागृह्यचोदितः । मधुपर्कः प्रदातव्योऽप्यन्यशाखेपि दातरि ॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 823.

1258. Vide Appendix for text

1259. A विष्टर is a seat with 25 दर्भs. 'पञ्चाशता भवेद्ब्रह्मा तदर्धेन तु विष्टरः' परिशिष्ट quoted by सं. प्र. p. 821. अर्घ्य is water for washing the hands, in which flowers and perfume (like sandal-wood paste) have been mixed up. गन्धमाल्यादिसंयुक्तमुदकमर्घ्यमित्युच्यते । नारायण on आश्व. गृ. I. 24 11.

1260. अहं वर्ष्म &c.—This occurs in पारस्कर I. 3 and मानवगृह्य I. 9. 8 with slight variations.

hold out first to a brāhmaṇa (for washing) and the left to a śūdra. When his feet have been washed, he receives the arghya water in his joined hands and then he performs ācamana with the water for sipping with the formula 'thou art the seat (or first layer) of ambrosia'.[1261] He should look at the madhuparka, when it is being brought to him, with the mantra 'I look at thee with the eye of Mitra'. He accepts it (the madhuparka) in the joined hands with the formula 'by the command (urging) of god Savitṛ, by the arms of Aśvins and the hands of Pūṣan, I accept thee' (Vāj S. I. 24). He looks at it with the three ṛk verses [1262] 'the winds blow honey to the righteous man' (Ṛg. I. 90. 6–8). He (takes it into his left hand), stirs it about thrice from left to right with the thumb and the finger next to the smallest and wipes (his fingers) towards the east with the formula 'may the Vasus eat thee with the Gāyatrī metre'; with the formula 'may the Rudras eat thee with the Triṣṭubh metre' (he wipes fingers) towards the south; with the formula 'may the Ādityas eat thee with the Jagatī metre' towards the west; with the formula 'may Viśve Devas eat thee with the Anuṣṭubh metre' towards the north; with the formula 'to the bhūtas (beings) thee' he three times takes (some of the madhuparka materials) from out of the middle of it (and throws it up). He should partake of it for the first time with the formula [1263] 'the milk of Virāj art thou', for the second time with 'may I obtain the milk of Virāj', the third time with 'in me may the milk of Padyā Virāj dwell'. He should not eat the whole madhuparka and should not eat to satiety. He should give the remainder (out of the madhuparka materials) to a brāhmaṇa towards the north; but if no brāhmaṇa is available he should throw it into water; or he may eat the whole. He then takes ācamana with the water intended for it with the

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1261. The words अमृतोपस्तरणमसि occur in the description of मधुपर्क in आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 10. 3 and आप. गृ. 13. 13., मानवगृह्य. I. 9. 15.

1262. The three verses Ṛg. I. 90. 6–8 all begin with the word मधु 'मधु वाता ऋतायते मधु क्षरन्ति सिन्धवः' (6), 'मधु नक्तमुतोषसो' (7), 'मधुमान्नो वनस्पतिः' (8) and so are very appropriate to मधुपर्क. They occur in वाज. सं. 13. 27–29, are called मधुमती verses and employed in पार. गृ. I. 3, also in मानवगृह्य I. 9. 14.

1263. The three मन्त्रs 'विराजो दोहोऽसीति &c.' occur in Pār. gṛ. I. 3 (but at the time of receiving the *arghya* water), Śāṅ. gṛ. III. 7. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 9. 7 &c. Some held that he should partake of the madhuparka at one time after repeating the three mantras at once.

formula 'thou art the cover of ambrosia.'[1264] He sips water a second time with the formula 'truth! fame! fortune! may Fortune resort to me.' When he has sipped water, they announce to him the cow. Having muttered the words 'destroyed is my sin, my sin is destroyed', he says 'om, do it' if he desires to have the cow killed; if he is desirous of letting her go, he mutters the verse 'the mother of Rudras and daughter of Vasus'[1264a] (Ṛg. VIII. 101. 15) and says 'let her go'. Let the madhuparka not be without flesh."

A few small matters may be noted. Several gṛhya-sūtras (such as the Mānava) describe madhuparka as a part of the marriage rite, while others like Āśv. describe it independently. Others like Hir. gṛ. (I. 12–13) describe it as part of Samāvartana There is divergence about the substances mixed in offering madhuparka. Āśv. gṛ. and Āp. gṛ. (13. 10) prescribe a mixture of honey and curds or clarified butter and curds. Others like Pār. gṛ. I. 3 prescribe a mixture of three (curds, honey and butter). Āp. gṛ. (13. 11–12) states the view of some that those three may be mixed or five (those three with fried yava grain and barley). Hir. gṛ. I. 12. 10–12 gives the option of mixing three or five (curds, honey, ghee, water and ground grain). The Kauśika sūtra (92) speaks of nine kinds of mixtures viz. Brāhma (honey and curds), Aindra (of pāyasa), Saumya (curds and ghee), Pauṣṇa (ghee and mantha), Sārasvata (milk and ghee), Mausala (wine and ghee, this being used only in Sautrāmaṇī and Rājasūya sacrifices), Vāruṇa (water and ghee), Śrāvaṇa (sesame oil and ghee), Pārivrājaka (sesame oil and oil cake). The Mānava gṛ. I. 9. 22 says that the Veda declares that the madhuparka must not be without flesh and so it recommends that if the cow is let loose, goat's meat or pāyasa (rice cooked in milk) may be offered; the Hir. gṛ. I. 13. 14 says that other meat should be offered; Baud. gṛ. says (I. 2. 51–54) that when the cow is let off, the flesh of a goat or ram may be offered or some forest flesh (of a deer &c.) may be offered, as there can be no madhuparka without flesh or if one is unable to offer flesh one may cook ground grains. As the cow became sacred, it became unthinkable to kill her and so other flesh was

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1264. अमृतापिधानमसि–this मन्त्र occurs also in आप. म. पा. II. 10. 4 and आप. गृ. 13. 13.

1264a. The verse माता रुद्राणां (referring to the cow) is mentioned in several गृह्यसूत्रs such as the मानव (I. 9. 23), Pār. (I. 3), बौ. गृ. I. 2. 50.

offered. When even flesh-eating came to be abhorred, then only pāyasa and such other things were recommended. The Ādiparva (60. 13–14) refers to Janamejaya's reception of Vyāsa with madhuparka and Vyāsa's letting the cow loose. This abhorrence of flesh-eating will be dealt with later on. In modern times there is generally no madhuparka except in marriage and then too it is a simple matter and the elaborate procedure prescribed in some of the gṛhya sūtras is hardly ever followed.

Certain peculiar ceremonies relating to marriage may now be described very briefly. In order to avert early widowhood (which was judged from her horoscope) for the girl to be married, a ceremony called *kumbha-vivāha* was performed. It is described in Saṁ. Pr. (p. 868), Nirṇayasindhu p. 310, Saṁ. K. (p. 746), S. R. M. (p. 528) and other works. On the day previous to the marriage a jar of water in which a golden image of Viṣṇu is dipped is decked with flowers &c. and the girl is surrounded in a network of threads, Varuṇa and Viṣṇu are worshipped and prayed to give long life to the intended bride-groom. Then the jar is taken out and broken in a pool of water and then water is sprinkled over the girl with five twigs and to the accompaniment of Ṛg. VII. 49 and then brāhmaṇas are fed.

The Sam. Pr. (pp. 868–869) speaks of Aśvattha-vivāha which is like kumbha-vivāha and performed for good luck to the bride and averting widowhood. Here the Aśvattha tree is substituted for the jar and a golden image of Viṣṇu is worshipped. The image is then given to a brāhmaṇa.

Arkavivāha: When a man has the misfortune to lose by death two wives one after another, before marrying a third wife he goes through a ceremony of marriage with the *arka* plant. This is described in Saṁ. Pr. pp. 876–889, Saṁ. K. p. 819, Nirṇayasindhu, p. 328. It is described in Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra V. 5 also.

Another question which takes up much space in ancient works but which is now of hardly any importance is *parivedana*. When a male got married before his elder brother or where a person married a younger girl before her elder sister was married, this act was called *parivedana* and was severely condemned as a serious encroachment on the rights of seniority and as a sin. Gaut. 15. 18 and Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 12. 22) declare that a younger brother married before an elder brother, and an elder

brother married after a younger brother are sinners, and should not be invited at a śrāddha. Āp. adds that one who marries a younger sister before her elder sister is married, one who marries an elder sister after the younger sister has been married, one whose younger brother has kindled the sacred fires or offered a soma sacrifice before him (and a younger brother who kindles the sacred fires or offers soma sacrifice before his elder brother) are also equally sinful. Vas. Dh. S. I. 18, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 15–17 also have similar provisions and Vas. Dh. S. (20. 7–10) prescribes *kṛcchra* penance of twenty days for the husband of the younger sister married before her elder sister and for the husband of the elder sister married after the younger one, requires each of them to offer his wife to the other for the sake of form (to remove the slur) and then to wed her again with his assent.[1265] Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 40 also. The younger brother who marries before the elder brother is called *parivettā* or *parivividāna* (Manu III. 171, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 22) or *parivindaka* (Yāj. I. 223), the elder brother before whom the younger brother marries is called *parivitta* or *parivinna* or *parivitti* (Manu III. 171), the younger sister who marries before the elder sister is called *agredidhiṣū* (Gaut. 15. 15, Vas. I. 18) or *parivedinī*, the elder sister before whom her younger sister marries is called *didhiṣū*. The husbands of these two last respectively bear the appellations agre-didhiṣūpati and didhiṣūpati. The father or other guardian who gives away the girl in any of these cases of parivedana is called paridāyī or paridātā. The younger brother who kindles the sacred fire before the elder is styled '*paryādhātṛ*' and the elder brother who is so treated is called '*paryāhita*' (Gaut. 15. 18). Manu III. 172 (which is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 30 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 16) says that the parivettā, the parivitta, the girl whom the younger brother marries before the elder, the man who gives away the girl in marriage and the officiating priest—these five all fall into hell[1266] (and must perform the penance of Cāndrāyaṇa according to Viṣṇu). The Mit. on

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1265. *Vide* Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 explaining Vas. Dh. S. '(परिवेत्ता) कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रौ चरित्वा तस्मै ज्येष्ठाय तां स्वोढां दत्त्वा ब्रह्मचर्याहृतं भैक्षवद् गुरुपरिभवपरिहारार्थं निवेद्य पुनरुद्वहेत्। तामेव ...स्वोढां ज्येष्ठाय निवेदितां तेन चाभ्यनुज्ञातामुद्वहेत्।.'

1266. The story of Jacob and the two sisters Leah (elder) and Rachel (younger) in Genesis XXIX shows that among the ancient Jews also there was a custom prohibiting the marriage of a younger sister before the elder sister.

Yāj. III. 265 quotes Hārīta-dharmasūtra on this topic to the same effect. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 refers to the view of some that if a son kindles the sacred fire before his father, the same rule applies as between brothers and then refutes that view. Aparārka p. 446 quotes Uśanas that a person may kindle sacred fires even before his father or grandfather with the latter's consent. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (I. 76–77) says that there is no sin in taking agnihotra and performing a sacrifice before an elder brother and the incurring of sin is only restricted to marriage, while the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 13) holds the opposite view that one should not kindle the Vedic fires before one's father even with the latter's consent. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (37. 15–17) enumerates parivedana among upapātakas. Gaut. (18. 18–19) prescribes that if an elder brother has gone to a foreign country his younger brother must wait twelve years before he takes a wife or kindles sacred fires or six years according to some.[1267] There is a similar text of Vas. quoted by Aparārka p. 445.

In certain cases marrying or kindling sacred fires before an elder brother is not condemned. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 quotes a verse 'One need not wait where the elder brother is a lunatic, or is a sinner, or leprous, impotent, or suffering from tuberculosis' and remarks that this is only illustrative (i. e. one need not wait where the elder brother has no adhikāra for marriage or for kindling fires)[1268]. Vide Atri v. 105 (Anan. ed.) for a similar verse. Another verse of Atri (v. 106) says that there is no blemish in marrying before the elder brother, if the latter is impotent or gone abroad, or *patita* or has become a recluse or is devoted to Yogaśāstra[1269]. *Vide* Gobhila smṛti (I. 72-74) for similar verses (which are quoted by the Gṛ. R. p. 90), Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana I. 68–74, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 and Saṁ. Pr. pp. 760–766.

The ideas about the wrong committed by a younger brother or sister marrying before an elder one reach far back into Vedic antiquity. In the Tai. Br. (III. 2. 9) there is a story that the gods transferred (rubbed off) their sin to the Āpyas and then

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1267. भ्रातरि चैवं ज्यायसि कनीयान्कन्याग्न्युपयमेषु । षडित्येके । गौतम 18. 18–19.

1268. उन्मत्तः किल्बिषी कुष्ठी पतितः क्लीब एव च । राजयक्ष्मामयावी च न योग्यः स्यात् प्रतीक्षितुम् ॥ quoted by मेधा० on मनु III. 171 and अपरार्क p. 445.

1269. क्लीबे देशान्तरस्थे च पतिते व्रजितेपि वा । योगशास्त्राभियुक्ते च न दोषः परिवेदने ॥ अत्रि 106. This is quoted as शातातप's by अपरार्क p. 445.

there is a succession of persons who are all guilty of blame or sin and each preceding one among whom is said to have passed it on to each succeeding one viz. sūryābhyudita, sūryābhinimrukta, kunakhin, śyāvadat, agredidhiṣū, parivitta, vīrahan, brahmahan. The Vas. Dh.[1270] S. I. 18 arranges persons called sinners (*enasvin*) almost in the same order as in the Tai. Br. Here (in Tai. Br.) we have parivitta and agredidhiṣu. In another passage of the Tai. Br. (III. 4. 4) while speaking of Puruṣamedha, it is said that the parivitta is consigned as a victim to ill-luck (*nir-ṛti*), the parivividāna to distress (ārti) and the didhiṣūpati to non-success (*arāddhi*).

1270. सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिर्मुक्तः कुनखी श्यावदन्तः परिवित्तिः परिवेत्ताग्रेदिधिषूपतिर्वीरहा ब्रह्मोज्झ इत्येनस्विनः । वसिष्ठ I. 18.

CHAPTER XI

POLYGAMY, POLYANDRY AND RIGHTS AND DUTIES ON MARRIAGE

Polygamy: Though monogamy [1271] seems to have been the ideal and was probably the rule, the Vedic literature is full of references to polygamy. Ṛg. X. 145 (same as Atharvaveda III. 18) is a hymn meant as a charm for weaning the husband's affections from a co-wife. It occurs in the Āp. M. P. (I. 15) and Āp. gṛ. IX. 6–8 prescribes it for winning over the husband to oneself and for causing estrangement between him and one's co-wife. Ṛg. X. [1272] 159 is a hymn attributed to Śacī, wife of Indra, who claims to have vanquished and killed her co-wives and to rule supreme over Indra and all men. This hymn also occurs in Āp. M. P. (I. 16) and is prescribed by the Āp. gṛ. (IX. 9) as a charm always to be repeated by a wife for suppressing her co-wives. In a verse (Ṛg. I. 105. 8) Trita who had fallen into a well declares 'the rib-like sides (of the well) cause me pain all round as co-wives make it too hot (for the husband or for themselves)' [1273]. The Tai. S. (VI. 6. 4. 3) gives a dogmatic and somewhat picturesque explanation of polygamy that 'on one sacrificial post he passes round two girdles, so one man secures two wives; that he does not pass one girdle round two posts, so one wife does not obtain two husbands'. The Ait. Br. (12. 11) similarly declares 'therefore one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at the

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1271. Vide Ṛg. X. 85. 26 and 46. These are पूषा त्वेतो नयतु हस्तगृह्याश्विना त्वा प्रवहतां रथेन । गृहान्गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विदथमा वदासि ॥...सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥ (last quoted above in n. 1229). The word *dampatī* (which occurs very frequently in the Ṛg.) conveys in several places the idea of a monogamous marriage. Vide Ṛg. V. 3. 2, VIII. 31. 5, X. 68. 2.

1272. Vide असपत्ना सपत्नघ्नी जयन्त्यभिभूवरी । आवृक्षमन्यासां वर्चो राधो अस्थेयसामिव ॥ समजैषमिमा अहं सपत्नीरभिभूवरीः । यथाहमस्य वीरस्य विराजानि जनस्य च ॥ ऋ. X. 159. 5–6. आप. म. पा. reads differently.

1273. सं मा तपन्त्यभितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः । ऋ. I. 105. 8; vide Ṛg. X. 116. 10 (आदित्पतिमकृणुतं कनीनाम्) where the Aśvins are said to have made च्यवन the husband of maidens.

same[1274] time'. The Tai. Br. (III. 8. 4.) when speaking of the Aśvamedha says 'the wives anoint (the horse); wives are indeed a form of prosperity'[1275]. In the Śat. Br. (XIII. 4. 1. 9., S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 349) it is said, 'four[1276] wives are in attendance viz. the consecrated queen (*mahiṣī*), the favourite wife (vāvātā), the discarded wife (parivṛktā or parivṛkti) and the pālāgalī (who is low-born)'. The Tai. S. I. 8. 9 refers to the mahiṣī and parivṛkti. In the Vāj. S. (23. 24, 26, 28) there are verses which are addressed to the mahiṣī, vāvātā and parivṛkti by the brahmā, udgātā and hotā priests respectively. Hariścandra is said to have had a hundred wives (Ait. Br. 33. 1). It is not to be supposed that polygamy was confined only to kings and nobles. The great philosopher Yājñavalkya had two wives, Kātyāyanī who was worldly-minded and Maitreyī who thirsted for the knowledge of brahma and immortality (Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 1-2 and II. 4. 1).

In the times of the sūtras, some sages wanted to hold up a high ideal. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 12-13) declares that when a man has a wife who is endowed with dharma and progeny, he shall not marry another wife; but if any one of the two (dharma and progeny) is wanting (in the case of the wife), he may marry another before he has consecrated the sacred śrauta fires. In another place Āp. (I. 10. 28. 19) prescribes that one who abandons his (faultless) wife should put on the skin of an ass with the hair outside and should beg for alms at seven houses for six months.[1277] Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 95)

1274. यदेकस्मिन्यूपे द्वे रशने परिव्ययति तस्मादेको द्वे जाये विन्दते यन्नैकां रशनां द्वयोर्यूपयोः परिव्ययति तस्मान्नैका द्वौ पती विन्दते । तै. सं. VI. 6. 4. 3; vide also तै. सं. VI. 5. 1. 4 'तस्मादेको बह्वीर्जाया विन्दते;' तस्मादेकस्य बह्व्यो जाया भवन्ति नैकस्यै बहवः सहपतयः । ऐ. ब्रा. 12. 11.

1275. पत्नयोऽभ्यञ्जन्ति । श्रियो वा एतद्रूपं यत्पत्नयः । श्रियमेवास्मिंस्तद्दधति । तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 4; vide शतपथब्रा. XIII. 2. 6. 7 for the same words.

1276. चतस्रो जाया उपक्लृप्ता भवन्ति महिषी वावाता परिवृक्ता पालागली । शतपथ XIII. 4. 1. 9. In रामायण बालकाण्ड 14. 35 the first three out of these four are mentioned in connection with अश्वमेध 'होताध्वर्युस्तथोद्गाता हयेन समयोजयन् । महिष्या परिवृक्त्या च वावातामपरां तथा ॥'. In Ṛg. X. 102. 11 the word परिवृक्ता occurs which probably means the discarded wife.

1277. धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । अन्यतराभावे कार्या प्रागग्न्याधेयात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 12-13; खराजिनं बहिर्लोम परिधाय दारव्यतिक्रमिणे भिक्षामिति सप्तागाराणि चरेत् । सा वृत्तिः षण्मासान् । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 19; vide बृहत्संहिता chap 74. 13 where this प्रायश्चित्त for the husband is mentioned and it is said that it is never observed by men. अनुकूलामवाग्दुष्टां दक्षां साध्वीं प्रजावतीम् । त्यजन् भार्यामवस्थाप्यो राज्ञा दण्डेन भूयसा ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 95).

recommends that the king should bring round to the proper path by inflicting heavy fines a husband who abandons a wife that is obedient, not harsh of tongue, vigilant (in household work), chaste and endowed with sons. Even Kauṭ. (III. 2) prescribes that a husband should wait for eight years (before marrying another) if his wife gives birth to no child after one delivery or is sonless or is barren; he should wait for ten if she bears only still-born children, twelve years if she gives birth to daughters only. Then if he is anxious for a son he may marry another. If he violates these rules he must pay her gratuity, some wealth as strīdhana and money (prescribed to be given) on supersession and besides a fine (to the king) of 24 paṇas'.[1278] So far Kauṭilya appears to have only stated the ideal, because he follows up this remark by another statement which probably represented the commonly held popular view 'a man may marry several wives after giving *śulka* and strīdhana to those to whom nothing had been given at the time of marriage and money on supersession (ādhivedanika) and suitable provision for livelihood; for women are (married) for procreating sons.' Though Āp. and others held up the ideal of monogamy and Nārada and others prescribed a fine for marrying a second wife without sufficient cause, it is extremely doubtful whether a man was ever punished by the king for so doing. Manu V. 80 and Yāj. I. 80 both say that a husband may supersede a wife (and marry another) if she drinks wine, suffers from a disease (of long standing), is deceitful, is extravagant in expenditure, speaks harsh words, and gives birth to female children only. Manu V. 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 allow a husband to marry another woman at once if the first is harsh of tongue. Devala[1279] quoted in the Gṛ. R. says that the śūdra may have only one wife, a vaiśya two, a kṣatriya three and a brāhmaṇa four, but a king may have as many as he desires. This only reflected the prevailing practice of kings. The Ādiparva[1280] gravely remarks 'to have many wives is no *adharma* on the part of men, but to violate

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1278. Vide Manu IX. 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 for similar periods of waiting. Vide Yāj. II. 148 for the amount of ādhivedanika to be given by the husband.

1279. एका शूद्रस्य वैश्यस्य द्वे तिस्रः क्षत्रियस्य च। चतस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य स्युर्भार्या राज्ञो यथेच्छतः ॥ देवल quoted in गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 85.

1280. न चाप्यधर्मः कल्याण बहुपत्नीकता नृणाम्। स्त्रीणामधर्मः सुमहान्भर्तुः पूर्वस्य लङ्घने ॥ आदिपर्व 160. 36.

the duty owed to the first husband would be a great *adharma* in the case of women.' The Mahābhārata (Mausala-parva V. 6) tells us that Vāsudeva[1281] (Kṛṣṇa) had sixteen thousand wives. Several kings had in historic times as many as a hundred wives. For example, the Cedi king Gāṅgeyadeva alias Vikramāditya is said to have obtained *mukti* (salvation) at Prayāga with his hundred wives[1282] (vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva dated 1122 A. D. in E. I. vol. II. p. 4 and the Khaira plates of the same king in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205). In Bengal the evils of Kulinism are well known. The reasons for this treatment of women were many, such as the great spiritual importance of sons, early marriages and consequent illiteracy of women, the spread of the idea of the ceremonial impurity of women and their being equated with śūdras and lastly the idea of the complete dependence of women on men. One must not be carried away, however, by the notion that marrying many wives was either very common or was not looked down upon. Steele (in 'Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes,' first published in 1826) who had the most unique opportunities for observing the practices of numerous castes in the Dekhan in the first decades of the 19th century writes (p. 168, ed. of 1868) 'a man may marry as many wives as his inclination or circumstances allow. Marriages in succession, in consequence of the death of a former wife, are very common; but polygamy is not usual except on account of the barrenness of the first wife. It is practised in the Koonbee castes'. Vide also Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. I (ed. of 1907) p. 482 'Although in theory polygamy is allowed, in practice a second wife is rarely taken while the first is alive and in India as a whole there are only 1011 wives to every 1000 husbands so that even if no husbands have more than two wives all but 11 per thousand must be monogamous'. The state of the modern case law is unsatisfactory. The Bombay High Court has held that the mere fact that the husband has married a second wife would not entitle the first wife to refuse to stay with the husband. Vide *Motilal* v. *Chanchal*, 4 Bom. L. R. 107. In *Virasami* v. *Appasami*, 1 Madras High Court Reports, p. 375, the court held that a Hindu may marry any number of wives, although he may have a wife or wives living. It is submitted with great respect that that is

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1281. षोडश स्त्रीसहस्राणि वासुदेवपरिग्रहः। तासामासीन्महानादो दृष्ट्वैवार्जुनमागतम् ॥ मौसलपर्व V. 6.

1282. प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेशबन्धौ सार्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्तिम्। E. I. vol. II. p. 4.

not the ideal or the view of the best writers, nor is such a view held by the majority of Indian jurists of ancient and medieval times. Modern opinion of educated people is most favourable to making marriages monogamous and efforts are being made to secure absolute monogamy by legislative action. For example, the Madras Nambudri Act (Madras Act XXI of 1933) forbids a Nambudri brāhmaṇa from marrying a second wife when the first is living except in three cases viz. (1) when the first wife is afflicted with an incurable disease for over five years, (2) when she has not borne a child within ten years of marriage, and (3) when she becomes an outcast.

Polyandry

The passages cited above (note 1274) from the Ait. Br. and the Tai. S. that a woman cannot have several husbands at the same time make it clear that in those ancient times polyandry was unheard [1283] of. Not a single Vedic passage can be cited which clearly refers to the practice of polyandry. The most glaring example of polyandry in Sanskrit literature is that of Draupadī as the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. Probably the tradition was too firmly rooted to allow the author to ignore it. The Mahābhārata shows that all were shocked by the resolve of Yudhiṣṭhira to make Draupadī the wife of the five brothers. Dhṛṣṭadyumna (Ādiparva [1284] 195. 27–29) tries vehemently to dissuade Yudhiṣṭhira, who tries to justify his action on the ground of ancient practice and the agreement of the brothers to share everything that any one of them may secure. But Yudhiṣṭhira could [1285] ferret out (Ādi. chap. 196) only two instances (rather mythical) in support of the practice viz. of Jaṭilā Gautamī (who had seven sages as husbands) and of Vārkṣī who had ten Prācetasa brothers as husbands. It is this fact that has led many scholars to regard the Pāṇḍus as a non-Aryan tribe somehow grafted on the Aryan stock and represented as relatives of the Kauravas by the editor of the

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1283. Vide Cambridge History of India, vol I. p. 88, Vedic Index I. p. 479.

1284. एकस्य बह्व्यो विहिता महिष्यः कुरुनन्दन। नैकस्या बहवः पुंसः श्रूयन्ते पतयः क्वचित्। लोकवेदविरुद्धं त्वं नाधर्मं धर्मविच्छुचिः। कर्तुमर्हसि कौन्तेय कस्मात्ते बुद्धिरी-दृशी। आदि. 195. 27–29; vide सभापर्व 68.35 where Karṇa speaks of Draupadī as 'bandhakī' (a harlot), because she had many men as her husbands.

1285. युधिष्ठिर replies 'सूक्ष्मो धर्मो महाराज नास्य विद्मो वयं गतिम्। पूर्वेषामानु-पूर्व्येण यातं वर्त्मानुयामहे॥'

Mahābhāratā. This too also sounds somewhat far-fetched. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika cuts this Gordian knot by putting forward three explanations, one of which boldly asserts that there were many Draupadīs very similar to each other and so the epic figuratively speaks of one Draupadī only.[1286] There were really five Draupadīs (and not one) married separately to the five Pāṇḍavas. In the Dharmaśāstra works there are traces of the knowledge of the practice of polyandry. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 2-4) refers to it 'One shall not make over (his wife) to strangers (for a son by *niyoga*), but only to one who is a sagotra; for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of brothers and not to one brother alone); that (*niyoga*) is forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses.' Similarly Bṛhaspati, while illustrating the proposition that the king should not disturb popular usages even though they may be improper, cites several such practices among which he mentions 'In some other countries there is the most reprehensible practice of a brother taking (as wife) the widow of his deceased brother, and the practice of delivering a maiden to a family; similarly among the Pārasīkas (Persians) matches with a mother are seen'.[1287] Dr. Jolly is wrong in thinking that Bṛhaspati refers to polyandry as practised in the south. Bṛhaspati first referred to the practice of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter as prevalent amongst the southerners (dākṣinātyas) in his day and then adds that a practice of giving a girl to the family is in vogue in other countries. So he clearly means countries other than those of the dākṣiṇātyas. Prof. Keith appears to follow Dr. Jolly without any independent examination of the original passage (in E. R. E. vol. 8 on marriage, p. 453). Just as Bṛhaspati refers to the Pārasīkas, he speaks of polyandry as current among other countries (but not Aryan India). There are two types of polyandry,[1288] one matriarchal (where a woman forms simultaneous alliances with two or more men who are not necessarily relations of each other and therefore succession is

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1286. अथवा बह्व्य एव ताः सदृशरूपा द्रौपद्य एकत्वेनोपचरिता इति व्यवहारार्थापत्त्या गम्यते ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 209

1287. विरुद्धाः प्रतिदृश्यन्ते दाक्षिणात्येषु संप्रति । स्वमातुलसुतोद्वाहो मातृबन्धुत्वदूषितः ॥ अभर्तृकभ्रातृभार्याग्रहणं चातिदूषितम् । कुले कन्याप्रदानं च देशेष्वन्येषु दृश्यते । तथा मातृविवाहोपि पारसीकेषु दृश्यते । बृहस्पति quoted in the स्मृतिच० I. 10, स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम p. 130). Vide Jolly's Recht und Sitte, English translation, p. 102.

1288. Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. I. p. 483 (1907).

traced through the female) and the other fraternal, where a woman becomes the wife of several brothers. The former practice once prevailed among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, but it has now died out. The latter form of polyandry is still to some extent found in Kumaon, Garhwal and among peoples in the Himalayan area up to Assam.[1289] Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (I. A. vol. 8, p. 88) says that in Kumaun between the Tons and Jumna river about Kalsi, Rajputs, brāhmaṇas and śūdras all practise polyandry and the children are attributed to the eldest brother who is alive. Nīlakaṇṭha,[1290] the commentator of the Mahābhārata, raises (on Ādiparva 104. 35) the question about Draupadī's marrying five husbands and refers to the practice among very low castes in his day of one woman having two or three husbands.

Mutual rights and duties of husband and wife

Manu (IX. 101–102) lays down in a concise form the obligations of husband and wife viz. 'they should not prove false to each other till death (as regards dharma, artha and kāma) and that their constant endeavour should be not to be separate from each other and not to break faith with each other (as to those three goals of human life)'. The detailed rights and duties of the husband and wife will be unfolded as we proceed.

The first duty of the husband and the privilege of the wife was to require and to give respectively her co-operation in all religious acts. This has been so from the most ancient times. In Ṛg. I. 72. 5 it is said[1291] that 'they, accompanied by their wives, worshipped the fire who is worthy of worship'. In another place it is said 'when you make the husband and wife of one mind, they anoint thee with ghee like a well-placed friend'. In the Tai. Br. III. 7. 5 occurs a passage 'may the wife unite with her husband by means of the good deeds (done by

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1289. Vide the authorities quoted in Jolly's Recht und Sitte (Eng. tr. p. 103 foot-notes).

1290. कथं तर्हि द्रौपद्याः पञ्च पाण्डवा मारिषायाश्च दश प्राचेतसा इदानींतनानां नीचानां च द्वित्रादयः पतयो दृश्यन्ते इति चेन्न देवचरितं चरेदिति न्यायेन देवताकल्पेषु पर्यनुयोगायोगात् नीचानां पशुप्रायाणां चाचारस्याप्रामाण्याच्च अधिकारिविषयत्वाच्च नियोगस्य। नीलकण्ठ on आदिपर्व 104. 35.

1291. संजानाना उपसीदन्नभिज्ञु पत्नीवन्तो नमस्यं नमस्यन्। ऋ. I. 72. 5; अञ्जन्ति मित्रं सुधितं न गोभिर्यद्दम्पती समनसा कृणोषि। ऋ. V. 3. 2; स पत्नी पत्या सुकृतेन गच्छताम्। यज्ञस्य युक्तौ धुर्यावभूताम्। संजानाना विजहतामरातीः। दिवि ज्योतिरजरमारभेताम्। तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 5.

both), they two became yoked like oxen to the sacrifice; may the two be of one mind and destroy their foes; may they attain non-aging light in heaven'. The same verse with slight variations occurs in the Kāṭhaka Saṁ. V. 4 and is relied upon by Śabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 21. This indicates that they were supposed to enjoy the fruits of their actions together. We saw above (p. 551) how in the Aśvamedha the wife anoints the horse, how in marriage the bride offers handfuls of fried grain into fire. It has already been seen (note 1208) that the Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 17–19) requires that from the time of marriage the husband and wife work together in religious acts, that they share the reward of such acts together and that they both have dominion over the wealth of the family and that the wife can make gifts in the absence of the husband if occasion necessitates. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 8. 5) prescribes [1292] that the fire kindled at marriage is carried by the married pair to their home (in a vessel) and that (I. 9. 1–8) since the day of marriage, the husband should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife or his son or his daughter or pupil (may offer worship in his absence), that if fire goes out, some teachers say that the wife should observe a fast, the domestic fire should be worshipped in the evening with an *āhuti* and the formula 'agnaye svāhā' and in the morning with an *āhuti* and the formula 'sūryāya svāhā' and there is to be a second oblation each time silently (to Prajāpati). According to the commentator some said that the wife and daughter could not perform the homa as they had no privilege to learn mantras, that they could only kindle the fire, while others said they could do so. In the gṛhya fire kindled at marriage one was to offer the daily mahāyajñas (Gaut. 5. 6–8) and as regards baliharaṇa, Gobhila gṛ. (I. 4. 16–19) says that both husband and wife should offer *balis*, or a brāhmaṇa may offer for them, or the wife may offer in the evening and the husband in the morning [1293]. Manu (III. 121) says that from food cooked in the evening the wife should

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1292. विवाहाग्निमग्रतोऽजस्रं नयन्ति । आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 5. पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा । ...... यदि तूपशाम्येत्पत्न्युपवसेदित्येके । ...... अग्नये स्वाहेति सायं जुहुयात्सूर्याय स्वाहेति प्रातस्तूष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1, 3, 8.

1293. आप. गृ. was against allowing women to perform homa even in gṛhya fire except in the case of *kāmya* rites and *bali*. क्रियाद्युपेतेन क्षारलवणावरान्नसंसृष्टस्य च होमं परिचक्षते । यथोपदेशं काम्यानि बलयश्च । आप. गृ. 8. 3–4.

offer balis, but without mantras. This shows that though gradually women began to lose the right to repeat Vedic mantras (as shown by Manu), still she had a hand in the religious rites. She had to perform many acts in sacrifices, such as unhusking grain in sthālīpāka (*vide* Hir. gṛ. I. 23. 3), washing the slaughtered animal (compare Śat. Br. III. 8. 2 and Gobhila gṛ III. 10. 29), looking at the *ājya* in śrauta sacrifices. The Pūrvamīmāṁsā [1294] (VI. 1. 17-21) establishes that both husband and wife own property and should join together in performing sacrifices, but that the male sacrificer alone is ordinarily to do every act in all religious ceremonies except such matters as are expressly declared to be performed by the wife also or alone (as e. g. observing celibacy, uttering benediction &c.). It is on account of the necessity of associating the wife in all religious acts that the hero Rāma was compelled to celebrate sacrifices with a golden image of Sītā by his side.[1295] Pāṇini (IV. 1. 33) derives the word *patnī* and says that it can be only applied to a wife who shares in the sacrifice (and its reward). It follows that wives who are not or cannot join with their husbands in yajñas are only *jāyās* or *bhāryās* (but not *patnīs*). The Mahābhāṣya says[1296] that the wife of a śūdra is called *patnī* only by analogy (as a śūdra himself has no adhikāra for yajña, his wife can much less have it). It is on account of this close association of the wife in all sacrifices (either śrauta or smārta) that the wife if she dies before her husband is burnt with the sacred fire or fires and with the sacrificial vessels and implements (Manu V. 167-168, Yāj. I. 89). The Tai. Br. III. 7. 1 says 'half of the sacrifice is destroyed in the case of that sacrificer whose wife is (in her monthly course and therefore) unavailable on the sacrificial day.'[1297]

But the wife is not authorized to do religious acts independently of her husband or without his consent. Manu (V. 155 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 15) ordains 'there is no separate yajña for

1294. तस्या यावदुक्तमाशीर्ब्रह्मचर्यमतुल्यत्वात् । जै. VI. 1. 24.

1295. रामोपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरर्चितैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 10 ; 'काञ्चनीं मम पत्नीं च' in रामायण VII. 91. 25.

1296. पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । पा. IV. 1. 33; 'एवमपि तुषजकस्य पत्नीति न सिध्यति । उपमानात्सिद्धम् । पत्नीवत्पत्नीति ।' महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 33. (vol. II. p. 214).

1297. अर्धो वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य मीयते यस्य व्रत्येऽहन् पत्न्यनालम्भुका भवति । तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 1.

women (independently of the husband) nor vrata (vows) nor fasts (without his consent).' Similarly Kātyāyana propounds[1298] a sweeping rule 'whatever a woman does to secure spiritual benefit after death without the consent of her father (when she is unmarried), or her husband or her son, becomes fruitless for the purpose intended.' *Vide* also Veda-Vyāsa smṛti II. 19. The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 329) quotes Manu V. 155 and remarks that Manu's words are not to be taken literally but are only meant to extol the eminence of the husband.

Very detailed rules were laid down as to precedence among wives, if a man married several women. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (26. 1–4) concisely gives all the rules.[1299] If all the wives are of the same caste, then the wife whose marriage took place first was to be associated with the husband in all religious acts; if a man had wives of different varṇas (when inter-caste marriages were allowed) the wife of the same varṇa with the husband had precedence, though her marriage might have been later in date. If there is no wife of the same varṇa as himself, the husband may associate with himself in religious rites even a wife of the varṇa immediately next to his own; but a *dvijāti* should never associate a śūdra wife with himself in religious ceremonies. Vide Madanapārijāta p. 134 for similar rules. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 18 expressly says 'a woman belonging to the dark varṇa (i. e. śūdra) is meant only for pleasure and not for performance of religious rites'.[1300] Gobhila smṛti (I. 103–104) contains rules similar to those in Viṣṇu Dh. S., Yāj. I. 88 and Veda-Vyāsa II. 12 are to the same effect. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. remarks that though the eldest wife alone is entitled to take part in religious rites, all wives (except a śūdra wife) may be cremated with the śrauta fire. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 165. In the Pūrvamīmāṁsā (IX. 3. 20–21) Jaimini discusses the question whether the direction in the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa 'patnīm saṁnahya' (having girt up the wife) which employs the singular number

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1298. नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा। विफलं तद्भवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम्॥ कात्यायन quoted in the व्यवहारमयूख p. 113. This is ascribed to मार्कण्डेय by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 37. and by हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड part 1. p. 362) to आदिपुराण.

1299. सुवर्णासु बहुभार्यासु विद्यमानासु ज्येष्ठया सह धर्मकार्यं कुर्यात्। मिश्रासु च कनिष्ठयापि समानवर्णया। समानवर्णाया अभावे त्वनन्तरयैवापदि च। न त्वेव द्विजः शूद्रया॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 26. 1–4.

1300. कृष्णवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय। वसिष्ठ 18. 18.

should be modified into the dual or plural when the sacrificer (in a model sacrifice or its modifications) has two or more wives and establishes that no change is required. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana[1301] (I. 43–44) says that there were three views when a man had several wives viz. some said that all should be associated with him in religious rites, others held that only the eldest wife of the same varṇa should be associated and the third view was that the husband should never associate with himself a wife whom he married for pleasure after he kindled the sacred fires. Manu (IX. 86–87) lays down that the wife of the same caste with the husband should always have precedence not only in the obligatory religious rites, but also in ministering to the physical comfort of the husband and if a brāhmaṇa husband gets these done by a wife of another caste when the wife of the same caste is near, he becomes like a cāṇḍāla.

From very ancient times one of the articles of faith was that a man was born with debts, that he owed three debts to sages, gods and pitṛs and that by brahmacarya (student-hood), by performing yajñas and by procreating sons he freed himself from those three debts respectively. Vide [1302] Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5, Śat. Br. I. 7.2.11, Ait. Br. 33.1. The last very succinctly states the purposes served by a son viz. payment of the debt to ancestors, the securing of immortality and heaven. Ṛg. V. 4. 10 (prajābhir-agne amṛtatvam-aśyām) prays 'may I obtain immortality through progeny.' Vas. Dh. S. 17. 1–4 quotes these passages of the Tai. S., Ait. Br. and Ṛg. The Ṛg. X. 85. 45 invokes the blessing of ten sons on the newly married bride and the Ṛg. is full of the yearning for a son at every step. Vide Ṛg. I. 91. 20, I. 92. 13, III. 1. 23 &c. Jaimini (VI. 2. 31)[1303] discusses the passage of the Tai S. and arrives at the conclusion that the duties laid down in it are obligatory and not left to choice and Śabara adds another explanation that these duties are obligatory on all dvijātis and the word 'brāhmaṇa' is used in the

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1301. भार्याः सन्तीह यावत्यस्ताभिः सर्वाभिरन्वितः। यद्वा सवर्णया ज्येष्ठभार्ययैव समन्वितः॥ यद्वाधानादुपर्यूढकामपत्नीविवर्जितः। त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 43–44.

1302. जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी। तै. सं. VI. 3. 10. 5; ऋणं ह वै जायते योऽस्ति। स जायमान एव देवेभ्य ऋषिभ्यः पितृभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः। शतपथ I. 7. 2. 11; ऋणमस्मिन्संनयत्यमृतत्वं च गच्छति। पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चेज्जीवतो मुखम्। ...... नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति तत्सर्वे पशवो विदुः। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1. वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 47 quotes the first passage.

1303. ब्राह्मणस्य तु सोमविद्याप्रजमृणवाक्येन संयोगात्। जैमिनि VI. 2. 31.

Tai. S. as illustrative only. Manu (VI. 35) enjoins upon a man that he should not think of *mokṣa* (release from saṁsāra) before he has paid off the three debts and (IX. 106) further says that by the very birth of the eldest son a man becomes free from the debt owed to ancestors. Manu (IX. 137), Vas. 17. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 46 contain the same verse proclaiming that a man attains all (heavenly) worlds by means of a son and Manu IX. 138, Ādi. 129. 14, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 44 declare that a putra is so called because he saves his father from the hell called *put.* The Nirukta II. 11 [1304] also derives the word *putra* similarly. Further the water and piṇḍas (balls of cooked rice) offered by the son to his father and other deceased ancestors were supposed to be of great efficacy for the peace of the souls of the departed. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 85. 70,[1305] Vanaparva 84. 97, Matsyapurāṇa 207. 39 contain a verse 'one should desire to have many sons in the hope that one of them may repair to Gayā.' On account of these several benefits conferred by a son, the highest importance was attached to the birth of a son. The wife helped a man to discharge two of his debts, to the gods by associating with him in sacrifices and to the pitṛs by procreating a son or sons. Therefore the goal of the life of women was declared to be to get married and procreate sons. This was so much the case from very ancient times that even the Śat. Br. (V. 3. 2. 2, S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 65) says that the sonless wife is possessed with *Nir-ṛti* (ill luck or Destruction). Manu (IX. 96) says 'women are created for procreation and men have to propagate (the race); therefore in the Veda it is declared that the wife shares in common (with the husband) the performance of religious duties'. Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 19) also declares that women are created for (procreating) children. It was on account of these ideas about the goal of woman's life and the supreme importance of a son that the smṛtis and dharma-sūtra works recommended or allowed the husband to marry a second time even when the first wife was living.

All the smṛtis, purāṇas and the digests devote a great deal of space to the duties of a wife. It would be impossible to set them out in detail. A few striking passages alone will be cited. All are agreed that the foremost duty of a wife is to obey her

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1304. पुत्रः पुरु त्रायते निपरणाद्वा पुन्नरकं ततस्त्रायत इति वा। निरुक्त II. 11.

1305. एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां व्रजेत्। यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमु-त्सृजेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 70. The मत्स्यपुराण 207. 39 reads गौरीं वाप्युद्वहे-त्कन्यां for यजे ...... मेधेन.

husband and to honour him as her god. In the Śat. Br.[1306] princess Sukanyā when married to the old and decrepit sage Cyavana to mollify the sage who had been wronged by her brothers says 'I shall not forsake my husband, while he is alive, to whom my father gave me' (IV. 1. 5. 9). Śaṅkha-Likhita [1307] say 'a wife should not hate her husband even if he be impotent (or have swollen testicles), *patita* (guilty of mahāpātaka and so an outcast), devoid of a limb or diseased, since the husband is the god of women.' Manu declares (V. 154) 'a virtuous wife should serve her husband as if he were a god, whether he be of evil character. or lustful (loving another woman) or devoid of good qualities ' Yāj. I. 77 enjoins upon women 'this is the highest duty (dharma) of women that they should obey their husband's words ; if he is guilty of some mortal sin, they should wait till he is purified (and thereafter be dependent on his words)'. The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa 24. 26–27) remarks 'the husband is the god and the master of the wife, while she is alive and she obtains the highest heaven by serving her husband.' The Mahābhārata very frequently harps upon the duties of wives.[1308] The Anuśāsana parva 146. 55 says 'the husband is the god of a woman, her (sole) relative, her goal'; the Āśvamedhika-parva 90. 51 declares 'the husband is the highest deity.' 'The father gives only what is limited, the brother and the son do the same; what woman would not worship the husband who gives what is unlimited or immeasurable!' (Śāntiparva 148. 6–7). The Matsyapurāṇa 210. 18 contains this last verse and adds 'the husband is the god for women and is their highest goal.' This idea of the wife's entire submission to the

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1306. यस्मै मां पितादात्नैवाहं तं जीवन्तं हास्यामि । शतपथ IV. 1. 5. 9. Vide Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage. विश्वरूप on या I. 69 makes an objector rely on this Śatapatha passage to show that it allows niyoga after the husband's death.

1307. न भर्तारं द्विष्यादप्यपप्रष्ठीवलः स्यात्पतितोऽङ्गहीनो व्याधितो वा पतिर्हि देवता स्त्रीणाम् । शङ्खलिखित quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्यव. p. 251), परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 38.

1308. पतिर्हि देवो नारीणां पतिर्बन्धुः पतिर्गतिः । अनुशासन 146. 55; मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः । अमितस्य हि दातारं भर्तारं का न पूजयेत् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 148. 6; पतिर्हि दैवतं स्त्रीणां पतिरेव परायणम् । ...... मितं ददाति ...... पूजयेत् ॥ मत्स्य 210. 17–18. भार्यैकचारिणी गूढविश्रम्भा देववत्पतिमानुकूल्येन वर्तेत । कामसूत्र IV. 1. 1. Compare St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians V. 22–24 'wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord...Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything.'

husband is voiced even by poets like Kālidāsa,[1309] who makes one of the pupils of Kaṇva say about Śakuntalā 'this is your wife, abandon her or accept her, since all-round domination of the husband over the wife is proper.' Manu V. 150–156, Yāj. I. 83–87, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 2 ff, Vanaparva 233. 19–58 (Draupadī as the speaker), Anuśāsana 123 (Śāṇḍilī declares the conduct of virtuous wives), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti II. 20–32 (wife's duties from morning till night), Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 84 ff (wife's duties from morning), Sm. C. (vyavahāra section) p. 249 ff, Madanapārijāta pp. 192–195 and other *nibandhas* dwell at length upon the duties of the wife. A few of such duties may be indicated here.

According to Manu V. 150 'a wife should always present a smiling face, should be alert and clever in her domestic duties, should keep domestic vessels well burnished and clean and should not be extravagant in spending.' Manu IX. 11 asks the husband to set to his wife the task of conserving the wealth acquired and looking to its expenditure, of keeping things clean, of the performance of religious acts, of cooking food and of taking care of household paraphernalia. Manu (IX. 13) adds that drinking wine, company of bad people, staying away from the husband, wandering about (to *tīrthas* or elsewhere), sleep (by day), staying in the house of strangers—these six spoil married women. Ādiparva 74. 12 gives[1310] expression to the popular notion that people do not like married women staying with their paternal relatives for a long time away from their husbands, since such a stay leads to loss of good name and character. The same sentiment is echoed by Kālidāsa in the Śākuntala (V. 17). The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 77. 19 is to the same effect. Yāj. (I. 83 and 87) requires the wife to keep household utensils and furniture in their proper places, to be clever, to have a smiling face, to be unextravagant, to be devoted to doing what is agreeable and beneficial to the husband, to show respect to her father-in-law and mother-in-law by clasping their feet; to

1309. तदेषा भवतः कान्ता त्यज वैनां गृहाण वा। उपपन्ना हि दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोमुखी ॥ शाकुन्तल V.

1310. नारीणां चिरवासो हि बान्धवेषु न रोचते। कीर्तिचारित्रधर्मघ्नस्तस्मान्नयत मा चिरम् ॥ आदिपर्व 74. 12; compare 'सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलैकसंश्रयां जनोऽन्यथा भर्तृमतीं विशङ्कते। शाकुन्तल V. 17.

conduct herself decently, to restrain her senses.' Śaṅkha [1311] lays down what is decent conduct for a wife 'she should not go out of the house unless she is asked (by her husband or elders) nor without putting on an upper garment; she should not walk fast; she should not speak with a male who is unrelated to her, except a trader, a saṁnyāsin, an old man or a physician; she should not allow her navel to be seen; she should wear her garment (or *sari*) in such a way that it may reach down to her ankles; she should not expose her breasts, she should not laugh loudly without covering her mouth (with her hand or her garment); she should not hate her husband or his relatives; she should not be in the company of dancing girls, gambling women, women who make assignments to meet lovers, female ascetics, female fortune-tellers, women who live by tricks, magical and secret rites and who are of bad character; since (the wise declare that) the character of women of good family is spoilt by the company (they keep).' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 1–6 ordains 'now then the duties of wives (are declared); they should perform the same *vratas* (observances and vows) which the husband undertakes; they should honour the mother-in-law, the father-in-law, other elders, gods, guests and keep the household utensils well arranged; they should not be extravagant in giving to others; should keep the goods well guarded; they should have no liking for magical practices (to win love) and should be devoted to auspicious conduct.' *Vide* also Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 99 last two verses (quoted by Aparārka p. 107). Draupadī (Vanaparva chap. 233) states 'whatever my husband does not eat, drink or partake of, I avoid. I know the total wealth, the income and expenditure of the Pāṇḍavas'. The Kāmasūtra directs the wife to make expenditure that will be commensurate with the yearly income of the

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1311. नानुक्ता गृहान्निर्गच्छेत् । नानुत्तरीया । न त्वरितं व्रजेत् । न परपुरुषमभिभाषेतान्यत्र वणिक्प्रव्रजितवृद्धवैद्येभ्यः । न नाभिं दर्शयेत् । आ गुल्फाद्वासः परिदध्यात् । न स्तनौ विवृतौ कुर्यात् । न हसेदनपावृता । भर्तारं तद्बन्धून्वा न द्विष्यात् । न गणिका-धूर्ताभिसारिणी-प्रव्रजिता-प्रेक्षणिकामायामूलकुहककारिकादुःशीलादिभिः सहैकत्र तिष्ठेत् । संसर्गेण हि कुलस्त्रीणां चारित्र्यं दुष्यति । शङ्ख quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 87, by अपरार्क p. 107 (on या. I. 83), मदनपारिजात p. 195; vide also स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार) pp. 249–250 and वि. र. p. 430. As to speaking with परपुरुष, vide वनपर्व 266. 3 एका ह्यहं संप्रति ते न वाचं ददानि वै भद्र निबोध चेदम् । अहं त्वरण्ये कथमेकमेका त्वामालपेयं निरता स्वधर्मे ॥ . Vide also अनुशासन 146. 43. 'मूलकारिका' in the passage of शङ्ख means one who employs herbs &c. for वशीकरण. Vide वनपर्व 233. 7–14 (the last verse is मूलप्रचारैर्हि विषं प्रयच्छन्ति जिघांसवः).

husband.[1312] Manu (VIII. 361) prescribes the fine of a *suvarṇa* for a man speaking with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak and Yāj. II. 285 prescribes a fine of one hundred *paṇas* in the case of a woman who is forbidden to speak with a man (by her husband or father &c.) and a fine of two hundred *paṇas* in the case of the man who speaks with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak. Bṛhaspati[1313] says that a wife should get up from bed before her husband and elders, should partake of food and condiments after they have eaten, should occupy a seat lower than that of the husband or elders. 'A wife can engage in vratas, fasts, observances and worship (of god &c.) with the permission of her husband' say Śaṅkha-Likhita.[1314] The Purāṇas frequently descant on *strīdharma*. A few specimens may be noted here. The Bhāgavata VII. 11. 29 says that the wife who looks upon her husband as the god Hari dwells in the world of Hari and revels with her husband. The Skanda Purāṇa (Brahma-khaṇḍa, Dharmāraṇya section, chap. 7) has a long description of a *pativratā* 'she should not repeat the name of her husband, as such conduct leads to the increase of the husband's life and should never take the name of another male (v. 18), even when she is loudly blamed (by the husband) she does not cry loudly, even when beaten she is smiling (v. 19). A pativratā should always use turmeric, *kuṅkuma*, sindūra, lamp black (for the eye), a bodice, tāmbūla, auspicious ornaments, and should braid her hair' (vv. 28-29). The Padma-purāṇa (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chap. 47, v. 55) says that that wife is pativratā who in doing work is like a slave, like a *hetaira* in affording sexual pleasure, like a mother in offering food and like a counsellor in adversity.

Special rules of conduct were laid down for a wife whose husband was away from home on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita (quoted by Aparārka p. 108, Sm. C., vyavahāra p. 253) contain a long statement about what such a wife should not do 'women whose husbands are away from home should avoid amusements of swing and dance, seeing pictures, applying unguents to the body, walking in parks, sleeping in open places (or uncovered).

1312. सांवत्सरिकमायं संख्याय तदनुरूपं व्ययं कुर्यात् । कामसूत्र IV. 1. 32.

1313. पूर्वोत्थानं गुरुष्वर्वाक् भोजनव्यञ्जनक्रिया । जघन्यासनशायित्वं कर्म स्त्रीणामुदाहृतम् । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच०, व्यव. p. 257.

1314. भर्तुरनुज्ञया व्रतोपवासनियमेज्यादीनामारम्भः स्त्रीधर्मः । शङ्खलिखित quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार) p. 252.

partaking of sumptuous food and drink, playing with a ball, fragrant resins and perfumes, flowers, ornaments, ceremonial brushing of the teeth, collyrium (in the eyes).' Yāj. (I. 84) puts these briefly 'a woman whose husband is gone to another country should give up play, the adornment of the body, visiting samājas (note 986 above) and festivals, laughing, going to the house of a stranger.' The Anuśāsana-parva[1315] (123. 17) indicates that a wife whose husband is gone abroad does not apply eyesalve or *rocanā* (yellow pigment) to her body, does not take a ceremonial bath and does not use flowers, unguents or ornaments. Manu (IX. 74–75) requires the husband when going abroad to make provision for the wife's maintenance, since a woman without some means of livelihood, though originally virtuous, may go astray and adds 'when the husband goes abroad after providing for maintenance, the wife should live thereby and abide by the restrictions (laid down for such wives); if he goes away without making provision for her maintenance she should maintain herself by crafts (such as spinning) which are unblamable.' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 9–10) contains similar rules. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II. 52) enjoins upon a wife whose husband is gone abroad 'her[1316] face should look pale and distressed, she should not embellish her body, she should be devoted to her husband, should be without (full) meal, and should emaciate her body.' The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana[1317] (I. 80–81 and 85) says that when the husband is gone abroad the wife may with the help of a priest perform the daily duties of *agnihotra*, the obligatory iṣṭis and pitṛyajña, but should not perform soma sacrifices.

The rewards of the wife's single-minded devotion to her husband and her rigid observance of the rules of conduct prescribed for her are stated at great length in smṛti works. Manu (IX. 29–30 = Manu V. 165 and 164) says 'that woman who does not prove faithless to her husband in thought, word and deed (lit. body) secures the (heavenly) worlds together with her husband and is spoken of as a *sādhvī*' (a virtuous woman, a *pativratā*); but by proving faithless to her husband a

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1315. अञ्जनं रोचनां चैव स्नानं माल्यानुलेपनम्। प्रसाधनं च निष्क्रान्ते नाभिनन्दामि भर्तरि॥ अनुशासन 123. 17.

1316. विवर्णदीनवदना देहसंस्कारवर्जिता। पतिव्रता निराहारा शोष्यते प्रोषिते पतौ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति II. 52.

1317. अतोऽग्निहोत्रं नित्येष्टिः पितृयज्ञ इति त्रयम्। कर्तव्यं प्रोषिते पत्यौ नान्यत्स्वामिक्रियान्वितम्॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 83.

woman incurs censure in this world, is born as a female jackal (in the next life) and is afflicted with very bad diseases.' Yāj. (I. 75 and 87) declares that the woman, who does not approach another while the husband is living or after his death and who is intent on doing what is agreeable and beneficial to her husband, who is of good conduct and has restrained her senses, attains glory in this world and plays with Umā (the wife of Śiva) in heaven. Bṛhaspati[1318] defines a *pativratā* as one who is distressed when her husband is distressed, who is delighted when her husband is in delight, who is emaciated and wears dirty clothes when her husband has gone on a journey and who dies on the death of her husband.

In the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas hyperbolical descriptions of the power of the *pativratā* occur at every step. *Vide* Vana-parva 63 where we are told (vv. 38–39) that when Damayantī cursed by her faithfulness to her husband the young hunter who had evil designs on her, he fell down a dead man. In the Anuśāsanaparva 123 Śāṇḍilī who[1319] had attained heavenly worlds tells Sumanā Kaikeyī how she reached that state without wearing kāṣāyas (dyed garments worn by saṁnyāsins) or bark garments and without having matted hair or without tonsuring her head (as ascetics do), but by strictly following the rules laid down for virtuous wives, such as not addressing harsh words to their husband, abandoning all food that the husband did not like. Anuśāsana (146. 4–6) names several *pativratās* of ancient times and the following verses dilate upon the rules of conduct for virtuous wives. The story of Sāvitrī in the Vanaparva (293–299) illustrates the power of a pativratā, who wrung back even from Yama, the dread god of Death, the life of her husband.[1320] Sāvitrī and Sītā have been held by the women of India for thousands of years as the

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1318. आर्तार्ते मुदिते हृष्टा प्रोषिते मलिना कृशा ॥ मृते म्रियेत या पत्यौ सा स्त्री ज्ञेया पतिव्रता ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, by the मिता. on या. I. 86 (as हारीत's). It is वृद्धहारीत XI. 199.

1319. नाहं काषायवसना नापि वल्कलधारिणी। न च मुण्डा च जटिला भूत्वा देवत्वमागता ॥ अहितानि च वाक्यानि सर्वाणि परुषाणि च। अप्रमत्ता च भर्तारं कदाचिन्नाहमब्रवम् ॥ अनुशासन 123. 8–9, 14 &c.

1320. Vide also मत्स्यपुराण 208–214 for the tale of सावित्री. सावित्री says in वनपर्व 297. 53 'न कामये भर्तृविनाकृता सुखं न कामये भर्तृविनाकृता दिवम्। न कामये भर्तृविनाकृता श्रियं न भर्तृहीना व्यवसामि जीवितुम् ॥'

highest ideals of womanly virtue, to which they have always endeavoured to approach and one may say that Indian women generally have most successfully lived up to that high and ennobling ideal that was set before them. Vanaparva (205–206) tells the story of a learned brāhmaṇa, who by his mere angry look made a female crane die when the latter voided its faeces on to the head of the brāhmaṇa and who was rebuked by a pativratā that the latter was not a crane, when the brāhmaṇa tried to frighten the virtuous woman for her tardiness in welcoming him as a guest and for looking only after her husband. The Śalyaparva (63) narrates how awful the power of a pativratā like Gāndhārī is in that she can, if she choose, burn the world, she can stop even the motions of the sun and[1321] the moon. The Skanda-purāṇa III (Brahma-khaṇḍa, Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7) first names (verses 14–15) several pativratās like Arundhatī, Anasūyā, Sāvitrī, Śāṇḍilyā, Satyā, Menā and then waxes eloquent over the tremendous spiritual power of a pativratā 'just as a snake-charmer[1322] forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a pativratā snatches away her husband's life from the messengers of Death and reaches heaven with her husband and the messengers of Death, on seeing the pativratā, beat a hasty retreat.'

As the foremost duty of the wife was to honour and serve the husband, she must always stay with him and she had a right of residence in the house. A wife was further entitled to be maintained in the house by the husband. A verse quoted by Medhātithi on Manu III. 62 and IV. 251 and by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 224 and II. 175 and which occurs in some MSS. as a spurious verse after Manu XI. 10 says 'Manu declares that one must maintain one's aged parents, a virtuous wife and a minor son by doing even a hundred bad acts'.[1323] Dakṣa

1321. कृष्ण says to गान्धारी 'शक्ता चासि महाभागे पृथिवीं सचराचराम्। चक्षुषा क्रोधदीप्तेन भवग्धुं तपसो बलात् ॥' शल्यपर्व 63. 21.

1322. व्यालग्राही यथा व्यालं बलादुद्धरते बिलात्। एवमुत्क्रम्य दूतेभ्यः पतिं स्वर्गं व्रजेत्सती ॥ यमदूताः पलायन्ते तामालोक्य पतिव्रताम्। स्कन्दपुराण (ब्रह्मखण्ड), धर्मारण्य chap. 7. 54–55. It will be noticed later on that the half verse व्यालग्राही occurs in numerous works.

1323. वृद्धौ च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः। अप्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा भर्तव्या मनुरब्रवीत् ॥

II. 36 (= Laghu-Āśvalāyana[1324] I. 74) defines *poṣyavarga* (persons whom every one, however poor, is bound to maintain) as follows: 'the parents, the *guru*, the wife, children and a helpless man who has taken shelter with one, a guest and fire constitute poṣyavarga.' Manu VIII. 389 prescribes that the man who abandons and does not maintain his parents, wife, and son, when they are not outcasted, should be fined 600 paṇas by the king. Yāj. I. 74 requires the husband to maintain a wife whom he has superseded in the same way as before, otherwise he would be guilty of great sin. Yāj. I. 76 says that if a man abandoned a wife who was obedient, diligent, the mother of a son, and agreeable in speech, he was to be made to give one-third of his property to the wife, but if he had no property he had to maintain her. Nārada (strīpuṁsa 95) has a similar provision. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 163 made the husband punishable like a thief, if he abandoned his wife. The husband was required by Yāj. I. 81 to be devoted to his wife, since women are to be guarded (against falling into error). Vide Yāj. I. 78 also. Manu IV. 133 forbids adultery with another's wife and Manu IV. 134 (=Anuśāsana 104. 21 and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 62–63) observes that there is nothing that harms one's life as much as adultery. Viśvarūpa[1325] on Yāj. I. 80 points out that the guarding of a wife from evil can be secured only by being devoted to her and not by beating her, as, if the husband were to beat her, it might endanger her life. Manu (IX. 5–9) also calls upon men to guard women, and (in IX. 10–12) says that they cannot be guarded by imprisonment or force, but by engaging them in looking to the income and expenditure, the furniture, beauty and purity of the house and the cooking and by inculcating on them the value of a virtuous life. In spite of this the husband possessed certain powers of physical correction over the wife which were the same as those possessed by a teacher over a pupil or a father over a son, viz. he could administer beating with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo on the back but never on the head. Vide Manu VIII. 299–300 (cited above on p. 363) which are the same as Matsyapurāṇa 227. 152–154. It will be seen that about two thousand years ago Manu did not confer

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1324. माता पिता गुरुर्भार्या प्रजा दीनः समाश्रितः । अभ्यागतोऽतिथिश्चाग्निः पोष्यवर्ग उदाहृतः ॥ दक्ष II. 36. Verse 37 includes other persons among poṣyavarga in the case of the well-to-do. Aparārka p. 939 quotes Dakṣa II. 36–37.

1325. रक्षा च स्त्रीणां स्वदारनिरतत्वमेव न तु ताडनादिका । तया तासामनर्थोऽपि संभाव्येत । तथा च लौकिकाः पाञ्चालस्त्रीषु मार्दवमिति पठन्ति । विश्वरूप on या. I. 80.

greater powers of correction and restraint of the wife on the husband than the Common Law of England allowed to husbands even in the 18th century.[1326]

As it was the husband's duty to provide residence and maintenance for the wife and as the wife was bound to stay with the husband, it follows that either party could after marriage enforce his or her rights in a court of law if the other party refused to perform her or his duties. In modern times a suit for restitution of conjugal rights can be brought and the decree can be executed against the wife by the attachment and sale of her property (if she has any), but not by detention in civil jail and against the husband by the court ordering the husband to make periodical payments of money for the maintenance of the wife and securing such payments by creating a charge on his property (vide Civil Procedure Code of 1908 Order 21 rules 32 and 33). To such a suit by the husband Indian Courts have recognised certain valid defences, such as desertion, cruelty or such conduct as endangers the health of the wife, change of religion, or keeping a concubine in the house or the husband's being afflicted with a loathsome disease (like leprosy). Vide *Bai Premkunvar* v. *Bhika* 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 209 (leprosy), *Yamunabai* v. *Narayan* 1 Bom. 164 (cruelty), *Paigi* v. *Sheo Narain* 8 All. 78, *Dular Koer* v. *Dwarkanath* 34 Cal. 971, *Bai Jivi* v. *Narsingh* 51 Bom. 329. Where the courts make the husband pay maintenance, they are in principle following Yāj. I. 76 and Nārada (p. 569). Vide *Binda* v. *Kaunsilia* 13 All. 126 where many original Sanskrit texts are cited.

Not only was the husband bound to maintain the wife, but he was called upon to cohabit with the wife and was supposed to incur the sin of embryo-murder if he refused without good cause to do so. On the other hand the husband had a right of

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1326. Vide Blackstone's commentaries on the laws of England (ed. of 1765, Oxford) Book I. chap. 15 pp. 432–433 'The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction......the law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his servants or children.........Yet the lower rank of people still claim and exert their ancient privilege ; and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty in case of any gross behaviour'. Vide also Lush on the law of 'Husband and Wife' (4th ed. 1933) pp. 24–29 about the husband's power to beat his wife and restrain her in the past and now.

consortium i. e. the wife was not to refuse herself to the husband and if she did so her delinquency was to be proclaimed in the village and she was to be driven from the house [1327].

The humane character of the legislation of the Indian sages is seen by the fact that even for adultery they do not allow the husband to drive the wife out of the house and to abandon her. Gaut. 22. 35 prescribes that a wife who violates her duty of chastity must undergo a penance, but she should be kept under guard and be given food. Yāj. (I. 70, 72) declares 'an adulterous woman should be deprived of her authority (over servants &c.), should be made to wear dirty clothes, should be given food just sufficient to enable her to live, should be treated with scorn and made to lie on the ground (not on a cot); a woman becomes pure from adultery when she has her monthly period after that, but if she conceives in adulterous intercourse she may be abandoned and also when she is guilty of the murder of her foetus or of her husband or of some sin that makes her an outcast'. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 draws attention to the text of Vasiṣṭha XXI. 12 'the wives of brāhmaṇas,[1328] kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who commit adultery with a śūdra may be purified by a penance in case no child is born (of the intercourse), but not otherwise' and remarks that the words of Yājñavalkya are to be understood in the same sense i. e. a wife is to be abandoned only if she be in adultery with a śūdra; and further that the abandonment *consists in not allowing her to* participate in religious rites and conjugal matters, but she is not to be cast on the streets; she is to be kept apart guarded in a room and to be given food and raiment (as stated in Yāj. III. 297). Vasiṣṭha XXI. 10 says that only four (types of) wives are to be abandoned viz. one who has intercourse with the husband's pupil and with the husband's *guru*, and especially one who attempts to kill her husband and who commits

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1327. त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमतीं यो भार्यां नाधिगच्छति । स तुल्यं भ्रूणहत्याया दोषमृच्छत्यसंशयम् ॥ ऋतुस्नातां तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपगच्छति । पितरस्तस्य तन्मासं तस्मिन्रजसि शेरते ॥ भर्तुः प्रतिनिवेशेन या भार्या स्कन्दयेदृतुम् । तां ग्राममध्ये विख्याप्य भ्रूणघ्नीं निर्धमेद्गृहात् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 19–20, 22. विश्वरूप on या. I. 79 quotes as Baudhāyana's verses 20 and 22. संवर्त 98 is the same as बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 20. पराशर (4. 14–15) is similar to Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 20 and 22.

1328. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां भार्याः शूद्रेण संगताः । अप्रजाता विशुध्यन्ति प्रायश्चित्तेन नेतराः ॥ चतस्रस्तु परित्याज्याः शिष्यगा गुरुगा च या । पतिघ्नी च विशेषेण जुङ्गितोपगता च या ॥ वसिष्ठ 21. 12 and 10. The मिता० ascribes the second verse to व्यास on Yāj. I. 72 and to वसिष्ठ on या. III. 298.

adultery with a man of degraded caste (like a leather-worker). Nārada[1329] (strīpuṁsa v. 91) says 'when a woman commits adultery her hair shall be shaven, she shall have to lie on a low bed, shall receive bad food and clothing and her occupation will be the removal of sweepings of the husband's house'. Gaut. 23. 14, Śānti-parva 165. 64 and Manu VIII. 371 are more harsh on a woman who has intercourse with a low-caste man, i. e. she is to be punished by the king with being devoured by dogs. Veda-Vyāsa (II. 49–50) says that 'a wife[1330] who is guilty of adultery should be kept in the house but void of her rights of associating in religious and conjugal matters and of her rights over property, and should be treated with scorn; but when she has had monthly course after the act of adultery (and does not repeat it), the husband should allow her the usual rights of a wife as before.' Manu XI. 177 asks the husband to confine an exceedingly corrupt wife to one room and compel her to perform the penance[1331] prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Vide Atri V. 1–5, Parāśara IV. 20 and XI. 87 and Bṛhad-Yama IV. 36.

Under the English law, if the wife commits adultery the husband's obligation to maintain her ceases altogether unless he had connived at it or condoned it.[1332]

The following propositions can be deduced from the texts cited above. (1) There is no absolute right of abandonment of wife in the husband on the ground of adultery; (2) Adultery is ordinarily an upapātaka (a minor sin) and can be atoned for by appropriate penance undergone by the wife; (3) the wife who has committed adultery but has undergone penance is to be restored to all the ordinary rights of wives (*vide* Vas. XXI. 12, Yāj. I. 72, Mit. thereon and Aparārka p. 98); (4) as long as the adulteress has not undergone penance, she is to be given in the house itself starving maintenance and to be deprived of all her rights as wife (Yāj. I. 70, Śāntiparva 165. 63);

1329. व्यभिचारे स्त्रिया मौण्ड्यमधः शयनमेव च । कदन्नं वा कुवासश्च कर्म चावस्करोज्झनम् ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस v. 91).

1330. व्यभिचारेण दुष्टां तां पत्नीमा दर्शनादृतोः । हृतत्रिवर्गकरणां धिक्कृतां च वसेत्पतिः ॥ पुनस्तामार्तवस्नातां पूर्ववद् व्यवहारयेत् ॥ वेदव्यास II. 49–50.

1331. Penance will be lighter or heavier according to the caste of the adulterer. According to मनु XI. 60 adultery is an उपपातक and the ordinary penance for it is गोव्रत or चान्द्रायण (मनु XI. 118).

1332. *Vide* Halsbury's Laws of England vol. 16 (Hailsham ed.) pp. 609–610.

(5) a wife, who commits adultery with a śūdra or has had a child thereby, who is guilty of killing her foetus or of attempt to kill the husband or guilty of one of the deadly sins (mahāpātakas), is to be deprived of her right to participation in religious rites or conjugal matters and is to be kept confined in a room or in a hut near the house and to be given starving maintenance and poor apparel, even after she undergoes penance (Vas. XXI. 10, Manu XI. 177, Yāj. III. 297–98 and Mit. thereon); (6) that wives who are not guilty of acts mentioned in Yāj. I. 72, III. 297–298, Vas. 21. 10 or 28. 7 are to be given starving maintenance and residence near the house even if they do not perform penance (*vide* Mit. on Yāj. III. 298); (7) wives who are guilty of the acts mentioned in Yāj. I. 72, III. 297–298, if they refuse to perform penance, are to be refused even starving maintenance and residence near the husband's house (Mit. on Yāj. III. 298). The propositions about maintenance set out here are accepted as the modern Hindu Law by the courts in India.[1333]

It has been shown above (p. 518) that Āp. postulated the identity of husband and wife in religious matters and Manu IX. 45 declares that the husband is one with his wife. But this identity of husband and wife was not accepted by the ancient sages for secular or legal purposes. The rights of husband and wife as to each other's property and the liability of each for the debts of the other will be dealt with later on in detail. It may suffice here to point out that the wife was not ordinarily liable for the debts contracted by the husband nor was the husband liable for the debts contracted by the wife alone, unless the debt was for family purposes (Yāj. II. 46). Similarly the husband could exercise no dominion over the wife's own property (her *strīdhana* or *peculium*) except in a famine or for a necessary religious purpose, or in disease or when he was imprisoned (Yāj. II. 147). These rules prescribed centuries ago compare in their fairness or reasonableness most favourably with the rules of the English law[1334] (as they prevailed before the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, 45 and 46 Vict. chap. 75), whereby the husband by the mere fact of marriage acquired free-hold interest, during the joint lives of himself and

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1333. *Vide Parami v. Mahadevi* I. L. R. 34. Bom. 278 at p. 283 (*per* Chandavarkar J.).

1334. *Vide* Halsbury's Laws of England (Hailsham ed.) vol. 16 pp. 613–614.

his wife, in all estates of inheritance and life estates of which she was seised at the marriage or became seised during coverture, and an absolute interest in all the wife's personal chattels.

Nārada [1335] (strīpuṁsa, v. 89) does not allow the husband or wife to lodge a complaint against one another with their relations or with the king. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 294 remarks 'though a judicial proceeding between husband and wife as plaintiff and defendant before the king is forbidden, still, if the king comes to know personally or indirectly of wrong done by the one to the other, the king must bring round the husband or the wife to the path of duty by appropriate punishment, otherwise [1336] the king incurs sin'. There were certain matters of which the king could take cognisance without the complaint of anybody : they were called *aparādhas* (they are ten) among which were included the murder of a woman, varṇasaṁkara, adultery, pregnancy of a widow from some person other than the husband, abortion [1337] &c. We have seen (p. 569) that Yāj. I. 76, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, v. 95) make the husband liable to pay one-third of his estate or a fine for deserting a virtuous wife and there are many such provisions about the matters affecting the husband and wife in which the king interfered. In England [1338] at Common Law a wife could not sue her husband in tort (till the Married Women's Property Act) nor could a husband sue the wife in tort.

We must now turn to the position of women in general and wives in particular and the estimate of their character and worth made by ancient India. It has already been seen (p. 428) how the wife was looked upon as half of the husband, how in Vedic times women composed hymns and learnt the Vedas and how they co-operated with their husbands in all religious acts. On the whole their social position was much better (except as to rights of property) than what it became in later times. But

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1335. ईर्ष्यासूयासमुत्थे तु संबन्धे रागहेतुके । दम्पती विवदेयातां न ज्ञातिषु न राजनि ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस v. 89).

1336. यद्यपि स्त्रीपुंसयोः परस्परमर्थिप्रत्यर्थितया नृपसमक्षं व्यवहारो निषिद्धस्तथापि प्रत्यक्षेण परंपरया वा विदिते तयोः परस्परातिचारे दण्डादिना दम्पती निजधर्ममार्गे राज्ञा स्थापनीयौ, इतरथा दोषभाग्भवति । मिताक्षरा.

1337. Vide स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, व्यव० p. 28 quoting नारद, संवर्त and पितामह for ten अपराधs, 22 पदs, &c.

1338. Vide Salmond's Law of Torts, 9th ed. pp. 71–72.

even in the Vedic times there was an under-current of opinion which was hostile to women, sneered at them and treated them with scorn. Some of the passages from Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature eulogising women and the wife have been set out above (pp. 428ff). The passages noted below may be read in this connection.[1339] Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 63–64, Manu III. 55–62, Yāj. I. 71, 74, 78, 82, Vas. Dh. S. 28. 1–9, Atri vv. 140–141 and 193–198, Ādiparva 74. 140–152, Śāntiparva 144. 6 and 12–17, Anuśāsana 46, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 21. 69–76. The Kāmasūtra III. 2 says that women are like flowers (kusuma-sadharmāṇo hi yoṣitaḥ). It has been seen (pp. 146–147) how way was to be made by all for the bride and the pregnant woman and it will be shown that the general opinion was that no woman was to be killed on any account (with one or two exceptions[1340] in ancient writers). Some of the smṛtikāras like Atri and Devala were so liberal as to say that women who had intercourse with one not of the same caste or who had conceived by such intercourse did not become outcasts, but only impure till delivery or next period when they became pure again and could be associated with, the child born of the adulterous connection being handed over to some one else for being brought up.[1341] If a woman was raped she was not to be abandoned, but she became impure only till her next period (Atri 197–198) and Devala (48–49) prescribes purifications for a woman raped by *mlecchas* and conceiving thereby. In the Śāntiparva 267. 38 it is said that it is not the woman who is at fault, but it is the man who is at fault (when the woman goes astray). In the Varuṇapraghāsa[1342]

1339. न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते । गृहं तु गृहिणीहीनमरण्यसदृशं मतम् ॥ शान्ति 144. 6; नास्ति भार्यासमो बन्धुः नास्ति भार्यासमा गतिः । नास्ति भार्यासमो लोके सहायो धर्मसंग्रहे । शान्ति 144. 16; यदा भार्या च भर्ता च परस्परवशानुगौ । तदा धर्मार्थकामानां त्रयाणामपि संगतम् ॥ कथं भार्यामृते धर्ममर्थं वा पुरुषः प्रभो । प्राप्नोति काममथवा तस्यां त्रितयमाहितम् ॥ तथैव भर्तारमृते भार्या धर्मादिसाधने । न समर्था त्रिवर्गोयं दाम्पत्यं समुदाश्रितः ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 21. 69–71.

1340. Vide Gaut. 23. 14 and Manu VIII. 371 (both prescribe that a woman should be devoured by dogs if she had intercourse with a male of a lower varṇa), Vas. Dh. S. 21. 1–5. Even this was modified later and only परित्याग was allowed; vide Vas. 21. 10, Yāj. I. 72.

1341. असवर्णैस्तु यो गर्भः स्त्रीणां योनौ निषिच्यते । अशुद्धा सा भवेन्नारी यावद्गर्भं न मुञ्चति ॥ विमुक्ते तु ततः शल्ये रजश्चापि प्रदृश्यते । तदा सा शुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चनं यथा ॥ अत्रि verses 195–196, which are almost the same as देवल 50–51. अत्रि adds बलान्नारी प्रभुक्ता वा चौरभुक्ता तथापि वा । न त्याज्या दूषिता नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते । ऋतुकाल उपासीत पुष्पकालेन शुध्यति ॥ vv. 197–198.

1342. यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रब्रूयात्प्रियं ज्ञातिं रुन्ध्यात् । असौ मे जार इति निर्दिशेत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 5.

(one of the cāturmāsyas) the sacrificer's wife had to confess if she had a lover and even when she confessed she was allowed to co-operate with her husband in the sacrifice. Vide Tai. Br. I. 6. 5, Śat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20, Kātyāyana Śr. V. 5. 6–10.

As against the high eulogy and considerate treatment of women a few passages unfavourable to women may be cited. We have already seen (p. 503) how woman was said to be 'falsehood' incarnate (Maitrāyaṇīya S. I. 10. 11). Ṛg. VIII. 33. 17 says 'the mind of woman is uncontrollable'; Ṛg. X. 95. 15 and Śatapatha XI. 5. 1. 9 declare 'there is no friendship with women and they have the hearts of hyænas' (addressed to Purūravas about Urvaśī); Ṛg. V. 30. 9 'women are the weapons and army of the dāsa'. The Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2[1343] says 'therefore women are without strength, take no dāya (portion) and speak more weakly than even a wretched man'. This passage (which really refers to women not being entitled to a portion of Soma drink) is relied upon by Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 53) and[1344] by Manu IX. 18 for prescribing the entire dependence of women on men, for depriving them of a share on partition or inheritance and of the privilege of Vedic mantras. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446) says that woman, śūdra, a dog and a crow embody untruth, sin and darkness (XIV. 1. 1. 31). The same Brāhmaṇa (IV. 4. 2. 13, S. B. E. vol. 26, p. 366) remarks 'the wives being smitten (with ghee–the thunderbolt) and unmanned neither rule over themselves nor over dāya (share of property)'[1345]. Another passage of the Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 300) says 'He thereby makes women to be dependent, whence women are sure to be attendant upon man' (XIII. 2. 2. 4). These passages establish that even in Vedic times women were often looked down upon, had no share in property and were dependent. The passages about the character of women contain no more than what male cynics and critics of all times and in all countries have attributed to women such as 'frailty, thy name is woman!'. In the Dharmaśāstra Literature the position of women became

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1343. स्त्रियो हि दास आयुधानि चक्रे किं मा करन्नबला अस्य सेनाः। ऋ. V. 30. 9; तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरपि पापात्पुंस उपस्तितरं वदन्ति। तै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2.

1344. निरिन्द्रिया अदायाश्च स्त्रियो मता इति श्रुतिः। बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 53; नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः। निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोऽनृतमिति स्थितिः॥ मनु IX. 18.

1345. वज्रो वा आज्यमेतेन वै देवा वज्रेणाज्येनाघ्नन्नेव पत्नीर्निराक्ष्णुवंस्ता हता निरष्टा नात्मनश्च नैशत न दायस्य च नैशत। शतपथ IV. 4. 2. 13.

worse and worse as time went on, except as to rights of property. Gaut. 18. 1, Vas. Dh. S. V. 1 and 3, Manu V. 146–148 and IX. 2–3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 50–52, Nārada (dāyabhāga 31)—all declare[1346] that women are not independent, but dependent in all matters on men and that in childhood, after marriage and in old age they are to be guarded by the father, the husband and the son respectively. Manu (IX. 2–3) refers to *rakṣā* (i. e. protection against harm or calamity), while Manu V. 146–148 declare a woman's dependence even in all domestic matters at all stages of her life on some male. Nārada (dāyabhāga vv. 28–30) adds[1347] 'when a widow is sonless, her husband's relatives are the controlling authority as regards her maintenance, the application (of the husband's property) and guarding her against harm; if there be no relative or *sapiṇḍas* of the husband, then a woman's father's family has control of her; the creator assigned dependence to women as women even of good family fall into ruin by independence'. It has been seen above (pp. 561–562) that a woman's only concern was to serve her husband, and that she could perform other observances or undertake fasts and pilgrimages only with her husband's permission. Vide Hemādri (Vrata-khaṇḍa, part i. p. 362 where several texts are quoted including Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 16. 61).[1348]

In the Mahābhārata, in the Manu-smṛti, in other smṛtis and the purāṇas women are charged with serious moral lapses. A few typical and striking passages from the great epic are

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1346. अस्वतन्त्रा धर्मे स्त्री। गौतम 18. 1; अस्वतन्त्रा स्त्री पुरुषप्रधाना। वसिष्ठ V. 1; अस्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियः कार्याः पुरुषैः स्वैर्दिवानिशम्। विषयेषु च सज्जन्त्यः संस्थाप्या आत्मनो वशे॥ पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने। रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति॥ मनु IX. 2–3. The latter is the same as वसिष्ठ V. 3, Baud. Dh. II. 2. 52, Nārada, dāyabhāga v. 31, अनुशासनपर्व 20. 21.

1347. मृते भर्तर्यपुत्रायाः पतिपक्षः प्रभुः स्त्रियाः। विनियोगात्मरक्षासु भरणे स च ईश्वरः॥ परिक्षीणे पतिकुले निर्मनुष्ये निराश्रये। तत्सापिण्डेषु वासत्सु पितृपक्षः प्रभुः स्त्रियाः। स्वातन्त्र्याद्विप्रणश्यन्ति कुले जाता अपि स्त्रियः। अस्वातन्त्र्यमतस्तासां प्रजापतिरकल्पयत्॥ नारद (दायभागप्रकरण) vv. 28–30. मेधातिथि and कुल्लूक on मनु V. 147 quote the half verse तत्सापिण्डेषु ...... स्त्रियाः and add another half verse 'पक्षद्वयावसाने तु राजा भर्ता स्त्रिया मतः', which makes the king the ultimate protector of all women who have no male guardians in the husband's or father's family.

1348. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न श्राद्धं नाप्युपोषितम्। भर्तृशुश्रूषयैवैता लोकानिष्टान् व्रजन्ति हि॥ मार्कण्डेय 16. 61.

cited below.[1349] 'The Sūtrakāra concludes that women are untruth' (Anuśāsana 19. 6); 'there is nothing more wicked than women, who are the edge of a razor, poison, snake and fire in one' (Anuśāsana 38. 12 and 29); there may be at most one pativratā in hundreds of thousands of women' (Anuśāsana 19. 93); 'women are really uncontrollable but remain within bounds as regards their husbands simply because other men do not woo them and because they are afraid of servants' (Anuśāsana 38. 16); *vide* also Anuśāsana chap. 38. 24–25, chap. 39. 6–7 (women have the tricks of the demons Śambara, Namuci and others). The Rāmāyaṇa is not behind the Great Epic in condemning women 'This is the character of women seen in the three worlds viz. they are renegades from Dharma, fickle, cruel and create estrangement' (Araṇyakāṇḍa[1350] 45. 29–30). In an uncharitable mood Manu (IX. 14–15) gives to women the following character 'they are lascivious, fickle-minded, devoid of love and come to dislike their husbands and resort to another man, whether handsome or ugly, simply because he is a man.' 'It is the nature of women to tempt men; therefore the wise do not act heedlessly with young women, who are able to lead a man astray whether he be learned or not' (Manu II. 213–214 = Anuśāsana 48. 37–38). Bṛhat-Parāśara[1351] (Jīvānanda's Collection, part 2, p. 121) says that the passion of women is eightfold of that of men. In modern times old men, though they might not know much of the śāstras, are often in the habit of repeating a verse which contains a list of the faults of women 'falsehood, thoughtless action, trickery, folly, great greed, impurity, cruelty—these are the natural faults of women.'[1352]

There are some writers who even in ancient times could not bear the undeserved censure of women and most vigorously

1349. अनुशासन 20. 14 is प्रजापतिमतं ह्येतन्न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ।; अनृताः स्त्रिय इत्येवं सूत्रकारो व्यवस्यति । अनृताः स्त्रिय इत्येवं वेदेष्वपि हि पठ्यते (अनुशा. 19. 6–7 (the first half probably refers to Manu IX. 18 or Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 52–53) न स्त्रीभ्यः किंचिदन्यद्वै पापीयस्तरमस्ति वै । ...... क्षुरधारा विषं सर्पो वह्निरित्येकतः स्त्रियः । अनुशा. 38. 12 and 29.

1350. अनुशासन 38. 5–6 is almost the same as मनु IX. 14. स्वभावस्त्वेष नारीणां त्रिषु लोकेषु दृश्यते । विमुक्तधर्माश्चपलास्तीक्ष्णा भेदकराः स्त्रियः ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 45. 29–30.

1351. स्त्रीणामष्टगुणः कामो व्यवसायश्च षड्गुणः । लज्जा चतुर्गुणा तासामाहारश्च तद्वर्धकः ॥ बृहत्पराशर p. 121.

1352. अनृतं साहसं माया मूर्खत्वमतिलोभिता । अशौचत्वं निर्दयत्वं स्त्रीणां दोषाः स्वभावजाः ॥

protested against the injustice of these accusations. Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.) in his Bṛhat-Saṁhitā chap. 74 (ed. by Kern) makes a spirited defence of women and eulogises them highly. He first says that on women depend *dharma* and *artha* and from them man derives the pleasures of sense and the blessing of sons, that they are the Lakṣmī (goddess of Prosperity) of the house and should be always given honour and wealth. He then condemns those who following the path of asceticism and other-worldliness proclaim the demerits of women and are silent about their virtues and pertinently asks[1353] 'tell me truly, what faults attributed to women have not been also practised by men? Men in their audacity treat women with contempt, but they really possess more virtues (than men).' He then cites the dicta of Manu in support (verses 7–10). "One's mother or one's wife is a woman; men owe their birth to women; O ungrateful wretches, how can happiness be your lot when you condemn them? The śāstras declare that both husband and wife are equally sinful if they prove faithless to the marriage vow; men care very little for that śāstra (while women do care); therefore women are superior to men. Oh! how great is the audacity of wicked men who heap abuse on women that are pure and blameless, like robbers who while themselves stealing raise a hue and cry 'stop, O thief!.' Man in privacy utters words of cajolry to woman, but, there are no such words after the woman dies; while women, in gratitude, clasp the corpses of their husbands and enter the fire." It may be said that, barring great poets like Kālidāsa,[1354] Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, in the classical period

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1353. येऽप्यङ्गनानां प्रवदन्ति दोषान्वैराग्यमार्गेण गुणान् विहाय। ते दुर्जना मे मनसो वितर्कः सद्भाववाक्यानि न तानि तेषाम्॥ प्रब्रूत सत्यं कतरोऽङ्गनानां दोषस्तु यो नाचरितो मनुष्यैः। धाष्टर्येन पुंभिः प्रमदा निरस्ता गुणाधिकास्ता मनुनात्र चोक्तम्॥ जाया वा स्याज्जनित्री वा स्यात्संभवः स्त्रीकृतो नृणाम्। हे कृतघ्नास्तयोर्निन्दां कुर्वतां वः कुतः सुखम्॥ अहो धाष्टर्यमसाधूनां निन्दतामनघाः स्त्रियः। मुष्णतामिव चौराणां तिष्ठ चौरेति जल्पताम्॥ पुरुषश्चटुलानि कामिनीनां कुरुते यानि रहो न तानि पश्चात्। सुकृतज्ञतयाङ्गना गतासूनवगुह्य प्रविशन्ति सप्तजिह्वम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 74. 5, 6, 11, 15, 16. Verses 7 and 9 are the same as Baud. gṛ. II. 2. 63–64 and verse 10 is Manu III. 58; verses 7–8 are almost the same as वसिष्ठ. 28. 4 and 9.

1354. कालिदास and भवभूति both depict in very delicate and romantic terms the relation between a loving husband and wife 'गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ। करुणाविमुखेन मृत्युना हरता त्वां वद किं न मे हृतम्॥' रघुवंश VIII. 66; 'प्रेयो मित्रं बन्धुता वा समग्रा सर्वे कामाः शेवधिर्जीवितं वा। स्त्रीणां भर्ता धर्मदाराश्च पुंसामित्यन्योन्यं वत्सयोर्ज्ञातमस्तु॥' मालतीमाधव VI. Vide also the well-known verse अद्वैतं सुखदुःखयोरनुगुणं &c. in the उत्तररामचरित I.

Varāhamihira's was rather a solitary voice raised in defence of women and in the appreciation of their worth.

In the midst of this dark picture and undeserved condemnation of woman there is one very bright spot, viz. the high eulogy of and the reverence for the mother in all smṛti works. Gaut. (II. 56) first says that the ācārya (one's teacher of the Veda) is the highest among *gurus*, while some teachers hold that the mother is the highest. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 9 prescribes that a son must always serve his mother even if she has been an outcast (for some great sin), since the mother undertakes for her son numerous (troublesome) actions. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 48) requires the son to maintain his mother, even though an outcast, without speaking to her. Vas. Dh. S. 13. 47 says 'a father who is an outcast may be abandoned, but a mother (though *patita*) is never an outcast to the son.'[1355] 'The ācārya exceeds by his greatness ten upādhyāyas, the father exceeds a hundred ācāryas, a mother exceeds a thousand fathers' says Manu II. 145 (= Vas. Dh. S. 13.48). Śaṅkha-Likhita[1356] give a very salutary piece of advice 'the son should not take sides (in a quarrel) between his father and mother : indeed he may (if he chooses) speak on the side of the mother alone, since the mother bore him (in her womb) and nourished him ; the son, while living, would never be free from the debt he owes to his mother except by the performance of the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.' Yāj. I. 35 holds that the mother is superior to the guru, ācārya and upādhyāya. The Anuśāsana parva[1357] (105. 14–16) says that 'the mother excels in her greatness ten fathers or even the whole earth ; there is no *guru* like the mother.' Śāntiparva chap. 267 contains a very high eulogy of the mother. Atri 151 says that there is no *guru* higher than the mother. The great

1355. आचार्यः श्रेष्ठो गुरूणां मातेत्येके । गौ. II. 56 ; माता पुत्रत्वस्य भूयांसि कर्माण्यारभते तस्यां शुश्रूषा नित्या पतितायामपि । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 9; पतितामपि तु मातरं बिभृयादनभिभाषमाणः । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 48 ; पतितः पिता परित्याज्यो माता तु पुत्रे न पतति । वसिष्ठ 13. 47.

1356. न मातापित्रोरन्तरं गच्छेत्पुत्रः । कामं मातुरेवाशुब्रूयात्सा हि धारिणी पोषणी च । न पुत्रः प्रतिमुच्येतान्यत्र सौत्रामणियागाज्जीवन्मृणान्मातुः । शङ्खलिखित quoted in सं. म. p. 479 ; vide also वि. र. p. 357, स्मृतिच० (I. p. 35).

1357. Vide Śāntiparva 108. 16–18 for verses very like अनुशासन 105. 14–16 ; नास्ति मातृसमा छाया नास्ति मातृसमा गतिः । नास्ति मातृसमं त्राणं नास्ति मातृसमा प्रिया ॥ शान्ति 267. 31 ; 'माता गुरुतरा भूमेः । वनपर्व 313. 60; नास्ति वेदात्परं शास्त्रं नास्ति मातुः परो गुरुः । नास्ति दानात्परं मित्रमिह लोके परत्र च । अत्रि 151; नास्ति सत्यात्परो धर्मो नास्ति मातृसमो गुरुः । शान्ति 343. 18.

Pāṇḍava heroes pay the highest honour to their mother Kuntī. The Ādiparva chap. 37 says that one may avert the consequences of all curses, but a mother's curse can never be averted[1358].

Reading all that has been said in favour of and against women in ancient Sanskrit Literature it may be said that the higher minds of Hindu Society were quite aware of the worth of women, that they insisted on chastity as the highest virtue for them, that there was no doubt an undercurrent among common people of poor opinion about women, that those who valued an ascetic life and wanted to wean people away from worldly ties and attachments looked down upon women ('vairāgyamārgeṇa' as Varāhamihira happily puts it) and exaggerated their faults. It has to be borne in mind that many of the passages condemning women are put in the mouth of persons who were for some reason or other angry with women or wronged by them or dissatisfied with their conduct. Further in assessing passages disparaging the character of women one maxim of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system must not be lost sight of. The maxim is stated by Śabara (on Jaimini II. 4. 21) as follows: [1359] 'the purpose of a text censuring anything is not censure pure and simple, but the purpose is to enjoin the performance of the opposite of what is censured and to praise such performance'. The object therefore of the authors that censured women was to inculcate the great value of chastity and obedience for women and not merely to paint a dark picture of them.

The rights of women as regards partition and inheritance will be discussed in detail later on. But a brief statement about them may be made here. Āp., Manu, and Nārada do not allow the widow of a sonless male to succeed as heir, while Gaut. 28. 19 appears to contemplate that she is an heir along with *sapiṇḍas* or *sagotras*. That the widow's right to succeed as heir to her deceased husband was not recognised in ancient

1358. सर्वेषामेव शापानां प्रतिघातो हि विद्यते। न तु मात्राभिशप्तानां मोक्षः क्वचन विद्यते ॥ आदिपर्व 37. 4.

1359. एकत्वेऽपि पराणि निन्दाशक्तिसमाप्तिवचनानि । जै. II. 4. 21; 'न हि निन्दा निन्द्यं निन्दितुं प्रयुज्यते ।। किं तर्हि । निन्दितादितरत्प्रशंसितुम्। तत्र न निन्दितस्य प्रतिषेधो गम्यते किं त्वितरस्य विधिः।' शबर (p. 640); the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 2. 7. (p. 115) has 'यथा वक्ष्यति न हि निन्दा निन्द्यं निन्दितुं प्रवर्तते अपि तु विधेयं स्तोतुमिति.' Vide आनन्दगिरि on बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक p. 808 for the same maxim.

times is clear from the Śākuntala (Act VI) where the minister writes to the king that the estate of a merchant dying at sea will escheat to the crown and will not go to his widow. Yāj. II. 135. mentions the widow as the first heir of a sonless man dying separate; Viṣṇu, Kātyāyana and others say the same. So in medieval times the rights of widows to property were better recognized than in the times of the early sūtra writers. In this respect the position of women improved in medieval times, though in the religious and other spheres their position became worse, as they were equated with śūdras. Yāska while explaining Ṛg. I. 124. 7 states that in the southern countries the widow of a sonless man goes to an assembly hall, stands upon a stool and when the members strike her with dice she gets the property of her deceased[1360] husband. This implies that in Nothern India widows did not succeed to their husband's property in Yāska's time.

1360. अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम्। ऋ. I. 124. 7; गर्तारोहिणीव धनलाभाय दाक्षिणाजी। गर्तः सभास्थाणुः। गृणातेः। सत्यसंगरो भवति। तं तत्र या अपुत्रा या अपतिका सा आरोहति तां तत्र अक्षेण आघ्नन्ति सा रिक्थं लभते। निरुक्त III. 5.

CHAPTER XII

THE DUTIES OF A WIDOW, SOME PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN AND THE *PURDA* SYSTEM

Vidhavādharmāḥ

So far the social position and the duties and rights of a wife during her husband's life-time have been considered. We shall now consider the rules laid down for a wife if she has the heavy misfortune to become a widow.[1361]

The word vidhavā occurs several times in the Ṛgveda (e. g. IV. 18. 12, X. 18. 7, X. 40. 2 and 8); but these passages contain very little that is indicative of their condition in society except Ṛg. X. 40. 2 (vide under *niyoga*). Ṛg. I. 87. 3[1362] says 'in the rapid movements of the Maruts the earth trembles like a woman deprived of her husband.' That shows that widows trembled either from sorrow or from fear of molestation and ill-treatment.

The Baud. Dh. S.[1363] II. 2. 66–68 prescribes that the widow of the departed should give up for one year honey, meat, wine and salt and should sleep on the ground; according to Maudgalya (she should so act) for six months; after that period, if she is sonless, she may procreate a son from her brother-in-law if the elders consent.' Vas. Dh. S. (17. 55–56) contains similar provisions. Manu (V. 157–160) contains rules that have been repeated in almost all smṛtis 'a woman when her husband is dead, may, if she chooses, emaciate her body by subsisting on flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even take the name of a stranger male. Till her death she should be forbearing, observe vows, should be celibate and should hanker after that super-eminent code of conduct that is prescribed for women devoted to their husbands. On her husband's death, if a virtuous woman abides by the rule of celibacy, she goes to heaven though she be sonless, as the ancient perpetual

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1361. Vide Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, vol. II. chap. III pp. 158–161 for duties of widows who choose to survive their husbands ; vide 'Die Frau' pp. 86–88 where Winternitz draws a dismal and somewhat exaggerated picture of the condition of the Hindu widow.

1362. प्रैषामज्मेषु विथुरेव रेजते भूमिर्यामेषु यद्ध युञ्जते शुभे । ऋ. I. 87. 3.

1363. संवत्सरं प्रेतपत्नी मधुमांसमद्यलवणानि वर्जयेदधः शयीत । षण्मासानिति मौद्गल्यः । अत ऊर्ध्वं गुरुभिरनुमता देवराज्जनयेत्पुत्रमपुत्रा ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 66–68.

students (like Sanaka) did'. Kātyāyana [1364] similarly provides 'a sonless widow preserving the bed of her husband (unsullied) and residing with her elders and being self-controlled (or forbearing) should enjoy her husband's property till her death; after her the heirs of her husband would get it. A widow engrossed in religious observances and fasts, abiding by the vow of celibacy, always bent on restraining her senses and making gifts would go to heaven even though sonless.' Parāśara IV. 31 is almost the same as Manu V. 160. Bṛhaspati [1365] says 'the wife is declared to be half of a man's body, she participates equally in the husband's merit and sin; a virtuous wife, whether she burns herself on her husband's funeral fire or lives after him, tends to the (spiritual) benefit of her husband'. Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 205–210) prescribes what a widow should do all her life. 'She should give up adorning her hair, chewing betel-nut, wearing perfumes, flowers, ornaments and dyed clothes, taking food from a vessel of bronze, taking two meals a day, applying collyrium to her eyes; she should wear a white garment, should curb her senses and anger, she should not resort to deceits and tricks, should be free from laziness and sleep, should be pure and of good conduct, should always worship Hari, should sleep on the ground at night on a mat of kuśa grass, she should be intent on concentration of mind and on the company of the good.' Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita (VI, last para) indicates that widows did not apply eye-salve to their eyes nor *rocanā* (yellow pigment) to their face and simply tied their hair.[1366] Pracetas [1367] forbids to an ascetic and a widow the chewing of betel leaves, ceremonial bath (with oil &c.) and taking meal in a vessel of bell-metal. The Ādiparva (160. 12) says 'just as birds flock to a piece of flesh left on the ground, so all men woo (or try to seduce) a woman whose

1364. अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती गुरौ स्थिता । भुञ्जीतामरणात्क्षान्ता दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः ॥ व्रतोपवासनिरता ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता । दमदानरता नित्यमपुत्रापि दिवं व्रजेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in वीर० pp. 626–627; the first verse is also quoted in दायभाग, स्मृतिच० and other works.

1365. शरीरार्धं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा । अन्वारूढा जीवती च साध्वी भर्तुर्हिताय सा ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 111.

1366. जनितवेणीबन्धानि निरञ्जनरोचनारोचींषि चषकमधूनि मुखकमलप्रतिबिम्बान्यदृश्यन्त भटीनाम् । हर्षचरित VI, last para.

1367. ताम्बूलाभ्यञ्जनं चैव कांस्यपात्रे च भोजनम् । यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च विधवा च विवर्जयेत् ॥ प्रचेतस् quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 222 and शुद्धितत्त्व p. 235; compare ताम्बूलोऽभर्तृकस्त्रीणां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । एकैकं मांसतुल्यं स्यात्मिलितं तु सुरासमम् ॥ quoted in स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम०) p. 161.

husband is dead'; while the Śāntiparva (148. 2) remarks 'all widows are in sorrow even if they have many sons.'[1368] The Skandapurāṇa (Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 4, vv. 71–106 and III Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7, vv. 67–81) has long passages on the duties of widows, many verses from which are quoted in the Madanapārijāta (pp. 202–203), the Nirṇayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and other nibandhas. A few striking verses may be translated here. The Skandapurāṇa (III, Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7, verses 50–51) says 'The widow is more inauspicious than all other inauspicious things; at the sight of a widow no success can be had in any undertaking; excepting one's (widowed) mother all widows are void of auspicicusness; a wise man should avoid even their blessings like the poison of a snake'[1369]. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa of the same purāṇa, chap. 4, delivers itself thus 'the tying up into a braid of the hair by the widow leads to the bondage of the husband; therefore a widow should always shave her head. She should always take one meal a day and never a second; or she may perform the observance of fast for a month or undergo the penance of cāndrāyaṇa. A widow who sleeps on a cot would make her husband fall (in hell). A widow should never wash her body with fragrant unguents nor should enjoy the fragrance of sweet smelling things; she should everyday perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame, water and kuśa grass for her husband, his father and grandfather after repeating their names and gotra; she should not sit in a bullock cart even when about to die, she should not put on a bodice, should not wear dyed garments and should observe special vows in Vaiśākha, Kārtika[1370] and Māgha.'. The verse 'vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c' (Skanda,

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1368. उत्सृष्टमामिषं भूमौ प्रार्थयन्ति यथा खगाः। प्रार्थयन्ति जनाः सर्वे पतिहीनां तथा स्त्रियम् ॥ आदिपर्व 160. 12; सर्वापि विधवा नारी बहुपुत्रापि शोचते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 148. 2.

1369. अमङ्गलेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो विधवा स्यादमङ्गला। विधवादर्शनात् सिद्धिः क्वापि जातु न जायते ॥ विहाय मातरं चैकां सर्वा मङ्गलवर्जिताः। तदाशिषमपि प्राज्ञस्त्यजेदाशीविषोपमाम् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण III, ब्रह्मारण्य 7. 50–51.

1370. विधवाकबरीबन्धो भर्तृबन्धाय जायते। शिरसो वपनं तस्मात् कार्यं विधवया सदा ॥ एकाहारः सदा कार्यो न द्वितीयः कदाचन। मासोपवासं वा कुर्याच्चान्द्रायणमथापि वा ॥ पर्यङ्कशायिनी नारी विधवा पातयेत्पतिम्। नैवाङ्गोद्वर्तनं कार्यं स्त्रिया विधवया क्वचित्। गन्धद्रव्यस्य संभोगो नैव कार्यस्तया पुनः। तर्पणं प्रत्यहं कार्यं भर्तुस्तिलकुशोदकैः। तत्पितुस्तत्पितुश्चापि नामगोत्रादिपूर्वकम् । नाधिरोहेदनड्वाहं प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि। कञ्चुकं न परीदध्याद्वासो न विकृतं वसेत्। वैशाखे कार्तिके माघे विशेषनियमं चरेत् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण, काशीखण्ड 4. vv. 75. ff.; all these are quoted by the निर्णयसिन्धु p. 626, मदनपारिजात (pp. 202–203), स्मृतिमुक्ताफल p. 160.

Kāśīkhaṇḍa 4. 74) is the only verse on which the medieval writers rely for prescribing continual tonsure of widows. That chapter begins by extolling the pativratā (Bṛhaspati does it with regard to Lopāmudrā, the wife of Agastya). It passes one's understanding why when a pativratā whose husband is living is before Bṛhaspati he should wax eloquent over the duties of widows (verses 71–106). Therefore this portion appears to be an interpolation in the Skandapurāṇa itself. In *Lakshmibai v. Ramchandra* I. L. R. 22 Bom. 590, it was held that the text 'vidhavā-kabarī-bandho' is of doubtful validity (p. 594). Besides 69 verses of this chapter 4 are common to chap. 7 of the Dharmāraṇya section of the Skandapurāṇa (III) which precedes it. There is no reason why they should have been repeated. The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa as cited in the Pṛthvīcandrodaya to the effect that śrāddha food should not be got prepared by a widow belonging to another gotra.[1371]

The position of the Hindu widow was miserable and her lot was most unenviable. She was looked upon as inauspicious and so could take part in no festivities, such as those on marriage. She had not only to lead a life of perfect celibacy, even if she was a child widow, but she had to act like an ascetic, being poorly fed (only once a day) and poorly clad. Her rights to property were negligible. Even if the husband died sonless she did not originally succeed as shown above (p. 582). Later on her position as an heir was improved; but even then she could ordinarily enjoy only the income of the property and could transfer it only for the legal necessities of the family (including herself) or for the spiritual benefit of her husband. In a joint Hindu family a widow had only the right of maintenance (except in Bengal where she had more rights), which would be forfeited if she became unchaste and persisted in that course.[1372] If she returned to a moral life then she may be entitled to bare starving maintenance (vide above p. 573). If her husband had separate property and left a son or sons, the widow was only entitled to maintenance. This was the law in British India till very recently. Recently the position of the

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1371. पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदये ब्राह्मे । रजस्वलां च पाखण्डां पुंश्चलीं पतितां तथा । त्यजेच्छ्राद्धे तथा वन्ध्यां विधवां चान्यगोत्रजाम् । ... ... वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धपाकार्थममातृपितृवंशजाम् ॥ निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 417.

1372. Vide Honama v. Timannabhat I. L. R. 1 Bom. 559; *Bhikubai v. Hariba* I. L. R. 49 Bom. 459.

widow of a member in a joint Hindu family and of the widow of a person who leaves separate property has been improved by Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938.

One subject that arouses bitter controversies is the practice of tonsuring widows among brāhmaṇas and certain other castes. A few words must be said on this. It is clear from the verse (vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c.) of the Skandapurāṇa quoted in the Madanapārijāta and other nibandhas that for some time at least before the 14th century A. D. (when the Madanapārijāta was composed) tonsure of widows was in vogue. How and exactly when this practice arose cannot be established with certainty. That it is comparatively a later innovation can, however, be demonstrated. Two distinct propositions have to be made out, first, that widows were tonsured on the death of their husbands, just as sons were tonsured and secondly, that widows were required by the texts to tonsure themselves continually from time to time till their death, though sons who had to tonsure themselves on their father's death are not required to do so afterwards. The advocates of this practice rely upon three Vedic passages, viz. Ṛg. X. 40. 2, Āp. M. Pāṭha I. 4. 9, and Atharvaveda 14.2. 60, Ṛg. X. 40. 2 (cited below p. 606) refers to vidhavā only and probably to niyoga, but there is nothing about tonsure in that verse. Some modern orthodox Pandits ingeniously argue from the explanation of the word 'vidhavā' in the Nirukta (III. 15 vidhāvanād-vā iti Carmaśirāḥ). Carmaśiras is the name of a former teacher according to all commentators of the Nirukta, but these pandits interpret it by a *tour de force* as a synonym of vidhavā ('having only the bare skin on her head'). About this interpretation the less said the better. Āp. M. P. I. 5. 9 contains the word 'vikeśī' which is translated as the appellation of a female goblin in S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 187 'mayst thou not be beaten at thy breast by she goblin, the rough haired[1373] one'. Even taking 'vikeśī' as referring to the maiden who is being married the meaning is 'mayst thou, with dishevelled hair, not beat thy breast (through grief)'. The word 'vikeśī' does not mean 'a widow whose hair is tonsured'; it ordinarily means 'a woman

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1373. मा ते गृहे निशि घोष उत्थादन्यत्र त्वद्रुदत्यः संविशन्तु । मा त्वं विकेश्युर आवधिष्ठा जीवपत्नी पतिलोके विराज पश्यन्ती प्रजां सुमनस्यमानाम् ॥ आप. म. पा. I. 5. 9. Vide आप. गृ. V. 1 *where this* मन्त्र *along with others is prescribed for* offering āhutis in the marriage rite. *It is also employed for the same* purpose in हिरण्य. गृ. I. 19. 7, भारद्वाज गृ. I. 14.

with dishevelled hair'. The third passage is Atharvaveda[1374] 14. 2. 60, that is a verse in a marriage hymn which means 'if this daughter of thine has bewailed with loosened hair in thy house, doing evil by her wailing, from that sin let Agni and Savitṛ release thee'. Here it is impossible to hold that 'vikeśī' means tonsured, as this mantra is part of the marriage hymn and Agni is asked to remove the blemish due to the girl's weeping at the approaching prospect of separation from her parents. There is no comment of Sāyaṇa on this passage but elsewhere in the Atharvaveda when that word occurs as in Atharva XI. 9. 14 he paraphrases it by 'vikīrṇakeśī' which does not mean 'with tonsured hair' but only 'having dishevelled hair'. Therefore there is no reference whatever to the tonsure of widows in the Veda, much less an injunction as to it. In the Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra,[1375] elaborate rules are laid down about the cremation of one who had kindled the sacred Vedic fires. In I. 4. 3 it is said 'his wives led by the youngest should follow the *cortege* with dishevelled hair and throwing dust on their shoulders' and this they have to repeat several times (vide I. 4. 12–13, I. 5. 5–7, I. 5. 12–14) on the way to the cemetery. It is also said that they go round (the corpse) thrice with their hair gathered together (I. 4. 13). Then in I. 12. 7 shaving of the hair and moustache is prescribed for the close relatives of the deceased (amātyas) who are present, his wives are not mentioned in this connection and II. 3. 17 expressly forbids tonsure of wives.

Manu and Yāj. dilate on the duties of widows, but they are entirely silent about tonsure. Nor does any other ancient smṛti refer to it. On the contrary Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 206 quoted above p. 584) asks the widow not to deck her hair, among other things which, she is not to do. This makes it clear that the widows kept their hair. The word 'keśarañjanam' is to be dissolved as 'keśānāṁ rañjanam' and not as 'keśāśca rañjanam ca' (as Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 103 makes it clear by employing 'keśānāṁ rañjanārthaṁ vā). It can be shown that

1374. यदीयं दुहिता तव विकेश्यरुदद् गृहे रोदेन कृण्वत्यघम्। अग्निष्ट्वा तस्मादेनसः सविता च प्रमुञ्चतात्॥ अथर्व 14. 2. 60.

1375. अस्य भार्याः कनिष्ठप्रथमाः प्रकीर्णकेश्यो व्रजेयुः पांसूनंसेष्वावपमानाः 'खल्वथे स्वा स्यादृथं नो एवाघम्' इति। बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 4. 3; एवममात्या एवं स्त्रियः संयम्य केशान् यथेतं त्रिः पुनः प्रति परियन्ति। I. 4. 13; एतस्मिन्कालेऽस्यामात्या केशश्मश्रूणि वापयन्ते ये संनिधाने भवन्ति। I. 12. 7; न स्त्रीणां केशवपनं विद्यते न चितिर्नेष्टका न पुनर्दाहो दारवत्स्त्रीणां पात्राणि भवन्तीति विज्ञायते। II. 3. 17.

at least kṣatriya widows never tonsured their head. In the Mahābhārata whenever the widows of the fallen warriors are described they are always referred to as 'having dishevelled hair' and there is not a single reference to tonsure[1376] of widows. In the Harṣacarita, Harṣa[1377] in his soliloquy on the death of his father Prabhākaravardhana says 'may the Glory of super-eminent man-hood tie up her hair in the way in which widows tie up their hair'. In the Pehoa *praśasti* of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj (E. I. vol. 1. p. 246 verse 16) the widows of his enemies are spoken of as shedding tears on their cheeks and having long (not braided) and profuse[1378] tresses.

The orthodox pandits rely on a verse in Vedavyāsa-smṛti[1379] II. 53 'a brāhmaṇa woman should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (does not become *satī*) she being *tyaktakeśā* should emaciate her body by *tapas*'. The reading 'brāhmaṇī' for 'jīvantī' is not good, as the word 'brāhmaṇī' is redundant having occurred in the first half and as the second half refers to the fact of her surviving after her husband. In this verse the injunction relates only to the emaciation of the body (*śoṣayet*), the word 'tyaktakeśā' being only an attribute of the subject is no part of the predicate, which alone is enjoined. The general rule laid down by the Mīmāṁsā is (III. 1. 13–15, the grahaikatvanyāya)[1380] that the attributes of a subject are no part

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1376. e. g. 'प्रकीर्णकेशाः क्रोशन्तीः कुररीरिव माधव। स्त्रीपर्व 16. 18 (गान्धारी describes her daughters-in-law); 'प्रकीर्णकेशां सुश्रोणीं दुर्योधनशुभाङ्गनाम्। रुक्मवेदीनिभां पश्य कृष्ण लक्ष्मणमातरम्॥ स्त्रीपर्व 17. 25; vide स्त्रीपर्व 21. 6, 24. 7, आश्रमवासिपर्व 25. 16; 'प्रकीर्णमूर्धजाः सर्वा विमुक्ताभरणस्रजः। उरांसि पाणिभिर्घ्नन्त्यो व्यलपन् करुणं स्त्रियः॥' मौसलपर्व 7. 17. (on the death of Vasudeva).

1377. बध्नातु वैधव्यवेणीं वरमनुष्यता। हर्षचरित V. (5th para from end); vide हर्षचरित VI. last para quoted above in note 1366.

1378. करतलस्थगिताधरपल्लवाः प्रतनुकान्तिकपोलतलोदरम्। सिसिचुरश्रुजलैर्यदरिस्त्रियः सरलितप्रचुरालकजालकाः॥ (E. I. vol. 1 p. 246 verse 16).

1379. मृतं भर्तारमादाय ब्राह्मणी वह्निमाविशेत्। जीवन्ती (v. l. ब्राह्मणी) चेत् त्यक्तकेशा तपसा शोषयेद् वपुः॥ वेदव्यास II. 53.

1380. The grahaikatvanyāya is as follows : The text ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि does not mean that a single sacrificial vessel is to be cleansed, but rather that all are to be cleansed. The singular number (in *graham*) is an attribute of the subject about which cleansing is predicated and so it is no part of the injunction. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāra-mayūkha pp. 83–84, 121–122, where examples of the application of this maxim are given. The Pandits try to apply the rules in Jaimini III. 3. 34–46, but those rules are inapplicable, since in the passage of Veda-Vyāsa there is a verb in the potential mood, while in the vedic sentence interpreted in Jaimini III. 3. 34–46 there is no verb in the potential mood.

of the injunction. There is no injunction about *keśa* (hair) in the Vedavyāsa passage. Besides the word tyaktakeśā (who has given up hair) may possibly be made to yield three meanings, viz. (1) one who has given up or is unmindful of dressing or decking her hair, (2) one whose hair is given up in accordance with the prescription of some smṛtis that only two finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut off when doing penance for govadha &c. in the case of women (*vide* Parāśara IX. 54–55, Aṅgiras 163, Yama 54); (3) one whose head is tonsured. For the first meaning vide Raghuvaṁśa IX. 14 (where 'analakām' is explained by Mallinātha as 'who have given up ornamenting the hair'). For this meaning of 'tyakta' vide Bhagavadgītā I. 33 'tyaktajīvitāḥ'. 'Tyakta' by itself never means tonsured. The third meaning will be only implied if at all, while the first two are the usual meanings. Further, the interpretation of the Veda-Vyāsa smṛti II. 53 given by the pandits is liable to the fault called vākyabheda (i. e. it lays down two injunctions in one and the same sentence), as they say that Veda-Vyāsa calls upon widows to tonsure themselves and to emaciate their body. Besides, if Veda-Vyāsa really meant to enjoin tonsure, the verse could easily have been made to read 'jīvantī ced vapet keśān tapasā &c.' Lastly assuming that Veda-Vyāsa refers to tonsure, there is conflict among smṛtis, since Vṛddha-Hārīta (quoted above) allows her to keep her hair, and since an option results when two texts of equal authority conflict (Gaut. I. 5).[1381]

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a text of Manu (not found in the printed Manu) 'shaving of the hair is not desired in the case of learned men, the king and women, except in the case of one guilty of mahāpātaka or the killer of a cow and a brahmacārī guilty of sexual intercourse.'[1382] The Mit. nowhere refers to tonsure as one of the obligatory matters for widows.

The orthodox pandits further rely upon Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6, its explanation in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 and the explanation of the Mit. in the commentary, Bālambhaṭṭī. Āpastamba's sūtra is delivered when the context is about cessation of Veda study (anadhyāya). Āp. says '(the student) shall cease studying Veda for 12 days if his mother, father or teacher dies. In the

1381. तुल्यबलविरोधे विकल्पः । गौतम I. 5.

1382. विद्वद्विप्रनृपस्त्रीणां नेष्यते केशवापनम् । ऋते महापातकिनो गोघ्नस्य ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ इति मनुस्मरणात् । मिता॰ on या. III. 325.

case of the death of these he must also bathe for the same number of days. Persons who are younger than (the relation deceased) must shave their hair.[1383] Some declare that students who have returned home on completion of brahmacarya shall never shave except when engaged in a śrauta sacrifice. In sattras even the top-lock must be shaved'. In this there is no reference to women, much less to widows and lesser still to the tonsure of widows. The reference to śrauta sacrifices, sattra, and śikhā indicates that only males are in view. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 explains at length Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6. It gives two senses of 'anubhāvin' viz. those who experience sorrow on the death of a person i. e. his sapiṇḍas (from the root 'bhū' with 'anu,' to experience) and those who are born after the deceased i. e. who are younger than the deceased (from 'bhū' with 'anu' to be born after). The Mit. then combines[1384] these and remarks 'those sapiṇḍas of the deceased who are younger than the latter have to shave themselves on the death of a relative'. This is its own view. It then refers to the view of some that 'anubhāvin' in Āp. means 'son' and those latter rely on a restrictive text 'shaving is declared on seven occasions only, viz. on the Ganges, in the Bhāskara-kṣetra, on the death of one's parents or teacher, at the time of consecrating śrauta fires, and at the time of a soma sacrifice'. It is clear that the Mit. does not expressly mention the wife or widow here. Supposing that she is impliedly referred to as a sapiṇḍa and as younger than her husband, this will at the most come to the requirement that on the death of the husband the wife had to undergo shaving, just as her son would have to do. But this passage cannot be used to support continual shaving of widows throughout life. Really 'anubhāvinām' in Āp. cannot include the wife; since if women were to be included by the rule of *ekaśeṣa* (vide Pāṇini I. 2. 67) the absurd conclusion would follow that the daughters of the deceased and his younger brother's wives (who are all sapiṇḍas and younger) would have

1383. अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 10. 6.

1384. वपनं च केषामित्याकाङ्क्षायामापस्तम्बेनोक्तम्-अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम्-इति । अयमर्थः । शावं दुःखमनुभवन्तीत्यनुभाविनः सपिण्डास्तेषां चाविशेषेण वपनमुताल्पवयसामित्यपेक्षायामिदमेवोपतिष्ठते-अनुभाविनां च परिवापनमिति । अनु पश्चाद्भवन्तीत्यनुभाविनोऽल्पवयसस्तेषां वपनमिति । अनुभाविनः पुत्रा इति केचिन्मन्यन्ते । गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्गुरोर्मृतौ । आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्मृतम् ॥ इति नियमदर्शनात् । मिता. on या. III. 17.

to be shaved. The Nirṇayasindhu [1385] (composed in 1612 A. D.) and the Bālambhaṭṭī (composed towards the end of the 18th century) were both familiar with the tonsure of widows and so they interpret Āp. and the Mit. as requiring shaving for the wife on the 10th day after the death of the husband and rely on a text of Vyāsa quoted in Aparārka. The Bālambhaṭṭī says "the words 'on the death of the mother and father' are only illustrative and so the same rule applies to the husband's death." Even conceding all this far-fetched interpretation, there is no authority for the continual tonsure of widows throughout their lives in these passages. It may be noted that the Madanapārijāta [1386] which contains the verse (vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c. quoted above) does not include the widow among 'anubhāvinām', but only male sapiṇḍas and sons.

The foregoing discussion leads to the following conclusions. There is no express Vedic authority for the tonsure of widows. The gṛhya or dharma sūtras do not refer to it; nor do important smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. If one or two smṛti verses of doubtful import seem to refer to it, other smṛtis like Vṛddha-Hārīta are to an opposite effect. Some of the smṛti texts only refer, if at all, to one shaving on the husband's death, but there is no smṛti passage prescribing continual shaving for widows. There is only the Skandapurāṇa passage expressly requiring tonsure of widows. The Mit. and Aparārka are silent about it. It appears that the practice was gradually evolved after the 10th or 11th century. As widows were equated with *yatis* for several injunctions (vide note 1367 above) and as the latter shaved themselves, widows were gradually required to do so. By rendering them ugly it might have been intended to keep them chaste. Probably the example of Buddhist and Jaina nuns may have also suggested the cruel practice. We find from the Cullavagga [1387] that Buddhist nuns

1385. अनुभाविनः पुत्रादय इत्येके । पुत्रः पत्नी च वपनं कुर्यादन्ते यथाविधि । पिण्डदानोचितोन्योपि कुर्यादित्थं समाहितः । इत्यपरार्के व्यासोक्तेः । निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 591 ; vide बालम्भट्टी on प्रायश्चित्त (pp. 49–51 of Gharpure's ed.) 'अत्र पित्रादिग्रहणं भर्तुरप्युपलक्षणम् । पुत्रः पत्नी ...... समाहितः । इति व्यासेन पत्न्या अपि वपनविधानात् ।' pp. 50–51.

1386. तथा वपनं दुःखानुभाविभिः सर्वैः सपिण्डैः पुत्रैरेव स्वस्वदेशाचारानुसारेण प्रथमदिनप्रभृति विषमदिनेष्वपि श्राद्धादिप्रदानात्पूर्वं कर्तव्यम् । यदाह आपस्तम्बः । अनुभाविनां च परिवापनमिति । मदनपारिजात p. 415.

1387. Vide S. B. E. vol. 20 (Vinaya texts) p. 321. For Jaina nuns cutting off their tresses or plucking their hair, *vide* Uttarādhyayana XXII. 30. (S. B. E. vol. 45, p. 116).

cut off their hair and put on orange-coloured robes. In Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇa widows a few years ago wore a garment that was reddish (and even now a few old widows do wear it). At all events the practice is not very old and hardly any digest before the Madanapārijāta (14th century) quotes the Skanda-purāṇa text. The practice is dying out and deserves to be suppressed at once, though strange insistence on it sometimes obtains public notoriety. Recently the worshippers in the famous shrine of Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in Mahārāṣṭra prevented an untonsured brāhmaṇa widow from having *darśana* of the idol in the customary way i. e. by placing the head on the feet of the idol, while they were prepared to allow untonsured widows of all castes (except the so called untouchables), and even Hindu prostitutes in the keeping of Christians or Mahomedans to have *darśana* in that way. The matter came before a civil court, where it was decided in favour of the widow that no such discrimination could be allowed to prevail, but owing to certain unforeseen circumstances the case did not come before the Bombay High Court.

It would be of interest to many to learn that among one sect (the Tengalai) of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas (followers of Rāmānuja) tonsure of widows has been forbidden for centuries, though that sect is most orthodox in other matters.[1388] The Śūdrakamalākara remarks that widows in Gauḍa keep their hair.[1389]

From very ancient times, it appears the idea was that women should not be killed on any account. The Śat. Br. (XI. 4. 3. 2, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 62) says[1390] 'people do not kill a woman, but rather take (anything) from her (leaving her) alive'. It was only the king who was authorised, according to Viśvarūpa, to punish a woman to death for adultery with a man of a very low caste (vide Gaut. and Manu VIII. 371 quoted above on p. 572), but the king had to undergo a slight penance for doing this (vide Yāj. III. 268). Manu XI. 190 ordains that one who killed a woman was not to be associated with, even after he performed the requisite penance. Manu IX. 232 calls

1388. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. III pp. 136–137 for passages quoted from many works forbidding the tonsure of widows.

1389. अत एव गौडस्त्रीणां विधवानां शिखा दृश्यते। शूद्रकमलाकर p. 50.

1390. स्त्री वैषा यच्छ्रीर्न वै स्त्रियं घ्नन्त्युत त्वस्या जीवन्त्या एवाददत इति। शतपथ XI. 4. 3. 2.

upon the king to punish with death those who murder women, children and brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata frequently refers to this chivalrous rule. Ādiparva [1391] 158. 31 says 'those who know dharma declare that women are not to be killed'. The Sabhāparva 41. 13 prescribes 'one's weapons should not be directed against women, cows, brāhmaṇas, against one who gave livelihood or shelter'. In the Śāntiparva (135. 14) even thieves are instructed not to kill women. Vide also Ādi. 155. 2, 217. 4, Vanaparva 206. 46. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa) also breathes this sentiment, when Rāma was called upon to kill the ogress Tāṭakā.

Even for the most serious offence of adultery with a man of a low caste Yāj. II. 286 prescribes for the woman the punishment of cutting the ear &c. Similarly Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 192 prescribes the cutting of the nose, ear and lip for attempt to murder the husband or her foetus. Vide Yāj. II. 278–279 for the sentence of death in the case of women for certain offences.

It has been seen how women gradually lost the privilege of upanayana, of studying the Veda, of having all the saṁskāras performed with Vedic mantras and how they came to be regarded as entirely dependent on men. Their position became assimilated to that of the śūdras [1392] in many matters. A few examples will be cited here. All *dvijātis* were to sip water thrice (*ācamana*) for purifying their body, but women and śūdras were to sip water only once for that purpose (Manu V. 139, Yāj. I. 21). The dvijātis were [1393] to take their bath to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras, while women and śūdras were to bathe silently. Śūdras and women were to perform what is called āmaśrāddha (i. e. śrāddha without cooked food).[1394] The same penance was prescribed for killing a śūdra or a woman (Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 11–12, Parāśara VI. 16). Ordinarily women, children and very old men could not be witnesses (Yāj.

1391. अवध्या स्त्रिय इत्याहुर्धर्मज्ञा धर्मनिश्चये। आदिपर्व 158. 31 ; स्त्रीषु गोषु न शस्त्राणि पातयेद् ब्राह्मणेषु च। यस्य चान्नानि भुञ्जीत यत्र च स्यात्प्रतिश्रयः॥ सभापर्व 41. 13.

1392. 'स्त्रीशूद्राश्च सधर्माणः' इति वाक्यात्' व्यव. म. p. 112 ; द्विजस्त्रीणामपि श्रौतज्ञानाभ्यासेऽधिकारिता। वदन्ति केचिद्विद्वांसः स्त्रीणां शूद्रसमानताम्। सूतसंहिता quoted in शूद्रकमलाकर p. 231.

1393. ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशां चैव मन्त्रवत्स्नानमिष्यते। तूष्णीमेव हि शूद्रस्य स्त्रीणां च कुरुनन्दन॥ विष्णु quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 181.

1394. स्त्रीशूद्रः श्वपचश्चैव जातकर्मणि चाप्यथ। आमश्राद्धं तथा कुर्याद्विधिना पार्वणेन तु॥ मत्स्य quoted in स्मृतिच० (श्राद्ध०) pp. 491–92.

II. 70, Nārada, ṛṇādāna, vv. 178, 190, 191), but Manu VIII. 68, 70, Yāj. II. 72, and Nārada, ṛṇādāna 155 allowed women to be witnesses in disputes between women or when no other witness could be had or in the cases of theft, adultery and other offences in which force was an element. Documents taken from or transactions (particularly gift, sale and mortgage of lands or houses) made with women were ordinarily to be treated as voidable like those brought about by force or fraud (vide Nārada, ṛṇādāna 26, 137, Yāj. II. 31). But this instead of being regarded as a disability was rather a boon owing to the general illiteracy of women. The Tristhalīsetu (of Nārāyaṇa) quotes a passage of the Bṛhan-Nāradīya purāṇa to the effect that women, those whose upanayana has not been performed and śūdras have no right to establish the images of Viṣṇu or Śiva.[1395]

If there were many and heavy disabilities on women in certain matters, they enjoyed in certain directions more privileges than men. It has been already seen that women were not to be killed nor were they to be abandoned even when guilty of adultery. They also enjoyed the right of precedence on the road (vide p. 146 above). The daughter[1396] of a *patita* was not regarded as *patita*, though the son of a *patita* was regarded as *patita* (vide Vas. 13. 51-53, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 4, Yāj. III. 261). Women[1397] had to undergo only half of the prāyaścitta that men had to undergo for the same lapse (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 33, Devala 30, &c). Women received[1398] honour according to the ages of their husbands, whatever their own ages may be (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18). Just as brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas were to be free from taxes, the women of all varṇas (except those of *pratiloma* castes) had to pay no taxes,[1399] according to Āp. Dh.

1395. स्त्रीणामनुपनीतानां शूद्राणां च नरेश्वर। स्थापने नाधिकारोऽस्ति विष्णोर्वा शंकरस्य च। इति बृहन्नारदीये (quoted in शूद्रकमलाकर p. 32).

1396. पतितेनोत्पन्नः पतितो भवतीत्याहुरन्यत्र स्त्रियाः। सा हि परगामिनी। तामरिक्थामुपेयात्। वसिष्ठ 13. 51-53; कन्यां समुद्वहेदेषां सोपवासामकिंचनाम्। या. III. 261. The मिता० on या. III. 261 quotes Vas. and a passage from हारीतधर्मसूत्र to the same effect.

1397. प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च। विष्णु 54. 33, देवल 30, quoted in मिता० on या. III. 293; बालवृद्धस्त्रीणामर्धप्रायश्चित्तम्। च्यवन quoted by अपरार्क p. 1199.

1398. पतिवयसः स्त्रियः। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 18.

1399. अकरः श्रोत्रियः। सर्ववर्णानां च स्त्रियः। आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 26. 10-11; अकरः श्रोत्रियो राजपुमाननाथप्रव्रजितबालवृद्धतरुणप्रजाताः। वसिष्ठ 19. 23.

S. II. 10. 26. 10–11). Vas. Dh. S. 19. 23 limits this exemption to women who are young or just delivered of a child. Pregnant women from the third month of pregnancy, forest hermits, saṁnyāsins and brāhmaṇas and brahmacārins had to pay no tax at a ferry (Manu VIII. 407 and Viṣṇu V. 132). According to Gaut. V. 23 and Yāj. I. 105 children, the daughters and sisters who are married and yet stay with their parents or brothers, pregnant women, unmarried daughters, guests and servants are to be fed before the master and mistress of the house; while Manu III. 114 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 39 go a step further and say that freshly married girls of the family, unmarried girls, pregnant women are to be fed even before guests. A judicial proceeding in which a woman was a party, or which was heard at night or outside the village or inside a house (i. e. not in public) or before enemies was liable to be reviewed (Nārada [1400] I. 43). Ordinarily trial by ordeal did not apply to a woman, whether she was plaintiff or defendant, but if at all a woman had to prove her case by ordeal, only the ordeal of *tulā* (balance) was prescribed for her (Yāj. II. 98 and Mit. thereon). In succession to *strīdhana* property, daughters were preferred to sons. Women did not lose their strīdhana by adverse possession (Yāj. II. 25, Nārada, ṛṇādāna 82–83). Women were always to be consulted about ācāra. Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 cites the view that rules not stated in the sūtra are, according to some teachers, to be understood from women and from men of all castes. Āp. gṛ. II. 15 prescribes that in marriage the usages to be followed are to be learnt from women. Vide also Āśv. gṛ. I. 14. 8, Manu II. 223, Vaik. III. 21. [1401]

One interesting question is whether the practice of *purda* now in vogue among Moslems and also among Hindus in certain provinces of India prevailed in ancient times. Ṛg. X. 85. 33 (used in the marriage rite) expressly calls upon people to look at the bride. 'This bride is endowed with great auspiciousness; assemble together and see her; having given her blessings of good luck you may go to your house'. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 7 prescribes that at each halting place when the bride-groom is returning to his village with his bride he should

1400. स्त्रीषु रात्रौ बहिर्ग्रामादन्तर्वेश्मन्यरातिषु । व्यवहारः कृतोऽप्येष पुनः कर्तव्यतामियात् ॥ नारद I. 43.

1401. वेदस्नातकस्य यदाह्नि विवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाह्नि तस्मिन् यत् स्त्रिय आहुः पारंपर्यागतं शिष्टाचारं तत्तत्करोति । वैखानसस्मार्त III. 21.

look at the spectators with the verse Ṛg. X. 85. 33.[1402] This shows that no veil was worn by the bride and she appeared in public without one. Though in the marriage hymn there is a blessing (Ṛg. X. 85. 46) that the bride was to dominate over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law, it appears that that was only a blessing and the heart's wish, but the reality was somewhat different. The Ait. Br.[1403] (12. 11) says that the daughter-in-law is abashed in the presence of the father-in-law and goes away concealing herself from him. This indicates that there was some restraint for younger women when they were in the presence of elders. But in the gṛhya and dharma sūtras there is no reference to any veil for women when moving in public. Pāṇini III. 2. 36 teaches the formation of 'asūryampaśyā' (who do not see the sun) applied to queens. That only shows that royal ladies did not leave the precincts of the palace and come under public gaze. In the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa[1404] (33. 8) it is said 'people walking on the public road see to-day Sītā who could not formerly be seen even by aerial beings'. Similarly it is stated in the same kāṇḍa (116. 28) 'the appearance of a woman in public is not blamable in misfortunes, difficulties, in wars, in svayaṁvara, in a sacrifice, and in a marriage'. In the Sabhāparva[1405] 69. 9 Draupadī exclaims 'we have heard that ancient people did not take married women to the public assembly-hall; that ancient and long-standing practice has been contravened by the Kauravas'. She says this after referring to the fact that, since she was seen at her svayaṁvara by the kings, she was never seen again by them till the day she

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1402. सुमङ्गलीरियं वधूरिमां समेत पश्यत। सौभाग्यमस्यै दत्त्वायाथास्तं विपरेतन॥ ऋ. X. 85. 33. This occurs in आप. म. पा. I. 9. 5. and is prescribed in आप. गृ. 6. 11 for japa after a boy is seated on the bride's lap. In Kāṭhaka gṛ. 25. 46 the verse 'sumaṅgalīr-iyaṁ' is to be repeated when the bride sees the polestar and Arundhatī and is addressed to these latter. In Hir. Gṛ. I. 19. 4 this verse is repeated by the bridegroom when the bride is brought to him before the fire, which is about to be kindled.

1403. तद्यथैवादः स्नुषा श्वशुराल्लज्जमाना निलीयमानैत्येवमेव सा सेना भज्यमाना निलीयमानैति। ऐ. ब्रा. 12. 11.

1404. या न शक्या पुरा द्रष्टुं भूतैराकाशगैरपि। तामद्य सीतां पश्यन्ति राजमार्गगता जनाः॥ युद्धकाण्ड 33. 8; व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे। न क्रतौ नो विवाहे वा दर्शनं दूष्यते स्त्रियः॥ युद्धकाण्ड 116. 28.

1405. धर्म्यां स्त्रियं सभां पूर्वे न नयन्तीति नः श्रुतम्। स नष्टः कौरवेयेषु पूर्वो धर्मः सनातनः॥ सभापर्व 69. 9.

was brought to the assembly-hall when Yudhiṣṭhira gambled and lost everything. This shows that women, particularly high-born ladies, did not appear in public except on certain occasions, but it does not follow that they always wore the veil. When the Kauravas were routed the Śalyaparva (29. 74) laments that their ladies whom even the sun did not see in their palaces were seen by the common people who had come to the capital. *Vide* also Sabhāparva 97. 4–7, Śalyaparva 19. 63, Strīparva 9. 9–10, Āśrama-vāsi-parva 15. 13. In the Harṣacarita (IV) princess Rājyaśrī, whom the intended bride-groom Grahavarmā came to see just before marriage, is described as having her face covered with a veil of fine red cloth. In another place, while describing the country of Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thanesar) Bāṇa says 'where bees drawn by the fragrance of the breaths of the ladies (and hovering round their faces) served as a charming veil for their faces and the veil actually worn by them became a mere redundancy worn because it was the practice of high-born ladies to wear one'. In the Kādambarī also (para 99) Bāṇa describes Patralekhā as covering her face with a veil of red cloth. In the Śākuntala [1406] when Śakuntalā is taken to the court of Duṣyanta she is described as wearing a veil. So it must be conceded that ladies of high rank did not appear in public without a veil, but ordinarily women did not wear any veil. It is probably after the advent of the Moslems that the wearing of a veil, which was not quite unknown, became general among Hindu women in Northern and Eastern India. Vide Indian Antiquary for 1933 p. 15, where a passage is quoted from the Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudī of Vācaspati (9th century A. D.) referring to ladies of good family not appearing in public without a veil and Pathak Commemoration vol. p. 72 for references from Buddhist works about the practice of *purda*.

1406. तत्र...अरुणांशुकावगुण्ठितमुखीं...वधूमपश्यत्। हर्षचरित IV, 4th para from end; 'यत्र च...निःश्वासाकृष्टमधुकरकुलान्येव रमणीयं मुखावरणं कुलव्रजिनाचारो जालिका। हर्षचरित III p. 44 of my edition; vide a similar conceit in 'विकचनयनकुवलयकुतूहलालीनयालिकुलसंहत्या नीलांशुकजालिकयेव निरुद्धार्धवदना। हर्षचरित I. p. 15 of my edition; 'शक्रगोपकालोहितरागेणांशुकेन रचितावगुण्ठनया... कन्यकया &c.' कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग para 99; कास्विदवगुण्ठनवती नातिपरिस्फुटशरीर-लावण्या। शाकुन्तल V. 13.

CHAPTER XIII

NIYOGA

Niyoga—(appointment of a wife or widow to procreate a son from intercourse with an appointed male).

Great divergence of views prevails about the origin and purpose of this practice. It will be best first to begin by examining the most ancient smṛtis that permitted this practice. Gaut.[1407] 18. 4–14 have great bearing on this point. Gaut. 18. 4–8 are : 'a woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring may secure a son from her brother-in-law. She should obtain the permission of the elders[1408] and have intercourse only during the menstrual period (excluding the first four days). She may obtain a son from a sapiṇḍa, a sagotra, a sapravara or one who belongs to the same caste (when there is no brother-in-law). Some (hold that this practice is allowed) with nobody except a brother-in-law. She shall not bear more than two sons (by this practice)'. Gaut. 18. 11 says that a child begotten at the request of a living husband on his wife belongs to the husband. Gaut. (28. 32) says that such a son is called *kṣetraja*. The wife is called kṣetra[1409] (field), the husband of the wife or widow is called *kṣetrin* or kṣetrika (to whom the wife or widow belongs) and the person appointed to produce offspring is called *bījin* (one who sows the seed) or *niyogin* (Vas. 17. 64, one who is appointed).

1407. अपतिरपत्यलिप्सुर्देवरात्। गुरुप्रसूता नर्तुमतीयात्। पिण्डगोत्रर्षिसंबन्धेभ्यो योनिमात्राद्वा। नादेवरादित्येके। नातिद्वितीयम्। गौतम 18. 4–8. हरदत्त explains नातिद्वितीयम् differently 'प्रथममपत्यमतीत्य द्वितीयं न जनयेदिति' (i. e. not more than one son is to be so procreated).

1408. The word गुरु means only the relatives of the husband and not the father of the widow 'गुरवश्च श्वश्रूश्वशुरदेवरादयो भर्तृसगोत्रा द्रष्टव्या न पित्रादयः' मेधा० on मनु IX. 59. हरदत्त differs and explains गौतम 18. 5 as 'गुरुभिः पतिपक्षैः पितृपक्षैर्वा नियुक्ता सती संयुज्येत'. Manu (IX. 60–61) shows that some said that only one son could be had by नियोग, while others held that two could be had.

1409. Vide मनु IX. 32, 33 and 53 for the words क्षेत्र, क्षेत्रिक, बीजिन्; गौतम 18. 11 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 6 employ the word क्षेत्र for wife and Gaut. IV. 3 has the word 'bījin'.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 56-65) similarly prescribes[1410] 'the father or brother of the widow (or widow's husband) shall assemble the *gurus* who taught or sacrificed for the deceased husband and his relatives and shall appoint her (to raise issue for the deceased husband). Let him not appoint a widow who is mad, not master of herself (through grief &c.) or is diseased or is very old. (Up to) sixteen years (after puberty is the period for appointing a widow) nor shall an appointment be made if the person who is to approach her is sickly. Let him approach the widow in the *muhūrta* sacred[1411] to Prajāpati like a husband, without dallying with her and without abusing or ill-treating her. No appointment shall be made through a desire to obtain[1412] the estate.' Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 14, p. 226) defines a *kṣetraja* son as one who is begotten by another man after permission on the wife of a deceased person or of a eunuch or of one who is suffering from (an incurable disease). Manu (IX. 59-61) says that a widow who is properly appointed may obtain offspring, in case there is total failure of issue, from her brother-in-law or a sapiṇḍa of her husband, that the person appointed should approach her in the dark and should be anointed with ghee and should procreate only one son and never two, while some say that he may procreate two. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 68-70, Yāj. I. 68-69 and Nārada (strīpuṁsa, 80-83) lay down similar rules. Kauṭilya (I. 17, p. 35) says that a king who is old or suffering from (incurable) disease should procreate a son on his queen through a mātṛbandhu or a feudatory chief endowed with qualities similar to his. In another place he says that if a brāhmaṇa dies without leaving a near heir, then a *sagotra* or *mātṛbandhu*

1410. ऊर्ध्वं ...... विद्याकर्मगुरुयोनिसंबन्धान्संनिपात्य पिता भ्राता वा नियोगं कारयेत् । न सोन्मादामवशां व्याधितां वा नियुञ्ज्यात् । ज्यायसीमपि । षोडश वर्षाणि । न चेदामयावी स्यात् । प्राजापत्ये मुहूर्ते पाणिग्राहवदुपचरेदन्यत्र संप्रहास्य वाक्पारुष्यदण्डपारुष्याच्च ...... रिक्थलोभान्नास्ति नियोगः । वासिष्ठ 17. 56-61, 65.

1411. प्राजापत्य मुहूर्त is the same as ब्राह्म मुहूर्त viz. the last watch of the night (i. e. $\frac{8}{4}$ ths of an hour before sunrise). Vide वसिष्ठ 12. 47, मनु 4. 92.

1412. The idea is that the widow must not be moved to the act by a mercenary motive. According to धारेश्वर whose views are cited in the वीरमित्रोदय of मित्रमिश्र (p. 633) the widow of a separated sonless man could get the property of her husband only if she submitted to *niyoga*, otherwise she was to get only maintenance. Dhāreśvara apparently based his view on some ancient texts. Vas. in the last sentence negatives such ideas.

may be appointed to procreate a *kṣetraja* son, who should get the inheritance.[1413] The conditions necessary to allow *niyoga* were: (1) the husband, whether living or dead, must have no son; (2) the *gurus* in a family council should decide to appoint the widow to raise issue for the husband; (3) the person appointed must be either the husband's brother, or a sapiṇḍa or sagotra of the husband or (according to Gautama, a sapravara or a person of the same caste); (4) the person appointed and the widow must be actuated by no lust but only by a sense of duty; (5) the person appointed must be anointed with ghee or oil (Nārada,[1414] strīpuṁsa, 82), must not speak with or kiss her or engage in sportive dalliance with the woman; (6) this relationship was to last till one son was born (or two according to some); (7) the widow must be comparatively young, she should not be old or sterile or past child-bearing or sickly or unwilling or pregnant (Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 70, Nārada, strīpuṁsa 83–84); (8) after the birth of a son they were to regard themselves as father-in-law and daughter-in-law (Manu IX. 62). It is further made clear by the texts that if a brother-in-law has intercourse with his sister-in-law without appointment by elders or if he does so even when appointed by elders but the other circumstances do not exist (e. g. if the husband has a son), he would be guilty of the sin of incest (vide Manu IX. 58, 63, 143, 144 and Nārada, strīpuṁsa 85–86) and a son, born of such intercourse, would be a bastard and not entitled to any wealth (Nārada, strīpuṁsa 84–85) and that he would[1415] belong to the begetter (Vas. Dh. S. 17. 63). Nārada says that if a widow or a male acts contrary to the stringent provisions about *niyoga*, he or she should be severely punished by the king or ortherwise there would be confusion. Yāj. II. 234 makes such a person liable to be sentenced to a fine of one hundred *paṇas*. It will be seen from the above that even in the times of the Dharmasūtras, the practice of niyoga was hedged round with so many restric-

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1413. वृद्धस्तु व्याधितो वा राजा मातृबन्धुतुल्यगुणवत्सामन्तानामन्यतमेन क्षेत्रे बीजमुत्पादयेत्। कौटिल्य (I. 17. p. 35); क्षेत्रे वा जनयेदस्य नियुक्तः क्षेत्रजं सुतम्। मातृबन्धुः सगोत्रो वा तस्मै तत्प्रदिशेद्धनम्॥ कौटिल्य III. 6 (p. 163).

1414. घृतेनाभ्यज्य गात्राणि तैलेनाविकृतेन वा। मुखान्मुखं परिहरन् गात्रैर्गात्राण्यसंस्पृशन्॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस) verse 82. विश्वरूप on या. I. 68 says घृताभ्यञ्जनवचनं कामप्रवृत्तिनिरोधार्थम्। ततश्चालिङ्गनादि वैकारिकत्वाद् दूरापेतम्।

1415. अनियुक्ता तु या नारी देवराज्जनयेत्सुतम्॥ जारजातमरिक्थीयं तमाहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनः। नारद (स्त्रीपुंस) 84–85.

tions that it must not have been very much prevalent and instances must have been rather rare.

While ancient Dharmasūtras like Gautama allowed niyoga, there were other dharmasūtras and writers almost as old as Gautama that condemned the practice and forbade it. Āp. Dh. S.[1416] II. 10. 27. 5-7 after referring to the view of some that a girl is given to a family in marriage and declaring that that practice (of polyandry) is forbidden adds a condemnation of niyoga 'the hand (of a sagotra is considered to be) that of a stranger; that if (the marriage vow) is transgressed, both (husband and wife) certainly go to hell and that the reward obtained from observing the restrictions of the law is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner (by niyoga).' Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 38 refers[1417] to the view of Aupajaṅghani that it is only the *aurasa* son that is to be recognized as a son and then quotes three verses (probably of the same ancient sage), which are also cited as quotations by Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 6) and which call upon husbands to guard their wives and not allow others to procreate sons on the latter, as the sons so procreated will benefit only the begetter. Manu, though at first he describes *niyoga*, ultimately condemns it in the strongest terms possible (IX. 64-68). He says that among dvijātis a widow should never be appointed to raise issue from another, for by doing so ancient dharma would be violated, that in the mantras relating to marriage there is no reference to niyoga nor is the remarriage of a widow spoken of in the procedure about marriage, that niyoga is a beastly way and was first brought into vogue by king Vena who thereby caused *varṇa-saṁkara*, and that since that time good men condemn him who through ignorance appoints a widow to produce offspring. Manu (IX. 69-70) explains the meaning of niyoga by saying that the rules and the ancient texts about niyoga apply or refer to that case only where, after a girl is promised as a bride, the intended bridegroom dies, the

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1416. अविशिष्टं हि परत्वं पाणेः । तद्व्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनरुभयोर्नरकः । नियमारम्भणो हि वर्षीयानभ्युदय एवमारम्भणादपत्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 5-7.

1417. An औपजन्धनि or-ङ्घनि is a teacher mentioned in the वंश at the end of Bṛ. Up. II. 6 and IV. 6. इदानीमहमीर्ष्यामि स्त्रीणां जनक नो पुरा । यतो यमस्य सादने जनयितुः पुत्रमब्रुवन् ॥ रेतोधाः पुत्रं नयति परेत्य यमसादने । तस्माद्भार्यां रक्षन्ति बिभ्यतः पररेतसः ॥ अप्रमत्ता रक्षथ तन्तुमेतं मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजानि वाप्सुः । जनयितुः पुत्रो भवति सांपराये मोघं वेत्ता कुरुते तन्तुमेतम् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 39-41 = आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 6 (with slight variations). मत्स्यपुराण 49. 13 has the half verse रेतोधा नयते पुत्रः परेतं यमसादनात् ।. The last verse occurs in Vas. 17. 9 also.

brother of the latter is called upon to marry the girl and to have intercourse with her only once during each period till she gives birth to a son who would be the son of the deceased. Though Manu condemned the ancient practice of niyoga, he had to make provision for the *kṣetraja* son as regards partition (IX. 120–121, 145). It should be noticed that if the interpretation of Manu IX. 69–70 be accepted, the word 'vidhavā' would have to be taken in two different senses in Manu and other texts e. g. in IX. 60 where Manu speaks of niyoga, the word means a girl promised to a bridegroom who died before the marriage ceremony was gone through, while in Manu IX. 64 'vidhavā' means 'a widow whose husband died after marriage was completed.' To say the least, this contravenes the canon of Mīmāṁsā interpretation that the same word in the same passage or context should have only one meaning. Bṛhaspati[1418] refers to the fact that the Manusmṛti first described the ancient *niyoga* and then forbade it and adds that in former ages men possessed *tapas* and knowledge and could strictly carry out the rules while in dvāpara and kali ages there is great deterioration of power and so men of these times cannot now practise niyoga. The several kinds of sons will be dealt with under *vyavahāra*.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (15. 3) contains an innovation which is not found in the sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha viz. the '*kṣetraja* is one[1419] who is procreated on an appointed wife or widow by a sapiṇḍa of the husband or by a brāhmaṇa.' The Mahābhārata is replete with cases of niyoga. Ādiparva (95 and 103) narrates how Satyavatī pressed Bhīṣma to procreate sons for his younger brother Vicitravīrya (who was dead) from his queens and how (Ādi. 105) when Bhīṣma refused Vyāsa ultimately was appointed by Vyāsa's mother Satyavatī and procreated Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. Kumārilabhaṭṭa[1420] replies to

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1418. उक्तो नियोगो मुनिना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु । युगक्रमादशक्योयं कर्तुमन्यैर्विधानतः ॥ तपोज्ञानसमायुक्ताः कृतत्रेतायुगे नराः । द्वापरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिहानिर्विनिर्मिता ॥ अनेकधाः कृताः पुत्रा ऋषिभिश्च पुरातनैः । न शक्यन्तेऽधुना कर्तुं शक्तिहीनैरिदन्तनैः ॥ बृह० quoted by अपरार्क p. 97 (on Yāj. I. 68–69) and by कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 68.

1419. नियुक्तायां सपिण्डेनोत्तमवर्णेन वोत्पादितः क्षेत्रजो द्वितीयः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 3.

1420. The objector says 'कृष्णद्वैपायनस्य गृहीतनैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्यस्य विचित्रवीर्यदारेष्वपत्योत्पादनप्रसङ्गः' (तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 203 on जै. I. 3. 7) and the reply is 'द्वैपायनस्यापि गुरुनियोगादुपातिरपत्यलिप्सुर्देवरादृतमेरिताद्गुरुमतीयात् इत्येवमागमात्मातृसंबन्धभ्रातृजायापुत्रजननं प्राकृतपश्चात्करिष्यमाणतपोबलेन नातिदुष्करम् । अन्योपि यस्तादृक्तपोबलो निर्वहेत्स कुर्यादेव । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 208 (on the same sūtra).

the objector finding fault with Vyāsa by saying that Vyāsa followed Gaut. (18. 4–5) and the urgent request of his mother and besides his *tapas* saved him from the effects of violation of dharma. Pāṇḍu himself is said to have asked Kuntī to procreate sons for him by niyoga from a brāhmaṇa endowed with great tapas (Ādi. 120) and tells her certain stories of *niyoga* (Ādi. 120–123) and winds up by saying that three sons is [1421] the limit and that if a fourth or a fifth were procreated the woman would be *svairiṇī* (a wanton woman) and bandhakī (harlot). Ādiparva (chap. 64 and 104) states that when Paraśurāma tried to exterminate the kṣatriyas thousands of kṣatriya widows approached brāhmaṇas for the procreation of sons. [1422] Vide Ādiparva, chap. 104 and 177, Anuśāsana, chap. 44. 52–53, Śānti 72. 12 for other references and examples of niyoga. [1423]

Owing to the bewildering and often conflicting rules about niyoga in the smṛtis, commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, who wrote at a time when niyoga was almost unheard of, made heroic though unsatisfactory efforts to bring order out of chaos. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 states several views on the point. The first is that niyoga is bad in the present age as opposed to smṛti texts (like Manu IX. 64 and 68) and to the usage of the śiṣṭas (respectable people). The second view was the same as Manu IX. 69 set out above. A third view was that there was an option (as niyoga was both forbidden and allowed). A fourth view (which seems to be the view of Viśvarūpa himself) was that the smṛti texts about niyoga refer to śūdras [1424] (Manu IX. 64 uses the word 'dvijāti') and it was also allowed to royal families, when there was no male to succeed (and only a brāhmaṇa was to be appointed) and Viśvarūpa relies upon two

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1421. नातश्चतुर्थं प्रसवमापत्स्वपि वदन्त्युत । अतः परं स्वैरिणी स्याद्बन्धकी पञ्चमे भवेत् ॥ आदिपर्व 123. 77.

1422. ब्राह्मणान् क्षत्रिया राजन् सुतार्थिन्योऽभिचक्रमुः । ऋतावृतौ नरव्याघ्र न कामान्नानृतौ तथा ॥ तेभ्यश्च लेभिरे गर्भं क्षत्रियास्ताः सहस्रशः । आदिपर्व 64. 5–7; एवमन्ये महेष्वासा ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रिया भुवि । जाताः परमधर्मज्ञा वीर्यवन्तो महाबलाः ॥ आदिपर्व 104. 56; ब्राह्मणो गुणवान्कश्चिद्धनेनोपनिमन्त्र्यताम् । विचित्रवीर्यक्षेत्रेषु यः समुत्पादयेत्प्रजाः ॥ आदि. 105. 2; पत्यभावे यथैव स्त्री देवरं कुरुते पतिम् । शान्ति 72. 12.

1423. Vide Dr. Winternitz's paper (Notes on Mahābhārata) in *J. R. A. S. 1897* pp. 716–732 ' for Niyoga in the great epic '.

1424. एवं तावच्छूद्राणां नियोगाधिकार उक्तः । विश्वरूप at the end of his com. on I. 69. A little above विश्वरूप remarks that there is a usage of नियोग among śūdras.

verses of Vṛddhamanu[1425] and a gāthā of Vāyu. Viśvarūpa further says that the procreation of sons by Vyāsa from the queens of Vicitravīrya should be paid no heed (i. e. is not to be relied on) like the marriage of Draupadī (to the five Pāṇḍavas). The Mahābhārata probably reflects what happened owing to the incessant internecine wars among the princes of India. Whole princely houses must have been slaughtered. If niyoga was prevalent among them, the males appointed, when they had to be of the same caste, would have been ordinary soldiers (kṣatriyas). The proud princely families very likely thought it below their dignity to associate widowed queens with ordinary kṣatriyas. It is possible to hold that they chose brāhmaṇas for appointment, as the latter were deemed to be higher than even kings in the spiritual domain. It is impossible to believe that brāhmaṇas, who had no temporal power, could coerce the proud and warlike caste into choosing brāhmaṇas for niyoga, unless the teaching of the smṛtis fell in with the notions of the ruling houses themselves to some extent at least.

There was difference of opinion as to whom the child of niyoga belonged. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 6 expressly refers to this divergence. The first view was that the child belonged to the begetter; this view would cut at the very root of the purpose for which niyoga was recommended. Nirukta[1426] III. 1–3 supports this view and relies on Ṛg. VII. 4. 7–8. Gaut. 18. 9 and Manu IX. 181 state the same rule. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 5 says that according to a Brāhmaṇa text the son belongs to the begetter. The second view was that if there was an agreement between the elders of a widow and the person appointed or between the husband himself and the begetter that the child should belong to the husband, then the son belonged to the latter. Vide Gaut. 18. 10–11, Vas. 17. 8, Ādiparva 104. 6.[1427] A third view was that the son belonged to both the begetter and the owner of the wife. This is the view of Nārada (strīpuṁsa 58), Yāj. II. 127, Manu IX. 53, Gaut. 18. 13.

1425. तथा च वृद्धमनुः । शूद्राणामेव धर्मोयं पत्यौ प्रेतेऽन्यसंश्रयः । लोभान्मूढैरविद्वद्भिः क्षत्रियैरपि चर्यते ॥ वायुप्रोक्तां तथा गाथां पठन्त्यत्र मनीषिणः । विप्राणां न नियोगोस्ति प्रेते पत्यौ न वेदनम् ॥ and the गाथा is अकार्यमेतद्विप्राणां विधवा यापियुज्यते । उह्यते वा मृते पत्यौ देवरेण विशेषतः ॥ विश्वरूप.

1426. तद्यथा जनयितुः प्रजा एवमर्थीये ऋचावुदाहरिष्यामः । निरुक्त III. 1.

1427. उत्पादयितुः पुत्र इति हि ब्राह्मणम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 5; पाणिग्राहस्य तनय इति वेदेषु निश्चितम् । आदिपर्व 104. 6.

As shown above (in note 1418) niyoga was forbidden in the Kali age by Bṛhaspati and it was included among practices forbidden in the Kali age by several works. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117 and Aparārka p. 97 quoting Brahmapurāṇa.[1427a]

The practice of raising issue from the widow of one's brother or marrying her was a widespread one. Vide Westermarck's 'History of Human Marriage' (1921) vol. III. pp. 207–220. In the Ṛgveda [1428] X. 40. 2 we read 'what sacrificer invites you (Aśvins) in his house as a widow invites a brother-in-law to her bed or as a young damsel her lover'. But it is not clear whether this refers to marrying the widow of a deceased brother or to the practice of niyoga. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69) thinks that this refers to niyoga. The Nirukta (III. 15) explains Ṛg. X. 40. 2, where in some mss. the word 'devara' is explained as 'a second husband' (dvitīyo varaḥ). Medhātithi on Manu IX. 66 explains Ṛg. X. 40. 2 as applying to niyoga. According to the sūtras and smṛtis niyoga was entirely different from marriage. In many ancient societies, women were inherited like property. On the death of the eldest brother, his younger brother took the family property as well as his widow. But the Ṛgveda had reached a stage much beyond that. MacLennan thought that the practice of niyoga was due to polyandry. Westermarck combats this view and rightlyso. When niyoga was allowed in the sūtras, polyandry had been either unheard of or forbidden. Jolly in Recht und Sitte (English translation, pp. 156–157) thinks that apart from the religious importance of a son economic motives were at the bottom of the long list of secondary sons, including the *kṣetraja*. This appears to be quite wrong. The practice of niyoga was a relic from the past and probably owed its origin to several causes, which are now obscure, but one of which was the great hankering for a son evinced by all in Vedic times. Vas. Dh. S. (17. 1–6) lends support to this view, since after quoting Vedic passages about the importance of a son for paying off the debt to ancestors and for securing heavenly worlds, he at once proceeds to the description of the *kṣetraja*. But the economic motive was never put forward by any of the sages, nor could it possibly have been the reason

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1427 a. उक्तं च । यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ इति । मिता॰ on या. II. 117 ; स्त्रीणां पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्पुत्रसंततिः । स्वातन्त्र्यं च कलियुगे कर्तव्यं न कदाचन ॥ ' ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 97.

1428. को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ. ॥ ऋ. X. 40. 2.

and main-spring of the practice. If many secondary sons were desired for economic reasons, then the same man could have had any number of secondary sons. But the dharmaśāstra texts do not allow this. A man who has an *aurasa* son can have no kṣetraja or adopted son. If one kind of son was adopted, then another kind of son could not be adopted. So economic motives did not at all form the origin of this practice. Winternitz in J. R. A. S. for 1897 at p. 758 puts forward poverty, paucity of women and the joint family system as the causes of niyoga. There are no data to prove that there was paucity of women in India during historic times. There might have been a paucity of men owing to wars. Nor do the other two reasons bear close examination. It is better to say that niyoga was a survival from the remote past, that gradually it became rarer and rarer till in the first centuries of the Christian era it came to be totally prohibited.

CHAPTER XIV

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Remarriage of widows.—The word *punarbhū* is generally applied to a widow that has remarried. Before going into the detailed history of the remarriage of widows it is desirable to probe into the meaning of the word 'punarbhū'.[1429] Nārada (strīpuṁsa, v. 45) says that there are seven sorts of wives (mentioned in order) who have been previously married to another man (parapūrvā); among them, the punarbhū is of three kinds [1430] and the svairiṇī (wanton woman) is of four kinds. The three punarbhūs are: (1) a maiden whose hand was taken in marriage but whose marriage was not consummated; in her case the marriage ceremony has to be performed once more; (2) a woman who first deserts the husband of her youth, betakes herself to another man and then returns to the house of her husband; (3) a woman who is given by the husband's relatives (when the husband dies) to a sapiṇḍa of the deceased husband or a person of the same caste, on failure of brothers-in-law (this is nigoya and no ceremony is to be performed). The four svairiṇīs are: (1) a woman, whether childless or not, who goes to live with another man through love while the husband is alive; (2) a woman who rejects after her husband's death his brothers and the like and unites herself with another through passion for him; (3) a woman, coming from a foreign country or purchased with money or oppressed by hunger or thirst, gives herself to a man saying 'I am yours'; (4) a woman who is given to a stranger by the elders relying on the usages of the

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1429. Vide Vedic Index vol. I. pp. 476–478, 'Die Witve in Veda' (the widow in the Veda), a paper by Dr. Winternitz in the Vienna Oriental Journal (1915) vol. 29, pp. 172–203 for discussion of some Vedic passages bearing on the question.

1430. Compare Manu IX. 176 and Viṣṇu 15. 8 for the first punarbhū, Manu IX. 176, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 19 and Viṣṇu 15. 9 for the second *punarbhū*.

country, but who incurs the blame of wantonness[1431] (as the smṛti rules about niyoga are not observed by them or her). Nārada says that each preceding one of the punarbhūs and svairiṇīs enumerated is inferior to the next in order. Yāj. (I. 67) does not give this elaborate classification; all he says is that a punarbhū is of two kinds, one whose marriage had not been consummated and another who has had sexual intercourse and that both have the marriage ceremony performed again (i. e. punarbhū is one who is 'punaḥ saṁskṛtā); a svairiṇī is one who forsakes the husband whom she married when a maiden and lives with another man of the same caste through love for the latter. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 67 remarks that the elaborate classification of Nārada and Śaṅkha (3 punarbhūs and 4 svairiṇīs) is not of much use, that it only indicates the various degrees of blame (or sin) attaching to them and is also meant to discriminate among prāyaścittas to be performed by those women. It is the second husband and the son of the second marriage that bear the appellation 'paunarbhava' (pati or putra respectively) and not the first husband. Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 740-741. The Sm. C. (I. p. 75) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana and certain verses of Kaśyapa. According to Kaśyapa[1432] the seven kinds of punarbhū are: (1) the girl who had been promised in marriage, (2) one who was intended to be given; (3) one on whose wrist the auspicious band was tied by the bride-groom, (4) whose gift had been made with water (by the father), (5) whose hand was held by the bridegroom, (6) who went round the fire, (7) who had given birth to a child after marriage. In the first five cases it is to be supposed that the bride-groom either immediately died or left the further prosecution of the marriage rites. Even such girls would be styled punarbhūs, when they married another person later on, though

1431. Dr. Jolly in his translation of Nārada (S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 175-176) renders this verse of Nārada differently; but his rendering appears to me to be incorrect. The 3rd kind of punarbhū refers to the practice of niyoga; the 4th kind of svairiṇī is one who is allowed to have intercourse by her elders for procreating a son for her deceased husband but without observing the strict rules of niyoga laid down in the smṛtis. That is the difference between the two. The action of the स्वैरिणी is described as साहस, as it is no more than *vyabhicāra*, though with the elder's permission.

1432. वाचा दत्ता मनोदत्ता कृतकौतुकमङ्गला। उदकस्पर्शिता या च या च पाणिगृहीतिका॥ अग्निं परिगता या च पुनर्भूः प्रसवा च या। इत्येताः कश्यपेनोक्ता दहन्ति कुलमग्निवत्॥ कश्यप quoted by स्मृतिच. I. 75.

the first marriage was not complete because the saptapadī had not been performed. The sixth case is one of completed marriage (though it refers to only going round fire). Baudhāyana's seven varieties are slightly different, the first two being the same as Kaśyapa's: the others are (3) one who went round the fire (with the bridegroom); (4) one who took the seventh step; (5) one who has had sexual intercourse (either after marriage or even without it); (6) one who has conceived; (7) one who has borne[1433] a child. These meanings of the word punarbhū must be borne in mind when one meets with the word punarbhū in Vedic texts. That even the promise to give in marriage without the performance of any ceremonies was looked upon as tantamount in its consequences to marriage follows from the words of Sukanyā quoted above (in note 1306) from the Śat. Br., where she had been only offered to the sage Cyavana by her father, but where no ceremonies had been performed as none are described or referred to therein. Manu (IX. 69–70) confines the rules of niyoga to a girl who was only promised (vāgdattā); while Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 72 speaks of the vāgdattā and one given with water as still a maiden, if no Vedic mantras have been repeated.[1434] Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 74 refers to the 4th variety of Baudhāyana. Yāj. I. 67 when he speaks of *akṣatā* refers to all the six varieties of Kaśyapa or the first four varieties of Baudhāyana and when he speaks of 'kṣatā' he refers to the seventh variety of Kaśyapa and the last three of Baudhāyana. Vas. Dh. S.[1435] 17 19–20 describes *paunarbhava* as the son of a woman, who leaves the husband of her youth and after having lived with another person, re-enters the house of the husband or as the son of a woman who takes another husband after leaving an impotent, outcast or lunatic husband or after the death of the first husband. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 31 describes paunarbhava as the son of a woman who after abandoning an impotent or outcast husband goes to another husband. Nārada (strīpuṁsa, v. 97), Parāśara IV. 30 and Agnipurāṇa 154. 5–6 have the same verse 'another husband

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1433. वाग्दत्ता मनोदत्ता अग्निं परिगता सप्तमं पदं नीता भुक्ता गृहीतगर्भा प्रसूता चेति सप्तविधा पुनर्भूर्भवति । अतस्तां गृहीत्वा न प्रजां धर्मं च विन्देत । बौधायन quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 75, सं. प्र. p. 735.

1434. अद्भिर्वाचा च दत्तायां म्रियेतादौ वरो यदि । न च मन्त्रोपनीता स्यात्कुमारी पितुरेव सा ॥ पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता । सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ वासिष्ठ 17. 72 and 74.

1435. पौनर्भवश्चतुर्थः । या कौमारं भर्तारमुत्सृज्यान्यैः सह चरित्वा तस्यैव कुटुम्बमाश्रयति सा पुनर्भूर्भवति । या च क्लीबं पतितमुन्मत्तं वा भर्तारमुत्सृज्यान्यं पतिं विन्दते मृते वा सा पुनर्भूर्भवति । वसिष्ठ 17. 18–20.

is ordained for women in five calamities viz. when the husband is lost (unheard of), is dead, has become a saṁnyāsin, is impotent or is *patita*.'[1436] Great controversies have raged round this verse. Some like the Par. M. (II. part I. p. 53) give the easy explanation (always given about inconvenient texts) that this verse refers to the state of society in another *yuga* (age) and has no application to the Kali age. Others like Medhātithi (on Manu V. 157) explain that the word pati means only 'pālaka' (guardian). Medhātithi[1437] (on Manu III. 10 and V. 163) is not dead against niyoga, but he is opposed to the remarriage of widows. Even the Smṛtyarthasāra (which belongs to about 1150 to 1200 A. D.) mentions several views viz. some hold that a girl may be married to another if the bride-groom dies before saptapadī, others hold that she may be remarried if the first husband dies before consummating the marriage, while still others are of opinion that if after marriage the husband dies before she begins to menstruate she may be remarried and some hold that remarriage is allowed before conception.[1438]

Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 3–4 condemns remarriage 'if one has intercourse with a woman who had already another husband, or with a woman on whom no marriage saṁskāra has taken place or who is of a different varṇa, then sin is incurred; in that case the son also is sinful'. Haradatta quotes Manu III. 174 and says that the son procreated on another's wife is called *kuṇḍa* if the husband is living, and *golaka* if the husband is dead. Manu V. 162 is opposed to the remarriage of widows 'nowhere is a second husband declared for virtuous women'; so also Manu IX.[1439] 65

1436. नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ। पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंसप्रकरण 97).

1437. यत्तु नष्टे ...... विधीयते इति तत्र पालनात्पतिमन्यमाश्रयेत सैरन्ध्रकर्मादिना-त्मवृत्त्यर्थम् । मेधातिथि on मनु V. 157; तथा स्वर्गं गच्छत्यपुत्रापत्यिनेनापत्यजननमापदि प्रतिषिध्यते नियोगस्मृत्या तु तत्पुनरभ्यनुज्ञास्यते। तदेतदपत्योत्पादनमुक्तप्रतिषिद्धत्वाद्वि-कल्पते । मेधा. on मनु V. 163.

1438. मृतेऽन्यस्मै तथा देया वरे सप्तपदात्पुरा। पुरा पुरुषसंयोगान्मृते देयेति केचन ॥ ऋतावदृष्टे कन्यैव पुनर्देयेति केचन। आगर्भधारणात्कन्या पुनर्देयेति चापरे। देशकालादिमा धर्मा अनुष्ठेया विजानता ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 12.

1439. न द्वितीयश्च साध्वीनां क्वचिद्भर्तोपदिश्यते। मनु V. 162; न विवाहविधावुक्तं विधवावेदनं पुनः ॥ मनु IX. 65; सकृत्कन्या प्रदीयते। मनु IX. 47; पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः कन्यास्वेव प्रतिष्ठिताः। मनु VIII. 226. Vide आश्व. गृ. I. 7. 13, आप. म. पा. I. 5. 7 &c for the मन्त्रs 'अर्यमणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत &c.', where the word कन्या (a maiden) alone is used.

('in the procedure of marriage there is no declaration about the remarriage of widows), Manu IX. 47 'a maiden can be given only once' and Manu VIII. 226 (the Vedic mantras used in pāṇigrahaṇa are applicable to maidens only) are opposed to the remarriage of widows. The Brahmapurāṇa and other purāṇas forbid remarriage of widows in the Kali age (vide note 1427 a above). The Sam. Pr. quotes a text of Kātyāyana to the effect that a girl, who has gone through the ceremony of marriage with a sagotra, may be married again and remarks that the text refers to the state of society in another *yuga*. This is the view of all the commentators and *nibandha* writers. Manu himself (in IX. 176) expressly allows the saṁskāra of remarriage in the case of a girl, whose first marriage has not been consummated or who left the husband of her youth, went to live with another and returned to the first husband. In this the author of the Manusmṛti probably only reiterates popular usage which was too much for him in spite of his own view (in V. 162) denouncing remarriages. So it may be taken that Manu does not forbid the use of mantras in remarriage, but holds that even after the mantras are recited the remarriage of a widow is not *dharmya* (approved). It is said in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 104. 34-37) that Dīrghatamas forbade remarriage and also *niyoga*.[1440] Manu himself speaks of the saṁskāra of a pregnant girl (IX. 172-173). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 18, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 74, Yāj. I. 167 speak of the saṁskāra of remarriage (paunarbhava saṁskāra). Manu III. 155 and Yāj. I. 222 include the paunarbhava (the son of a punarbhū) among brāhmaṇas that are not to be invited at a śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 97) quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa itself which speaks of a fresh saṁskāra of marriage for a child widow or for one who was forcibly abandoned or carried away by somebody.[1441]

Several smṛtis contain certain rules about what the wife was to do when the husband had gone abroad for many years after marriage. Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verses 98-101) gives the

1440. एक एव पतिर्नार्या यावज्जीवं परायणम्। मृते जीवति वा तस्मिन्नापरं प्राप्नुयाऽपतिम्॥ अभिगम्य परं नारी पतिष्यति न संशयः। अपतीनां तु नारीणामद्यप्रभृति पातकम्॥ आदि 104. 35-36.

1441. यदि सा बालविधवा बलात्त्यक्ताथवा क्वचित्। तदा भूयस्तु संस्कार्या गृहीता येन केनचित्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p.97.

following directions.[1442] 'If the husband has gone to a foreign country a brāhmaṇa wife should wait for eight years, but four years if she has not given birth to a child; after that period (of 8 or 4 years) she may resort to another man (then Nārada lays down lesser number of years for kṣatriya and vaiśya wives). If the husband is known to be living then the periods are double of those stated above; this is the view of Prajāpati when no news can be had of persons and hence there is no sin if a woman resorts to another man (in such cases).' Manu (IX. 76) says 'If a man has gone to a foreign land for doing some religious duty the wife should wait for him for eight years, six years if he has gone for acquiring knowledge or fame, or three years if he has gone on a love affair (or for another wife).' Manu does not state what the wife is to do after these years of waiting. Vas. (17. 75-76) requires that 'the wife of one who has gone to a foreign land should wait for five years and after five years she should go near her husband.' This may be all right as far as it will go. But if the husband is unheard of, how is she to reach him? Vasiṣṭha says nothing on that point. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 says that the periods of waiting prescribed for the wife of an emigrant are meant not for permitting niyoga thereafter, but for calling upon her to repair to her husband. Kauṭilya (III. 4) prescribes some interesting rules: 'the wife of one, who has long gone abroad, or who has become a recluse or who is dead, should wait for seven menstrual periods and for a year if she has a child already. Thereafter she may marry the full brother of her husband. If there be many brothers she should marry one who is near in age (to the first husband), who is virtuous, capable of maintaining her or who is the youngest or unmarried. If no such brother exists she may marry a sapiṇḍa of the husband or one of the same caste.' The story of Damayantī suggests that when the husband was not heard of for many years, a wife could marry again. Damayantī is said to have sent a message to Ṛtuparṇa that, as Nala was not heard of for many years, Damayantī was going to celebrate a svayaṁvara and Ṛtuparṇa hurries for it and does not think it a strange thing (Vanaparva 70. 24).

1442. अष्टौ वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत ब्राह्मणी प्रोषितं पतिम्। अप्रसूता तु चत्वारि परतोऽन्यं समाश्रयेत् ॥ ...*जीवति श्रूयमाणे तु स्यादेष द्विगुणोऽवधिः ॥ अप्रवृत्तौ तु भूतानां दृष्टिरेषा प्रजापतेः। अतोऽन्यगमने स्त्रीणामेष दोषो न विद्यते। नारद (स्त्रीपुंस vv. 98–101.).*

One question[1443] raised by Dr. Banerjee is: what is to be regarded as the *gotra* of a widow when she is to be remarried (is it to be her father's *gotra* or of the first husband's ?). There are hardly any indications in the ancient smṛtis or commentaries on this point. Viśvarūpa[1444] commenting on Yāj. I. 63 (on the word 'kanyāprada') observes that according to some the father gives away the bride even if she is not a virgin. So it appears that the father's *gotra* should be looked to in the remarriage of a widow. Vidyasagar, whom Dr. Banerjee follows, held the same opinion.

Certain passages of the Atharvaveda may be considered in connection with the question of the remarriage of widows. Atharva-Veda V. 17. 8–9 are [1445] 'when a woman has at first even ten husbands, who are not brāhmaṇas, if a brāhmaṇa takes hold of her hand (i. e. marries her), he alone is her (real) husband. A brāhmaṇa alone is (a real) husband, not a kṣatriya or a vaiśya—the sun goes proclaiming this to the five (tribes of) men'. The first verse is not to be taken literally in the sense that a woman married ten persons in succession and that the 11th was a brāhmaṇa ; the first verse contains rather what is called 'prauḍhivāda' (pompous assertion or boast) and this is indicated by the word 'uta'. The verse may at the most mean that if a woman has first a kṣatriya or vaiśya as husband, and she marries on his death a brāhmaṇa, then the brāhmaṇa is the real husband. The word 'pati' may also have been used loosely and all that is meant may be that if a girl is promised to ten persons one after another and then lastly to a brāhmaṇa, the latter is to be accepted as the best. Another passage [1446] of the

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1443. Vide 'Marriage and Strīdhana' (5th ed.) p. 309 'one of these rules of selection requires that the parties to marriage should be of different *gotras* ; but what is to be regarded as the *gotra* of a widow—the *gotra* of her father in which she was born or that of her deceased husband to which she has been transferred by marriage ? '.

1444. कन्याप्रद इति वचनादक्षताया एव नैयमिकं दानम्। पिता स्वकन्यामपि दद्यादिति केचित्। विश्वरूप on या. I. 63.

1445. उत यत्पतयो दश स्त्रियाः पूर्वे अब्राह्मणाः। ब्रह्मा चेद्धस्तमग्रहीत्स एव पतिरेकधा॥ ब्राह्मण एव पतिर्न राजन्यो न वैश्यः। तत्सूर्यः प्रब्रुवन्नेति पञ्चभ्यो मानवेभ्यः॥ अथर्ववेद V. 17. 8–9. उत is explained by the निरुक्त (e. g. I. 19) generally as अपि, whenever it is at the beginning of a verse or pāda.

1446. या पूर्वं पतिं वित्त्वाऽथान्यं विन्दतेऽपरम्। पञ्चौदनं च तावजं ददातो न वि योषतः॥ समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवापरः पतिः। योऽजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति॥ अथर्ववेद IX. 5. 27–28.

Atharvaveda (IX. 5. 27–28) is ' whatever woman, having first married one husband, marries another, if they (two) offer a goat with five rice dishes they would not be separated (from each other). The second husband secures the same world with his remarried wife, when he offers a goat accompanied with five rice dishes and with the light of fees'. Here the word *punarbhū* occurs. It is possible to hold that this may refer to the promise of a girl in marriage, subsequent death of the intended bridegroom before the marriage ceremonies take place and then the bestowal of her on another. Whatever the meaning of *punarbhū* here may be, it is clear that some sort of sin or inferiority attached to her and that such sin or opprobrium had to be removed by sacrifices. Other passages are discussed later on. But it must be admitted that remarriage of women was not prohibited in the times of the Atharvaveda. In the Tai. S. III. 2. 4. 4 ' daidhiṣavya ' (widow's son) occurs. The gṛhyasūtras are silent about remarriage; so probably by that time it had come to be prohibited generally, though sporadic instances might have occurred. Among the brāhmaṇas and castes similar to them and holding or endeavouring to hold a high place in the hierarchy of castes widow remarriage has been forbidden for centuries. One of the earliest historical instances is the remarriage of Dhruvadevī, queen of Rāmagupta, who was after Rāmagupta's death, married by her brother-in-law Candragupta (*vide* Journal Asiatique for 1923, pp. 201–208, Sanjan Plates in E. I. vol. 18, p. 255, ' Indian Culture ' vol. 4, p. 216, Harṣacarita VI, penultimate para). Among śūdras and other lower castes widow remarriage has been allowed by custom, though it is held to be somewhat inferior to the marriage of a maiden.[1447] Among these castes remarriage is allowed after the death of the husband or during his life-time with the consent of the husband who gives a writing called *farkhat* or *sod-chitti* (a deed of release). Such marriages are called *pat* in Mahārāṣṭra, *natra* in Gujarat, *udki* in the Canarese districts. In some cases the caste in a meeting assembled takes upon itself to bring to an end a marriage and allows the wife to re-marry. But the Bombay High Court does not recognize the authority of a caste to declare a marriage void or to permit a woman to remarry another person without the consent of the husband and have convicted of bigamy women re-marrying without the

1447. Vide Steele's 'Law and Custom of Hindu Castes' pp. 26, 168–169.

consent of the first husband but with the permission of the caste.[1448] In modern times, the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856) has been passed mainly through the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. That Act legalises the marriages of widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary and declares that the children of such marriages are legitimate. Owing to the sentiment of centuries widow remarriage is still looked down upon and during more than eighty years since the Act was passed not many widows have taken advantage of it. The Census[1449] of India for 1931 discloses certain appalling figures. Among infants of less than one year old there were in the whole of India as many as 796 males who were widowers and 1515 females who were widows, among children up to 5 years there were 12799 widowers and 30880 widows (out of these last the Hindus contributed 10266 as widowers and 23667 as widows). It is true that amongst the castes to which most of these must have belonged widow remarriage is allowed by custom, but there must be a certain number of females who are widows before five, who cannot remarry by the custom of the caste and who would not dare to take advantage of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act. Between the ages of 5–10, 11–15, 16–20 the numbers of Hindu widows for the whole of India are respectively 83920, 145449, 404167. The age of marriage for girls is rapidly rising owing to economic causes, the spread of literacy among the masses, and the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) and it may be hoped that these high figures of child widows will be substantially reduced in the near future. Persons finding fault with Hindu society for large numbers of child widows should not forget one thing. According to Hindu notions every girl must be married at any cost. Hence people rush into child marriages. But there has been no problem of old spinsters in Hindu society, as there is in Western countries, though it appears that in the near future that problem will arise even in India. Apart from the considerations as to religious texts prohibiting widow remarriage and the great concern among women for preserving a high ideal of chastity and single-minded devotion to the husband, many Hindus feel that, each girl

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1448. Vide *Reg.* v. *Karsan Goja*, 2 Bombay High Court Reports 117; *Reg.* v. *Sambhu*, 1 Bom. 347, *Keshav* v. *Bai Gandhi*, 39 Bom. 538.

1449. Vide Census of India 1931 vol. I. part 2, Imperial Tables, pp. 120–122.

having been given one chance of marriage, if she becomes a widow, that is her ill-luck, but she should not be allowed to compete with unmarried girls in the marriage market, which is already overcrowded with girls waiting to be married.

Certain verses of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda have given rise to various explanations and opinion is divided as to whether they refer to niyoga, to the remarriage of widows or to the practice of the immolation of widows. First the two verses Ṛg. X. 18. 7–8 [1450] which are part of a funeral hymn will be set out: 'Let these women, who are not widows and who have good husbands, sit down with clarified butter used as collyrium; may the wives who are tearless, free from disease and wearing fine jewels (or clothes) occupy the seat in front (first). O woman! raise yourself towards the world of the living; you lie down near this departed (husband); come, this your wifehood of the husband who (formerly) held your hand and who loved you has (now) been fulfilled'. It is somewhat strange that Sāyaṇa understands the latter half as an invitation by the husband's brother to the wife of the departed to remarry him. But that meaning is far-fetched and does not bring out the proper force of 'hastagrābhasya', 'patyuḥ' and 'babhūtha'. The Āśv. gṛ. [1451] (IV. 6. 11–12) prescribes that (in the expiatory rite performed on the death of an elder) the young women relatives should salve their eyes with butter with their thumb and fourth finger and with tender darbha blades and then throw the blades away, when the performer of the rite should look at them while they are salving their eyes with the verse 'imā nārīr &c.'. The same sūtra (IV. 2. 16–18) says that "(when a dead body is to

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1450. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा सं विशन्तु । अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥ उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुप शेष एहि । हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि सं बभूथ ॥ ऋ. X. 18. 7–8. अथर्ववेद (XII. 2. 31 and XVIII. 3. 57) has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्पृशन्ताम् for संविशन्तु. तै. आ. VI. 10 has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्पृशन्ताम् and सुशेवाः for संविशन्तु and सुरत्नाः; तै. आ. VI. 1 and अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 2. have उदीर्ष्व etc. but तै. आ. reads इतासुं for गतासुं, त्वमेतत् for तवेदं and बभूव for बभूथ. The most difficult words are the last quarter of Ṛg X. 18. 8. बभूथ requires a subject in the 2nd person which does not occur in the latter half of the verse.

1451. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीरित्यञ्जाना ईक्षेत । आश्व. गृ. IV. 6. 12; उत्तरत पत्नीम् । धनुश्च क्षत्रियाय । तामुत्थापयेद्देवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरद्दासो वोदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकमिति । आश्व. गृ. IV. 2. 16.–18. These sūtras are referred to by अपरार्क p. 112. The com. on Tai. Ār. holds that the latter half calls upon the wife of the deceased to remarry.

be cremated) they should place the wife to the north of the body and a bow for a kṣatriya (if he be the dead person) and then her brother-in-law or some one else who can be the representative of her husband or a pupil or an old servant should make her rise up with the mantra 'udīrṣva'". The Śāṅ. Śr. S. IV. 16. 16 also directs that the verse Ṛg. X. 18. 7 is repeated when the eyes of women are touched with blades of kuśa grass and XVI. 13. 13 says that Ṛg. X. 18. 8 and Ṛg. X. 85. 21–22 are called 'utthāpinyaḥ' (verses addressed for making one rise). There is another mantra in the Atharvaveda (18. 3. 1) and Tai. Ār. VI. 1 [1452] 'Oh (dead) man! this woman choosing the world of the husband lies down by thee, the deceased, observing the old universal custom; bestow on her in this world offspring and wealth'. The first verse (i. e. Ṛg. X. 18. 7) contains nothing about niyoga or remarriage. It has been made use of for giving Vedic authority to the practice of *satī* (which will be dealt with later on). That verse refers to the practice that young women of the household of the departed used to go to the cemetery and applied clarified butter to their eyes (by way of purification and *śānti*); this practice continued to the days of the Āśv. gṛ, the Bṛhad-devatā (VII. 12) and the Baud. pitṛmedhasūtra (I.21.11). The two verses 'iyam nārī' and Ṛg. X. 18. 8 are employed by the Baudhāyana-Pitṛmedhasūtra [1453] in the funeral rites, the first to be repeated when the wife is made to sit near the corpse and the next for making her rise. It is to be noted that Baud. directs that the corpse is placed on the funeral pile after the wife is made to rise from the vicinity of the corpse; while the Bṛhad-devatā appears to suggest that the wife ascends the funeral pile after the corpse is placed thereon and then the younger brother forbids her with the verse 'udīrṣva &c.'. But the Bṛhad-devatā [1454] does not mean that the wife burns herself on the funeral pyre and the brother-in-law contents himself with only repeating a verse to dissuade her. The Ṛgvidhāna [1455] (III. 8. 4) says that the brother-in-law should call back the wife

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1452. इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृणाना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतम्। विश्वं पुराणमनु पालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रविणं चेह धेहि ॥ तै. आ. VI. 1; अथास्य भार्यामुपसंवेशयति। इयं नारी ......धेहि इति । तां प्रति स्थितः सव्ये पाणावभिपद्योत्थापयति उदीर्ष्व...बभूव इति। बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 8. 1–2.

1453. अथैनमेतयासन्द्या सह चितायामादधाति। बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 8. 7.

1454. उदीर्ष्व नारीत्यनया मृतं पत्न्यनुरोहति । भ्राता कनीयान् प्रेतस्य निगद्य प्रतिषेधति ॥ बृहद्देवता VII. 13.

1455. भ्रातुर्भार्यामपुत्रस्य संतानार्थं मृते पतौ । देवरोऽन्वारुरुक्षन्तीमुदीर्ष्वेति निवर्तयेत् ॥ ऋग्विधान III. 8. 4 (ed. by Meyer).

of his sonless brother when she is about to ascend the funeral pyre for procreating a son on her with Ṛg. X. 18. 8. It appears that the verse Ṛg X. 18. 8 symbolically describes what even in the days of the Ṛgveda was probably only a tradition viz. that in hoary antiquity a wife burnt herself with her husband. In the times of the Ṛgveda this practice had altogether ceased, but a symbolical imitation of it had come into vogue, viz. that the wife lay near the corpse in the cemetery and then she was asked to get up and was told that by following her husband to the very doors of death she had fulfilled all that was expected of her and that she should return. The same idea is referred to by the verse 'iyam nārī', but the latter half appears to refer to the practice of niyoga when it calls upon the departed to bestow on the wife offspring and wealth. It is possible to argue that Ṛg. X. 18. 8 also impliedly has niyoga in view. But both these verses do not expressly refer to the parotice of *satī* at all. They at the most might lead to the inference that the woman had either to marry the deceased husband's brother or go in for niyoga because the husband died sonless. The latter appears to me to be the more probable of the two hypotheses, if those are the only explanations. The symbolic use made in the gṛhyasūtras and in the Bṛhad-devatā of Ṛg. X. 18. 8 shows that they practically are against the burning of widows. It is probable that these authors knew of the custom of niyoga, that it was not then much approved of and so they are silent about it, while the Ṛgvidhāna which appears to be comparatively a late work takes the verse 'udīrṣva' as referring to niyoga (which is most probably referred to in Ṛg. X. 40. 2 ko vām śayutrā vidhaveva devaram). The consideration of the practice of widow burning naturally arises here from the above discussion and will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

Divorce

In the Vedic literature there are at least some texts capable of being interpreted as relating to the remarriage of widows and we have the word 'punarbhū'. But as regards divorce there is absolutely nothing in the Vedic texts nor is there much in post-vedic literature. The theory of dharmaśāstra writers is that marriage when completed by homa and saptapadī is indissoluble. Manu IX. 101 says 'Let mutual fidelity (between husband and wife) continue till death; this in brief may be understood to be the highest *dharma* of man and wife.' In another place Manu (IX. 46) declares 'neither by sale nor by

desertion is the wife released from the husband; we understand that this is the law ordained by the Creator in former times.' The position of the writers on dharmaśāstra is that marriage is a saṁskāra, that the status of wife-hood arises from that saṁskāra, that even if the husband or wife became *patita*, the saṁskāra already performed is not annulled by that fact, that even if a wife committed adultery she still remains a wife and that when she performs a penance for her lapse, it is not necessary to have a fresh saṁskāra of marriage performed on her.[1456] We have seen (pp. 552–553) that a man was allowed to supersede a wife and marry another or others or to abandon his wife altogether in certain circumstances. But that does not amount to divorce (i. e. dissolution of the marriage tie); the marriage is still there intact. It was also shown (at pp. 610–611) that according to Nārada, Parāśara and a few others a woman was allowed to remarry in case the husband died, or was unheard of &c.; but according to the digests and commentaries these rules apply to a former *yuga* (age). Therefore divorce in the ordinary sense of the word (i. e. divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*) has been unknown to the dharmaśāstras and to Hindu society for about two thousand years (except on the ground of custom among the lower castes). Even when the husband was allowed to abandon the wife for her lapse, still she was in most cases entitled to at least starving maintenance. Therefore *tyāga* (abandonment) was not only no divorce *a vinculo* at all but was not even a divorce *a mensa et thoro* (divorce from board and bed). Later smṛtis and medieval digests could hardly conceive of any ground for which the wife could desert her husband altogether, though Nārada and a few others allowed her to desert one husband and marry another if he was impotent, or became a saṁnyāsin or an outcast. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 77 says that a wife is not under the control of her husband as long as he remains *patita* (outcast or excommunicated) and that she should wait till he is purified by penance and restored to caste and that thereafter she again becomes dependent on him. The gravest sins can be expiated by penance (vide Manu XI. 89,

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1456. Vide विश्वरूप on या. III. 253–254 केचित्तु परित्यक्तासु पारदारप्रायश्चित्तं नेच्छन्ति संबन्धिनिमित्तत्वाद्दारशब्दस्य । ...... तथा च सति विधवास्वपि पारदार्यं न स्यात् । न च व्यभिचारादिभिस्तस्यापगमो युक्तः संस्कारनिमित्तत्वाद् दारशब्दस्य। तस्य च पतनेऽप्यनपगमात् । अत एव पतिता योषितः कृतप्रायश्चित्ताः पुनर्न संस्क्रियन्ते । अन्यथा तु पतनेन संस्कारस्यापगमात् कृतप्रायश्चित्ता अप्यदाराः स्युः । अतो व्यभिचारिणीष्वप्यस्त्येव पारदार्यम् ।

92, 101, 105-106); therefore it follows that a wife could not for ever desert even a *patita* husband. In modern times the Indian courts[1457] have held that mere change of faith or apostasy by a Hindu wife or husband does not *ipso facto* dissolve the marriage and that if the wife changes her religion and then marries another while the first husband is still living, she would be guilty of bigamy. Mere desertion or separation for many years or even adultery does not dissolve a Hindu marriage (vide 42 Madras Law Journal 276). Only in cases where the husband or wife becomes a convert to Christianity, a special procedure is prescribed for the dissolution of the original Hindu marriage by the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act (XXI of 1866), which is not set out here as it is beyond the scope of this work to do so. Further, those Hindus who marry under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) can secure divorce under the Indian Divorce Act (IV of 1869). The Malabar Marriage Act (Madras Act IV of 1896) forbids polygamy if the first marriage is registered and allows divorce (sec. 19) among those who are governed by the Marumakkatayam or Aliyasantana Law prevalent in Malabar.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya contains some interesting observations bearing on divorce.[1458] 'A wife hating her husband cannot be released from the husband if he is unwilling (to let her go), nor can the husband release himself from the wife (if she is unwilling); but if there is mutual hatred then release is possible. If a man fearing danger (or injury) from his wife desires release from her, he shall return to her whatever was given to her (at the time of marriage). If a woman out of fear of danger (or injury) from the husband desires release, the latter need not return to her what was given to her (at the time of marriage); marriages in the approved form cannot be dissolved.' Kauṭilya himself says (in III. 2) that the first four forms viz. brāhma, prājāpatya, ārṣa and daiva are dharmya (approved), since they are brought about under the authority of the father.[1459] Therefore according to Kauṭilya there can

1457. Vide *The Government of Bombay* v. *Ganga* I. L. R. 4. Bom. 330; *in the matter of Ram Kumari* I. L. R. 18 Cal. 264; *Budansa* v. *Fatma Bi* 26 Madras Law Journal p. 260.

1458. अमोक्ष्या भर्तुरकामस्य द्विषती भार्या। भार्यायाश्च भर्ता। परस्परं द्वेषान्मोक्षः। स्त्रीविप्रकाराद्वा पुरुषश्चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेद्यथागृहीतमस्यै दद्यात्। पुरुषविप्रकाराद्वा स्त्री चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेन्नास्यै यथागृहीतं दद्यात्। अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानामिति। अर्थशास्त्र III. 3.

1459. पितृप्रमाणाश्चत्वारः पूर्वे धर्म्याः। अर्थशास्त्र III. 2.

be no dissolution of the marriage tie if the marriage was celebrated in one of the first four forms. But if the marriage was in the gāndharva, āsura or rākṣasa form, then the tie may be dissolved by mutual consent, if both have come to hate each other. But he seems to hold that there can be no release at the instance of only one party to the marriage who has begun to feel aversion to the other party in whatever form the marriage may have been performed. Even in this latter case he apparently makes an exception, where physical danger is apprehended by one party from the other.

It is beyond the scope of this work to compare the law of divorce in other countries or under other religious systems. It may be stated, however, that according to the strict theory of the Roman Catholic Church the marriage tie is indissoluble,[1460] though decrees of nullity of marriage were sometimes granted by that Church to those who could pay for them. In England after the Restoration divorce could be secured through the Parliament by a private Bill where a divorce a *vinculo matrimonii* was desired. But this method could be resorted to only by the rich, as the passage of a private Bill for divorce cost at least 500 £. The Ecclesiastical courts in England granted divorces *a mensa et thoro* on the ground of adultery, cruelty or unnatural offences, though such a divorce did not dissolve the marriage. But this procedure also was costly, as even an undefended suit for divorce *a mensa et thoro* would ordinarily cost from 300 to 500 £. Then came the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 (20 and 21 Vic. chap. 85) by sec. 27 of which a wife could petition for divorce only if she proved that since the celebration of marriage the husband was guilty of incestuous adultery, or of bigamy with adultery, or of adultery coupled with such cruelty as, without adultery, would have entitled her to a divorce *a mensa et thoro* or of adultery coupled with desertion. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1923 (13 and 14 Geo. 5 chap. 19) placed women on an equality with men by allowing them to apply for divorce merely on the ground of adultery by the husband without having to prove anything more. Then the Act of 1937 known as A. P. Herbert's Act (1Edw. 8 and 1 Geo. 6 chap. 57) allows the husband or wife to petition for divorce on four grounds. It will be noticed

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1460. Vide the Gospels of Mark X. 2-12 and of Luke XVI. 18, which altogether forbid divorce.

from this that the absence of divorce and rigorous restrictions thereon are not a peculiarity of the Brahmanical religion or of the caste system, but existed even in so-called progressive, casteless and Christian countries up to very recent times. In modern times even in Roman Catholic countries divorce is allowed on various grounds; and in India too efforts are being made to enact legislation permitting divorce among Hindus for various reasons. And it may be admitted that some legal provision is necessary for securing divorce in hard cases even as to marriages celebrated under the ancient śāstric system on grounds similar to those in the English Act of 1937.

CHAPTER XV

SATĪ (Self-immolation of widows)

The word is often written as 'suttee' in English works and papers. This subject is now of academic interest in India, since for over a hundred years (i. e. from 1829) self-immolation of widows has been prohibited by law in British India and has been declared to be a crime. A portion of sec. 1 of the Regulation XVII of 1829 passed by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck is set out below. We are now in a position to take a dispassionate view of the practice, to trace its origin and follow its working down to the date of its being declared illegal. It is not possible in the space available here to go into all details. Those interested may read the latest book on the subject by Mr. Edward Thomson.[1461] The burning

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1461. 'Suttee' (1928), which gives an account of it from the most ancient times, of the efforts made to suppress it by Raja Rama Mohan Roy and the British Government. In an appendix the author gives extracts from the accounts reported by those who witnessed widow burning from 317 B. C. to 1845 A. D. *Vide* also Max Muller's H. A. S. L. p. 48 for references to the custom of widow-burning among Greeks and Scythians; 'Die Frau' pp. 74–79 for accounts of travellers and eye witnesses; Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays vol. I (ed. of 1837) pp. 114–116 (for description of the rite), vol. II. chap. III. pp. 153–158; Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute vol. 14. p. 219. In the 'Travels of Peter Mundy' (1608–1669) published by the Hakluyt Society in 1914 vol. II. pp. 34–36, the author gives an account of the burning of a widow at Surat in 1630 with a sketch showing the widow having on her lap the head of her deceased husband. That writer also notes that the practice had in his time become rare, as under the Mogul rulers a special license from the Ruler or Governor was required. Similarly Barbosa (a Portuguese) describes the burning of a *satī* in the Vijayanagar kingdom (*vide* translation by M. L. Dames, vol. I. pp. 213–216).

Section 1 of Regulation XVII of 1829 which declared the practice of *satī* illegal and a crime punishable in the courts (and passed by the Governor-General in Council on 4th December 1829) is : The practice of Suttee or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary a life of

(*Continued on next page*)

of widows was not peculiar to Brahmanism, as many are prone to believe, but the custom owes its origin to the oldest religious views and superstitious practices of mankind in general. The practice of widow burning obtained among ancient Greeks, Germans, Slavs and other races (*vide* 'Die Frau' pp. 56, 82–83 and Schrader's 'Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People,' English Translation of 1890, p. 391 and Westermarck's 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas', 1906, vol. I, pp. 472–476), but was generally confined to the great ones, the princes and nobles.

There is no Vedic passage which can be cited as incontrovertibly referring to widow-burning as then current, nor is there any mantra which could be said to have been repeated in very ancient times[1462] at such burning nor do the ancient gṛhyasūtras contain any direction prescribing the procedure of widow burning. It therefore appears probable that the practice arose in Brahmanical India a few centuries before Christ. Whether it was indigenous or was copied from some non-Aryan or non-Indian tribes cannot be demonstrated. None of the dharmasūtras

(*Continued from last page*)

purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up or observed; in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked.........Actuated by these considerations the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British Government in India that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules &c.

1462. Raja Radhakant Deva relied upon two verses which he found in the Aukhya śākhā of the Tai. S. quoted in the 84th Anuvāka of the Nārāyaṇīya Upaniṣad as the most explicit authority for widow burning; *vide* Prof. H. H. Wilson's Works vol. II. pp. 293–305. The two so-called Vedic texts are: अग्ने व्रतानां व्रतपतिरसि पत्न्यानुगमव्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम्। इह त्वा अग्ने नमसा विधेम सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य समेत्यै। जुषाणो अद्य हविषा जातवेदो विशानि त्वा सत्वतो नय मा पत्युरग्ने (pp. 295–296). These, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

except Viṣṇu contains any reference to *satī*. The Manusmṛti is entirely silent about it. It is stated in Strabo (XV. 1. 30 and 62) that the Greeks under Alexander found *satī* practised among the Cathaei in the Punjab and that that practice arose from the apprehension that wives would desert or poison their husbands (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation vol. III). The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra[1463] says 'On her husband's death the widow should observe celibacy or should ascend the funeral pyre after him.' The Mahābhārata, though it is profuse in the descriptions of sanguinary fights, is very sparing in its references to widow burning. Mādrī, the favourite wife of Pāṇḍu, burnt herself with her husband's body.[1464] In the Virāṭa-parva Sairandhrī is ordered to be burnt with Kīcaka,[1465] just as in ancient times it is said there was a custom to bury a slave or slaves along with the deceased ruler. The Mausala parva (7. 18) says that four wives of Vasudeva, viz. Devakī, Bhadrā, Rohiṇī and Madirā burnt themselves with him and (chap. 7. 73–74) that Rukmiṇī, Gāndhārī, Śaibyā, Haimavatī, Jāmbavatī among the consorts of Kṛṣṇa burnt themselves along with his body and other queens like Satyabhāmā went to a forest for *tapas*. The Viṣṇupurāṇa also says that eight queens of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī and others, entered fire on the death of Kṛṣṇa.[1466] The Śāntiparva (chap. 148) describes how a kapotī (female pigeon) entered fire on the death of her husband the bird.[1467] In the Strīparva (chap. 26) the Great Epic describes the death ceremonies performed for the fallen Kauravas, but no mention is made of any widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre though the chariots, clothes and weapons of the warriors are said to have been consigned to fire. From the above it appears

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1463. मृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25. 14 quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 86.

1464. आदिपर्व 95. 65 'तत्रैनं चिताग्निस्थं माद्री समन्वारुरोह।; आदि 125. 29 'राज्ञः शरीरेण सह ममापीदं कलेवरम्। दग्धव्यं सुप्रतिच्छन्नमेतदार्ये प्रियं कुरु॥.'

1465. सैरन्ध्र्याः सूतपुत्रेण सह दाहं विशां पतिः। विराटपर्व 23. 8.

1466. अष्टौ महिष्यः कथिता रुक्मिणीप्रमुखास्तु याः। उपगुह्य हरेर्देहं विविशुस्ता हुताशनम्॥ विष्णुपुराण V. 38. 2.

1467. पतिव्रता संप्रदीप्तं प्रविवेश हुताशनम्॥ ततश्चित्राङ्गदधरं भर्तारं सान्वपश्यत। ...... ततः स्वर्गं गतः पक्षी भार्यया सह संगतः। शान्ति 148. 10–12. This passage is quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 86 in support of the plea that *satī* is enjoined and leads to great bliss in the other world.

that the practice was originally confined to royal families and great warriors even in India and that cases of widow burning were rare. Several texts are cited by Aparārka from Paiṭhīnasi, Aṅgiras, Vyāghrapād which apparently forbid self-immolation to brāhmaṇa widows.[1468] The authors of digests explain away these passages by saying that they only prohibit self-immolation by a brāhmaṇa widow on a funeral pyre different from that of the husband i. e. a brāhmaṇa widow can burn herself only on the funeral pyre of her husband and if his body is cremated elsewhere in a foreign land, his widow cannot, on hearing of his death, burn herself later. They rely on the text of Uśanas that a brāhmaṇa widow should not follow her husband on a separate funeral pyre. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II. 53) says that a brāhmaṇa wife should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (after her husband) she should give up adorning her hair and emaciate her body by austerities.[1469] In the Rāmāyaṇa,[1470] (Uttarakāṇḍa 17. 15) there is a reference to the self-immolation of a brāhmaṇa woman (the wife of a *brahmarṣi* and mother of Vedavatī, who when molested by Rāvaṇa burnt herself in fire). The Mahābhārata (Strīparva 23. 34 ff.) on the other hand describes how Kṛpī, the wife of Droṇa, the brāhmaṇa commander-in-chief of the Kauravas, appeared with dishevelled hair on the battle-field on the death of her husband, but does not say that she burnt herself.[1471] It appears therefore that the burning of brāhmaṇa widows began much later than that of kṣatriya widows.

The burning of a widow on the death of her husband is called *sahamaraṇa* or *sahagamana* or *anvārohaṇa* (when she

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1468. पैठीनसिः । मृतानुगमनं नास्ति ब्राह्मण्या ब्रह्मशासनात् । इतरेषां तु वर्णानां स्त्रीधर्मोयं परः स्मृतः ॥ अङ्गिराः । या स्त्री ब्राह्मणजातीया मृतं पतिमनुव्रजेत् । सा स्वर्गमात्मघातेन नात्मानं न पतिं नयेत् ॥ व्याघ्रपात् । न म्रियेत समं भर्त्रा ब्राह्मणी शोकमोहिता । प्रव्रज्यागतिमाप्नोति मरणादात्मघातिनी ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 112. These are quoted by the मिता० on या. I.86 but without name. पृथक्चितिं समारुह्य न विप्रा गन्तुमर्हति । अन्यासां चैव नारीणां स्त्रीधर्मोयं परः स्मृतः ॥ उशनस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 112 and by मिता० on या. I. 86.

1469. मृतं भर्तारमादाय ब्राह्मणी वह्निमाविशेत् । जीवन्ती (v. l. ब्राह्मणी) चेत्त्यक्तकेशा तपसा शोषयेद्वपुः ॥ वेदव्यास II. 53 quoted above in note 1379.

1470. अपरार्क p. 112 refers to the रामायण 'अत एव रामायणादौ ब्राह्मण्यादीनां स्वभर्तृशरीरालिङ्गनपूर्वकं स्वशरीरदहनमुपाख्यायते ।'

1471. तां पश्य रुदतीमार्तां मुक्तकेशीमधोमुखीम् । हतं पतिमुपासन्तीं द्रोणं शस्त्रभृतां वरम् ॥ बाणैर्भिन्नतनुत्राणं धृष्टद्युम्नेन केशव । उपास्ते वै मृधे द्रोणं जटिला ब्रह्मचारिणी ॥ स्त्रीपर्व 23.

ascends the funeral pyre of her husband and is burnt along with his corpse), but *anumaraṇa* occurs when, after her husband is cremated elsewhere and she learns of his death, the widow resolves upon death and is burnt with the husband's ashes or his *pādukās* (sandals) or even without any memento of his if none be available [1472] (vide Aparārka p. 111 and Madanapārijāta p. 198). In the Kumārasambhava (IV. 34) of Kālidāsa, Rati, the wife of Kāma who was burnt by Śiva, speaks of throwing herself into fire, but is held back by a heavenly voice. In the Gāthāsaptaśatī (VII. 33) there is a reference to a woman being decked for anumaraṇa (Nirṇ. ed.). The Kāmasūtra VI. 3.53 speaks of anumaraṇa. It has been shown (at p. 579) how Varāhamihira admires women for their courage in being burnt with their husbands. The Harṣacarita (Ucchvāsa 5) describes how Yaśomatī, the chief queen of king Prabhākaravardhana and mother of Harṣa, consigned herself to fire when the king was dying. But this is not a proper case of *satī*, as she burnt herself even before her husband died. In another passage of the Harṣacarita (V, in the description of night) the glory of moon-lotuses is said to be laughing like a woman intent on anumaraṇa, who is decked with ear ornaments and wears garlands on her head.[1473] Bāṇa in his Kādambarī in a most eloquent and well-reasoned passage condemns anumaraṇa.[1474] The Bhāgavatapurāṇa [1475] I. 13. 57 speaks of Gāndhārī's burning herself on the death of her husband, Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The

1472. देशान्तरमृते तस्मिन्साध्वी तत्पादुकाद्वयम् । निधायोरसि संशुद्धा प्रविशेज्जातवेदसम् ॥ ऋग्वेदवादात्साध्वी स्त्री न भवेदात्मघातिनी । त्र्यहाच्छौचे तु निर्वृत्ते श्राद्धं प्राप्नोति शाश्वतम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 111., where अपरार्क tells us that Vedic verses which render self-immolation free from the sin of suicide are verses like 'imā nārīr ' (Ṛg. X. 18. 7) quoted in note 1450.

1473. Vide the passage beginning with 'वृन्तामलपत्रप्रसाधितकर्णिकासु केसरमालाकल्पितमुण्डमालिकासु अनुमर्तुमिवोद्यतासु प्रहसितमुखीषु कुमुदलक्ष्मीषु' हर्षचरित V (6th para from the end).

1474. यदेतदनुमरणं नाम तदतिनिष्फलम् । in paragraph 177 of my edition of the pūrvabhāga, which Candrāpīḍa addresses to Mahāśvetā, where he gives instances of famous women like Rati, Pṛthā, Uttarā, Duḥśalā that did not resort to sahagamana and winds up 'अन्याश्च रक्षःसुरासुरमुनिमनुजसिद्धगन्धर्वकन्यका भर्तृरहिताः श्रूयन्ते सहस्रशो विधृतजीविताः'.

1475. रघुनन्दन in his शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 242) quotes the passage of the भागवतपुराण.

Rājataranginī cites in several places (e. g. VI. 107, 195 ; VII. 103, 478) examples of *satī*.

In numerous epigraphic records reference is made to the practice of *satī*. Among the earliest is the one in 191 of the Gupta era (510 A. D.) in the Gupta Inscriptions (ed. by Fleet) p. 91. Vide also the Eran posthumous stone pillar Inscription of Goparāja which says that his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre when he was killed in battle ; I. A. vol. IX. p. 164 (Nepal Inscription of 705 A. D., where Rājyavatī, widow of Dharmadeva, bids her son Mahādeva to take up the reins of government that she may follow her husband); the Belaturu Inscription of śaka 979 of the time of Rājendradeva Cola (E. I. vol. VI, p. 213) where a śūdra woman Dekabbe, on hearing of her husband's death, burnt herself in spite of the strong opposition of her parents who then erected a stone monument to her ; E. I. vol. 14 p. 265, 267 where a grant is made in śaka 1103 to a temple by Sinda Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rācamalla on a request by two *satīs*, widows of his general Becirāja ; E. I. vol. 20, p. 168 (of Cedi *saṁvat* 919) which refers to three queens that became *satīs* ; E. I. vol X, p. 39 where the Temara gate stone inscription of śaka 1246 speaks of Māṇikyadevī as satī on the death of her husband Āmana who was an officer of king Hariścandra ; E. I. vol. 20 p. 58 (Mistra Deoli Inscription in Jodhpur when two queens of a Gohila Rāṇā became satīs) ; E. I. vol. 16, p. 10, *n.* 4 and p. 11, *n.* 2 for satī records of śaka 1365 and 1362. In an article on ' Satī memorial stones ' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. 23, p. 435 ff. it is shown how the memorial stones usually bear the figure of the upraised arm and of the sun and the moon on either side and a group of stars. Among the well-known latest historical examples of *satī* is that of Ramābāī, wife of the Peshwa Madhavrao I, in 1772 A. D. The Jauhar practised by the Rajput ladies of Chitor and other places for saving themselves from unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the victorious Moslems are too well-known to need any lengthy notice.

In the Indian Antiquary vol. 35 p. 129 there is a paper on ' *Satī* immolation which is not *satī* ', where several examples of men who killed themselves out of devotion to their masters or for other causes are cited and it is pointed out how stone monuments (called *māstikkal* i. e. stone monument for *mahāsatī* a great *satī*, and '*virakkal*' for brave and devoted men) are erected

in memory of *satīs* and men. The Harṣacarita (V. 3rd para from end) describes how many of the king's friends, ministers, servants and favourites killed themselves on the death of Prabhākaravardhana. The Rājataraṅgiṇī VII. 481 narrates how when the queen of king Ananta became a *satī* on her husband's death, her litter-carrier and some other men and three of her *dāsīs* followed her in death. There is the example of a mother burning herself on the funeral pyre of her son (vide Rājataraṅgiṇī VII. 1380). We shall see later on that suicide at holy places like Prayāga was practised for attaining heavenly worlds and bliss. Life seems to have been deemed of small account in those ages and though the death of women or men on the funeral pyre of the husband or for their masters appears to us sophisticated people of modern days as very horrible, it did not so appear to the ancients. *Satī* was not in historic times a practice imposed by priests or men on unwilling women. It somehow grew and it is improper to say that men imposed it on women. It may be that examples of *satī* occurred because of the force of popular sentiment. It was first confined to kings and nobles, because the lot of the wives of conquered kings and warriors was most miserable in all countries as well as in India. Vengeance for the truculence of their husbands was wreaked on the poor wives by carrying them as captives and making them work as slaves. Manu (VII. 96) allows a soldier to retain women (probably ' slaves ') conquered by him along with other booty. When queen Yaśomatī narrates to her son Harṣa the great honour and glory that was hers during the reign of her husband king Prabhākaravardhana, she refers to the fact that the wives of the enemies defeated by her husband waved chowries over her.[1476] From kings the practice spread among brāhmaṇas, though as shown above, several smṛtikāras disapproved of the practice among brāhmaṇa wives. Once it took root learned commentators and digest writers were found to support it with arguments and promises of future rewards. Even in modern times we can secure learned writers to support any pet theory of a coterie or clique. When Manchester and Liverpool were prosperous, English economists preached the doctrine of free trade and *laissez faire* to all nations, but in more difficult times we have now the apotheosis of Empire Preference and discriminating preference for home-made goods. Manu IV. 178 asks people to do whatever their forefathers did.

1476. आपीतौ युष्माहृिधैः पुत्रैरमित्रकलत्रबन्दीवृन्दविधूयमानचामरमरुच्चलच्चीनांशुकधरौ पयोधरौ। हर्षचरित V.

The rewards promised to a *satī* were as follows: Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras [1477] say 'she who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the human body, viz. 3½ crores of years. Just as a snake-catcher draws out a snake from a hole by force, so such a woman draws her husband from (wherever he may be) and enjoys bliss together with him. In heaven she being solely devoted to her husband and praised by bevies of heavenly damsels sports with her husband for as long as fourteen Indras rule. Even if the husband be guilty of the murder of a brāhmaṇa or of a friend or be guilty of ingratitude, the wife who dies (in fire) clasping his body, purifies him (of the sin). That woman, who ascends (the funeral pyre) when the husband dies, is equal to Arundhatī in her character and is praised in heaven. As long as a woman does not burn herself in fire on the death of her husband she is never free from being born as a woman (in successive births)'. Hārīta says 'that woman who follows her husband in death purifies three families, viz. of her mother, of her father and of her husband'. The Mit. after quoting the above passages adds that this duty of anvārohaṇa is common to the women of all castes from the brāhmaṇa to the cāṇḍāla, provided they are not pregnant or they have no young children (at the husband's death)'.[1478]

There were old commentators who were opposed to the practice of *satī*. Medhātithi on Manu V. 157 (Kāmam tu &c.) compares this practice to *śyenayāga* which a man performed by

1477. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानुषे। तावत्कालं वसेत्स्वर्गे भर्तारं यानुगच्छति॥ व्यालग्राही यथा सर्पं बलादुद्धरते बिलात्। तद्वदुद्धृत्य सा नारी सह तेनैव मोदते॥ तत्र सा भर्तृपरमा स्तूयमानाप्सरोगणैः। क्रीडते पतिना सार्धं यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश॥ ब्रह्मघ्नो वा कृतघ्नो वा मित्रघ्नो वा भवेत्पतिः। पुनात्यविधवा नारी तमादाय मृता तु या॥ मृते भर्तरि या नारी समारोहेद्धुताशनम्। साऽरुन्धतीसमाचारा स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ यावच्चाग्नौ मृते पत्यौ स्त्री नात्मानं प्रदाहयेत्। तावन्न मुच्यते सा हि स्त्रीशरीरात्कथंचन॥ quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 86, अपरार्क p. 110, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 234. The two verses तिस्रः कोट्यो &c. are also पराशर IV. 32 and 33 and ब्रह्मपुराण, गौतमीमाहात्म्य chap. 10. 76 and 74.

1478. अयं च सर्वासां स्त्रीणामगर्भिणीनामबालापत्यानामाचाण्डालं साधारणो धर्मः। भर्तारं यानुगच्छतीत्यविशेषोपादानात्। मिता० on या. I. 86; vide the same words in मद्. पा. p. 196 and स्मृतिमु० (संस्कार p. 162), in which latter they are expressly quoted from विज्ञानेश्वर.

way of black magic to kill his enemy. He says[1479] that though Aṅgiras allowed 'anumaraṇa' it is suicide and is really forbidden to women. Just as the Veda says 'śyenenābhicaran yajet' and yet śyenayāga is not looked upon as dharma, but rather as adharma (vide Śabara on Jaimini I. 1. 2), so, though Aṅgiras speaks of it, it is really *adharma*; and that a woman who is in a hurry and extremely anxious to secure heaven quickly for herself and her husband might act according to Aṅgiras, still her action is *aśāstrīya* (not in accordance with the śāstras); besides anvārohaṇa is opposed to the Vedic text 'one should not leave this world before one has finished one's allotted span of life'." The Mit. on Yāj. I. 86 combats these arguments. It says that śyenayāga is no doubt undesirable and therefore adharma, but that is so because the object of śyenayāga is injury to another. *Anugamana* on the other hand is not so; there the result promised is heaven which is a desirable result and which is enjoined by *śruti* in such sentences as 'one should sacrifice a white goat to Vāyu if one desires prosperity'. Similarly the smṛti about *anugamana* is not opposed to the *śruti* quoted, the meaning of which is different; that śruti means 'one should not waste one's life for securing heavenly bliss which is fleeting and insignificant as compared with the supreme bliss of Brahma knowledge'. As the woman in *anumaraṇa* desires only heaven, she is not doing anything contrary to the śruti texts. This is the reasoning of the Mitākṣarā which looks like special pleading. Aparārka p. 111, the Madanapārijāta p. 199, Par. M. II. part I pp. 55–56 follow the reasoning of the Mit. and add that the Vedic text about the allotted span of life is a general rule, while the smṛti about *anumaraṇa* is a special or exceptional śāstra and so there is no contradiction as the rule applies to all cases outside the excepted one. The Madanapārijāta (p. 200) further explains that the texts about purifying a husband guilty of brāhmaṇa murder are not to be taken literally but only as hyperbolically extolling *anvārohaṇa*.

1479. पुंवत्स्त्रीणामपि प्रतिषिद्ध आत्मत्यागो यद्यप्याङ्गिरसे पतिमन्वग्नियेरन्निस्युक्तं तदपि नित्यवदवश्यं कर्तव्यम्। फलस्तुतिस्तत्रास्ति फलकामायाश्चाधिकारे श्येनतुल्यता। तथैव श्येनेन हिंस्याद्भूतानीत्यधिकारस्यातिप्रवृद्धतरद्वेषान्धतया सत्यामपि प्रवृत्तौ न धर्मत्वम्, एवमिहापि अतिप्रवृद्धफलाभिलाषायाः सत्यपि प्रतिषेधे तद्व्यतिक्रमेण मरणे प्रवृत्त्युपपत्तेर्न शास्त्रीयत्वमतोऽस्त्येव पतिमनु मरणेऽपि स्त्रियाः प्रतिषेधः। किं च 'तस्मादु ह न पुरायुषः प्रेयात्' इति प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविरोधोयम्। मेधा॰ on मनु V. 156. The words of शबर are 'नैव श्येनादयः कर्तव्या विज्ञायन्ते। यो हि हिंसितुमिच्छेत्तस्यायमभ्युपाय इति तेषामुपदेशः। श्येनेनाभिचरन्यजेतेति हि समामनन्ति नाभिचरितव्यमिति। on जै. I. 1. 2. p. 19.

The Sm. C. also expressly says that anvārohaṇa,[1480] though recommended by the Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 14) and Aṅgiras, is inferior to brahmacarya (leading a celibate life), since the rewards of anvārohaṇa are inferior to those of brahmacarya. As against this may be cited the extreme view of Aṅgiras 'for all women there is no other duty except falling into the funeral pyre, when the husband dies.'[1481] The Śuddhitattva remarks that this extreme or sweeping statement is made by way of belauding *sahamaraṇa.*

We saw above that brāhmaṇa widows were only allowed anvārohaṇa, but not *anumaraṇa.* There were other restrictions enjoined by the smṛtis on all widows 'wives who have a child of tender years, who are pregnant, who have not attained puberty and who are in their monthly course do not mount the funeral pyre of their husbands'[1482]—from the Bṛhan-Nāradīya purāṇa. There is a similar verse of Bṛhaspati. The wife who was in her course was allowed to burn herself after she bathed on the fourth day.

Āpastamba (verse) prescribes the Prājāpatya penance for a woman who having first resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre turns back from it at the last moment.[1483] The Rājataraṅgiṇī (VI. 196) refers to a queen who having pretended to have resolved on becoming *satī* ultimately regretted the step and turned back.

The Śuddhitattva sets out the procedure of widow burning.[1484] The widow bathes and puts on two white garments, takes kuśa blades in her hands, faces the east or north, performs ācamana (sipping water); when the brāhmaṇas say 'om, tat sat' she remembers the God Nārāyaṇa and refers to the time (month, fortnight,

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1480. यत्तु विष्णुना धर्मान्तरमुक्तं मृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा ...... तदेतद्धर्मान्तरमपि ब्रह्मचर्यधर्मादजघन्यम्। निकृष्टफलत्वात्। स्मृतिच० on व्यव. p. 254.

1481. सर्वासामेव नारीणामग्निप्रपतनादृते। नान्यो धर्मो हि विज्ञेयो मृते भर्तरि कर्हिचित्॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, परा. मा. II. 1. p. 58, शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 234 reads साध्वीनामेव नारीणां). साध्वीनामिह नारीणां is also वृद्धहारीत XI. 202.

1482. बालापत्याश्च गर्भिण्यो ह्यदृष्टऋतवस्तथा। रजस्वला राजसुते नारोहन्ति चितां शुभे॥ नारदीयपुराण quoted by परा. मा. II. part 1, p. 58, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 236, स्मृतिमुक्ताफल I. p. 162 (ascribes to और्व). 'बालसंवर्धनं त्यक्त्वा बालापत्या न गच्छति। रजस्वला सूतिका च रक्षेद्गर्भं च गर्भिणी॥ बृहस्पति quoted by परा. मा. and शुद्धितत्त्व.

1483. चितिभ्रष्टा तु या नारी मोहाद्विचलिता ततः। प्राजापत्येन शुध्येत्तु तस्माद्वै पापकर्मणः॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by अपरार्क p. 1193 and शुद्धितत्त्व p. 243.

1484. Vide appendix under 1484.

tithi) and then makes the *saṁkalpa* (declaration of resolve) set out below. She then calls upon the eight *lokapālas* (guardians of the quarters), the sun, the moon, the fire &c. to become witnesses to her act of following her husband on the funeral pyre, she then goes round the fire thrice, then the brāhmaṇa recites the Vedic verse 'imā nārīr &c.' (Ṛg. X. 18. 7) and a Purāṇa verse 'may these very good and holy women who are devoted to their husbands enter fire together with the body of the husband,' the woman utters 'namo namaḥ' and ascends the kindled pyre. The long-winded preamble of the saṁkalpa 'arundhatī...patipūtatvakāmā' is based upon the verses of Aṅgiras quoted above (in *n.* 1477). The Śuddhitattva as printed is corrupt but it appears that it read the last quarter of Ṛg. X. 18. 7 as 'ārohantu jalayonim-agne' (let them ascend the watery seat or origin, O fire !) meaning probably 'may fire be to them as cool as water'. Some writers have charged the brāhmaṇa priest-hood (or Raghunandana) with having purposely changed the reading of the verse Ṛg. X. 18. 7 in order to make it suit the rite of immolating oneself in fire (i. e. 'agne' or 'agneḥ' was substituted for 'agre'). But this charge is not sustainable. That the verse Ṛg. X. 18. 7 as it actually is was held to refer to widow burning centuries before Raghunandana follows from the fact that even the Brahmapurāṇa[1485] and Aparārka (quoted above on p. 628) take it in that sense. It was therefore not necessary to alter the reading. Further even if some priests or Raghunandana had changed it that fact would have been detected in no time, as in those days there were thousands of people who knew every syllable of the Ṛgveda by heart. Therefore it must be admitted that either the MSS. are corrupt or Raghunandana committed an innocent slip. That mantra was not addressed to widows at all, but to ladies of the deceased man's household whose husbands were living and the gṛhyasūtra of Āśv. made use of it with that meaning. Raghunandana, a profound student of dharmaśāstras and smṛtis (and often styled Smārta-bhaṭṭācārya), could not have been ignorant of what Āśv. said. The procedure as prescribed in the Nirṇayasindhu[1486] of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, whose mother became a *satī*

1485. शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 235) itself quotes the ब्रह्मपुराण text 'ऋग्वेदवादात् साध्वी स्त्री'

1486. Vide निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 623 and धर्मसिन्धु pp. 483–484. The निर्णयसिन्धु expressly refers to the Gauḍa procedure as different from his "गौडास्तु 'इमा नारीरविधवाः' इति 'ओं इमाः पतिव्रताः ... विभावसुम्' इति च द्विमः पठेदित्याहुः । ".

and who pays a very tender and touching reverence to her memory in his works, is somewhat different and it is followed by the Dharmasindhu.

It appears from all accounts of travellers and others that widow-burning prevailed more in Bengal during the centuries immediately preceding its abolition than anywhere else in India.[1487] If that was so, there were certain good reasons for that state of things. In the whole of India, except Bengal, the widows of members in a joint Hindu family are only entitled to maintenance and have no other rights over the property of the family. In Bengal, wherever the Dāyabhāga prevails, the widow of a sonless member even in a joint Hindu family is entitled to practically the same rights over joint family property which her deceased husband would have had. This must have frequently induced the surviving[1488] members to get rid of the widow by appealing at a most distressing hour to her devotion to and love for her husband. This rule of the widow's right was not for the first time propounded by Jīmūtavāhana; he makes it clear that he followed a predecessor called Jitendriya. The figures given above lend support to the view expressed here, since Benares, where the rights of widows were insignificant, was responsible for a small number of *satīs* only. It is impossible, however, to believe that the number of widows in ordinary stations of life burning themselves was very large at any time or that most of the widows that did so were coerced into doing it. There is a good deal of epigraphic and other evidence particularly in other parts of India that relatives tried to dissuade the widow from taking the step. Even in Bengal the number of *satīs* must never have been very

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1487. Thomson in his book on 'Suttee' (pp. 69,72) gives the figures for *satīs* reported from the Bengal Presidency (which then included Bihar and extended up to Benares) during 1815–1828. The lowest figure was 378 in 1815 and the highest 839 in 1818. Out of the total of 2366 cases during the four years 1815–1818, the Calcutta division alone contributed 1485, the Benares division, the seat of orthodoxy, contributed only 343. Vide H. H. Wilson's 'History of India' (ed. of 1858), vol. III (for 1805–1835 A. D.), pp 185–192. At p. 189 a table of the number of *satīs* for 1815–1828 is given, from which it appears that in 1828 there were 463 cases of *satīs* out of whom 420 came from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, out of which 287 were from the Calcutta division alone.

1488. Vide दायभाग (ed. by Jivānanda, 1893) 'अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्ताविभक्तयोरपेक्षयैव अपुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्न्यधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः।' p. 46; 'पत्नी च भर्तृधनं भुञ्जीतैव परं न तु तस्य दानाधमनविक्रयान्कर्तुमर्हति' p. 56.

large. Colebrooke, who had spent the best part of his life in Bengal and who was a profound Sanskrit scholar, observes in a paper written about 1795 A. D. 'Happily the martyrs of this superstition have never been numerous. It is certain that the instances of the widow's sacrifices are now rare'.[1489] The very fact that there was no disturbance of peace or ebullition of popular feeling or even any great verbal protest from the vast Hindu population (except a petition to the Privy Council) against Bentinck's sweeping measure indicates two things, viz. that the burning of widows was a rare occurrence and that people were not very keen on observing the practice nor had they any very deep-seated convictions about its absolute religious necessity.[1490]

Modern India does not justify the practice of *satī*, but it is a warped mentality that rebukes modern Indians for expressing admiration and reverence for the cool and unfaltering courage of Indian women in becoming *satīs* or performing the *jauhar* for cherishing their ideals of womanly conduct. If Englishmen can feel pride in their ancestors who grabbed one fourth of the world's surface or if Frenchmen can feel pride in the deeds of their Emperor Napoleon who tried to enslave the whole of Europe and yet are not held up to ridicule or rebuke, there is no reason why poor Indians cannot express admiration for the sacrifices which their women made in the past, though they may condemn the institution itself which demanded such terrible sacrifice and suffering.

1489. Vide Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays (ed. of 1837) vol. I. p. 122.

1490. Vide Fitz-Edward Hall's paper in J. R. A. S. vol. III New Series (1868) pp. 190–191, footnote, where he quotes extracts from the writings of Prof. Wilson, Marshman and others that show how fears of violent resistance to Bentinck's measure were singularly falsified.

CHAPTER XVI

VESYA

Veśyā—(Courtezan). This work dealing among other matters with the position of women and marriage in India would be incomplete if nothing were said about prostitutes and concubines. Prostitution has existed from the dawn of history in all countries and in the absence of statistics it is difficult to say whether it flourished more in one country than in another or whether it existed to a greater or lesser extent in ancient days as compared with modern times. The article in the Encyclopædia Britannica on prostitution will be an eye-opener to many who will be inclined to turn their nose at Indian conditions.

From the Ṛgveda we find that there were women who were common to several men i. e. who were courtezans or prostitutes. In Ṛg. I. 167. 4 the bright Maruts (storm gods) are said to have become associated with the young (lightning), just as men become associated with a young courtezan.[1491] It has already been seen how in Ṛg. II. 29. 1 reference is made to a woman who gives birth in secret to a child and leaves it aside. In Ṛg. I. 66. 4, I. 117. 18, I. 134. 3 and other places *jāra* (paramour or secret lover) is spoken of. In Gaut. XXII. 27 it is said that for killing a woman who is a brāhmaṇī by birth only and who subsists by harlotry no prāyaścitta is necessary but eight handfuls of corn may be gifted. Manu IV. 209 forbids a brāhmaṇa from taking food offered by harlots (vide also IV. 219); and Manu IX. 259 requires the king to punish clever (or deceitful) harlots. In the Mahābhārata courtezans are an established institution. The Ādiparva (115. 39) narrates how a veśyā waited upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhārī was pregnant.[1492] In the Udyogaparva (30. 38) Yudhiṣṭhira sends greetings to the *veśyās* of the Kauravas. Courtezans are described as going out to welcome Kṛṣṇa when he came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava court (Udyoga 86. 15). When the Pāṇḍava armies are described as about to start for battle it

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1491. परा शुभ्रा अयासो यव्या साधारण्येव मरुतो मिमिक्षुः । ऋ. I. 167. 4.

1492. गान्धार्यां क्लिश्यमानायामुदरेण विवर्धता । धृतराष्ट्रं महाराजं वैश्या पर्यचरत्किल ॥ आदि 115. 39.

is said that carts, markets and courtezans also accompanied them (Udyoga 151. 58). Vide also Vanaparva 239. 37, Karṇaparva 94. 26. Yāj.[1493] II. 290 divides concubines into two sorts, *avaruddhā* (one who is kept in the house itself and forbidden to have intercourse with any other male) and *bhujiṣyā* (concubine who is not kept in the house, but elsewhere and is in the special keeping of a person) and prescribes a fine of fifty paṇas against another person having intercourse with them. Nārada[1494] (strīpuṁsa, 78–79) says ' intercourse is permitted with wanton women (svairiṇī) who are not brāhmaṇa by caste, with a prostitute, a female slave, or a female not restrained by her master, if these belong to a caste lower than oneself; but it is forbidden with women of superior caste. But when these very women are the kept mistresses (of a person) intercourse with them by a stranger is as much a crime as intercourse with another's wife. Such women must not be approached, though intercourse with them is not forbidden (on the ground of caste &c), since they belong to another.' On Yāj. II. 290 the Mit., after quoting the Skandapurāṇa to the effect that prostitutes constitute a separate caste being sprung from certain *Apsarases* (heavenly nymphs) called *pañcacūḍās*, states that such courtezans as are not kept specially by a person do not incur any sin, nor punishment at the hands of the king, if they have intercourse with men of the same or a superior caste, nor do men approaching them incur any penalty if they are not *avaruddhā*. But the men who visit them incur sin (which is an unseen result), since the smṛtis ordain that men should be devoted to their wives (vide Yāj. I. 81) and the prājāpatya penance is prescribed for him who has intercourse with a *veśyā* (vide Atri v. 271). Nārada[1495] (vetanasyānapākarma 18) lays down that if a public woman after getting her fee refuses to receive the customer, she shall pay twice the amount of the fee and the same fine shall be imposed on a man who does not pay the (stipulated) fee, after having had intercourse with a *veśyā*. Vide Yāj. II. 292 and Matsyapurāṇa 227. 144–145 for

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1493. अवरुद्धासु दासीषु भुजिष्यासु तथैव च । गम्यास्वपि पुमान्दाप्यः पञ्चाशत्पणिकं दमम् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 290. The मिता० explains ' ता एव स्वामिना शुश्रूषाहानिव्युदासार्थं गृह एव स्थातव्यमित्येवं पुरुषान्तरोपभोगतो निरुद्धा अवरुद्धाः । पुरुषनियतपरिग्रहा भुजिष्याः । '.

1494. स्वैरिण्यब्राह्मणी वेश्या दासी निष्कासिनी च या । गम्याः स्युरानुलोम्येन स्त्रियो न प्रतिलोमतः ॥ आस्वेव तु भुजिष्यासु दोषः स्यात्परदारवत् । गम्या अपि हि नोपेया यत्ताः परपरिग्रहाः ॥ नारद, स्त्रीपुंस 78–79.

1495. शुल्कं गृहीत्वा पण्यस्त्री नेच्छन्ती द्विस्तदाप्नुयात् । अप्रयच्छंस्तदा शुल्कमनुभूय पुमान् स्त्रियम् ॥ नारद (वेतनस्यानपाकर्म 18).

similar provisions. The Matsyapurāṇa chap. 70 dilates upon veśyādharma. The Kāmasūtra I. 3. 20 defines a *gaṇikā* as a *veśyā* who is most accomplished and proficient in the 64 *kalās*. Aparārka (p. 800, on Yāj. II. 198) quotes Nārada (cited above) and several verses of the Matsyapurāṇa about veśyās.

Concubines being recognized by society, the *smṛtis* provided for their maintenance. During the life-time of a person keeping a concubine, the latter has no legal right to proceed against the former. Nārada (dāyabhāga [1496] 52) and Kātyāyana lay down that even when the property of a deceased person escheats to the king for want of heirs (except in the case of the deceased being a brāhmaṇa) the king has first to provide for the maintenance of the concubines of the deceased, of his slaves and for his śrāddhas. The *Mit.* says that the concubines here referred to are those called *avaruddhā* (and not bhujiṣyā) and that even the kept mistresses of a deceased brāhmaṇa are entitled to maintenance from his property. The Privy Council in *Bai Nagubai* v. *Bai Monghibai* have gone beyond the Mit. and have held that all concubines (whether kept in the house practically as members of the family i. e. avaruddhā or not so kept i. e. bhujiṣyā) within the exclusive keeping of a Hindu till his death are entitled to maintenance from his property after his death, provided they are continuously chaste thereafter. [1497]

The rights of the illegitimate children of concubines to inheritance or maintenance will be dealt with later on under inheritance.

Out of the saṁskāras enumerated above (pp. 195–197), the Mahāyajñas, Utsarjana and Upākarma will be described under the next chapter, viz. *āhnika* and antyeṣṭi under āśauca.

1496. अदायिकं राजगामि योषिद्भृत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् । अपास्य श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं श्रोत्रियेभ्यस्तदर्पयेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in the मिता० on या. II. 135. मिता० 'तत्स्त्रीणामशनाच्छादनोपयुक्तं और्ध्वदेहिकं धनिनः श्राद्धाद्युपयुक्तं चापास्य परिहृत्य राजगामि भवतीति संबन्धः । अस्यापवादः । श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं च योषिद्भृत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकमपास्य श्रोत्रियायोपपादयेदिति । एतदप्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयम् । योषिद्ग्रहणात् । नारदवचनं च अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् ... इत्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयमेव स्त्रीशब्दग्रहणात् । '.

1497. *L. R. 53. I. A. 153 = 50 Bom. 604.*

CHAPTER XVII

ĀHNIKA AND ĀCĀRA

(Daily and periodical duties and ceremonies)

This forms a very important topic of dharmaśāstra. The daily duties of the *brahmacārin* have been already described above and those of the *vānaprastha* and *yati* will be spoken of later on. Under this section we are concerned principally with the duties of the *snātaka* (the would-be householder) and the *gṛhastha* (the householder).

Before the *āhnika* duties are described a few remarks about the importance of the stage of householder would not be out of place. It has already been shown (pp. 424–425) how one school of dharmaśāstra writers represented by Gautama and Baudhāyana looked upon the stage of householder as the only āśrama. The eulogies of the householder are sung in numerous passages of the Dharmaśāstra works. Gaut.[1498] (III. 3) declares that the householder is the source (support) of all the other āśramas, because the other three do not produce offspring. Manu (III. 77–78) states that as all creatures live by receiving support from the air, so other āśramas subsist by relying for support on the householder and that as men belonging to all the three other orders (āśramas) are supported from day to day by the householder alone with (gifts of) food and sacred knowledge, the householder's is therefore the most excellent āśrama. Manu (VI. 89–90) reiterates the same sentiments under a different figure 'just as all big and small rivers find a resting place in the ocean, so men of all *āśramas* find support in the householder and the householder is declared to be the most excellent of all the āśramas by the precepts of the Veda and smṛtis, since he supports the other three'. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (59. 27–29) contains almost the same remarks as Manu. Vide Vas. VIII. 14–16 (15 being identical with Manu VI. 90). Vas. VII. 17 (and X. 31), Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 1, Udyogaparva 40. 25 say that a householder observing the rules laid down for him does not fall

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1498. तेषां गृहस्थो योनिरप्रजनत्वादितरेषाम् । गौ. III. 3.

away from the world of Brahma.[1499] In the Mahābhārata also the eulogy of the order of householder is frequent. Śāntiparva 296. 39 is the same as Manu VI. 90. Śānti 270. 6–7 states 'as all beings live on the support given by their mothers, so other āśramas subsist on the support of the order of householders'.[1500] In the same chapter (verses 10–11) Kapila condemns those who hold that *mokṣa* (final release from *saṁsāra*) is not possible for him who remains a householder. Śānti 12. 12 holds that, if weighed in the balance, the order of householders is equal to all the other three put together. Vide also Śānti 11. 15, 23. 2–5, Vanaparva chap. 2. The Ayodhyākāṇḍa 106. 22 also says that the stage of householder is the most excellent of all āśramas.

The brāhmaṇa householder is again divided into several varieties from different points of view. Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 1, Devala (quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 128) and other works divide a householder into two varieties viz. śālīna and yāyāvara,[1501] the latter being superior to the former.[1502] The śālīna

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1499. नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतितान्नवर्जी । ऋतौ च गच्छन्विधिवच्च जुह्वन् ब्राह्मणश्च्यवते ब्रह्मलोकात् ॥ वसिष्ठ VIII. 17 (X. 31 is the same in prose). Vide note 691 above.

1500. यथा मातरमाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति जन्तवः । एवं गार्हस्थ्यमाश्रित्य वर्तन्त इतराश्रमाः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 270. 6–7 (= Vas. VIII. 16, where the last pāda is सर्वे जीवन्ति भिक्षुकाः).

1501. अथ शालीन-यायावर-चक्रचरधर्मकाङ्क्षिणां नवभिर्वृत्तिभिर्वर्तमानानाम् । शालाश्रयत्वाच्छालीनत्वम् । वृत्त्या वरया यातीति यायावरत्वम् । अनुक्रमेण चरणाच्चक्रचरत्वम् । बौ. ध. सू. III. 1. 1., 3–5. बौ. derives शालीन from शाला (a house) and यायावर from या (to go) and वर (best). पाणिनि V. 2. 20 (which is explained in the Mahābhāṣya) teaches that शालीन in the sense of bashful (अधृष्ट) is derived from शाला. Probably in Pāṇini's day householders had not come to be divided into शालीन and यायावर. बौ. appears to hold that there is a third variety called चक्रचर, but this does not occur elsewhere.

1502. यथाह देवलः । द्विविधो गृहस्थो यायावरः शालीनश्च । तयोर्यायावरः प्रवरो याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहरिक्थसंचयवर्जनात् । षट्कर्माधिष्ठितः प्रेष्यचतुष्पाद्गृहग्रामधनधान्ययुक्तो शालीनः । इति । शालीनोपि चतुर्विधः । याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहकृषिवाणिज्यपाशुपाल्यैः षड्भिर्जीवत्येकः । याजनादिभिस्त्रिभिरन्यः । याजनाध्यापनाभ्यामपरः । चतुर्थस्त्वध्यापनेनैव । मिता. on या. I. 128. कुसूलधान्यको वा स्यात्कुम्भीधान्यक एव वा । त्र्यहैहिको वापि भवेदश्वस्तनिक एव वा ॥ मनु IV. 7. मेधा० explains the kusūla as a granary built with bricks and indicates that he may store in it as much as such a granary will hold ; while *kumbhī* means a receptacle storing as much as will last for six months. हारीत quoted in Gṛ. R. derives 'सर्वास्ववस्थासु बहुत्वोऽस्य शाला इति शालीनः शालावानिति वा शालीनः शालायामात्मवृत्तिभिर्वा लीनः शालीनः । शालीनाद्वात्मवृत्तियापनाद्वर इति यायावरः । दश दश रात्रीर्वसन्यातीति यायावरः । परास्ववहसु वृत्तिष्वात्मानं यापयतीति यायावरः । ...... अथास्याष्टौ वृत्तयो भवन्ति । उञ्छशिलायाचितोपपन्नसंदर्शनवभुस्कन्धकुद्दालकपोती । (pp. 415 and 419).

is one who dwells in a house, is possessed of servants and cattle, has a fixed place and a fixed village and has grain and wealth and follows the life of worldly people; the yāyāvara is one who subsists by the best of livelihood, viz. picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken to the house or threshing floor by the owner and who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as priest, or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Manu (IV. 7) appears to divide brāhmaṇa householders into four varieties, viz. one who possesses enough to fill a granary or a store filling a corn jar, one who collects as much as will satisfy his needs for three days, or one who makes no provision for the morrow. Vide Śāntiparva 244. 1-4 and Laghu-Viṣṇu II. 17 for similar statements. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 says that 'śālīna is of four varieties viz. (1) one who maintains himself by officiating as a priest, teaching Veda, accepting gifts, agriculture, trade and breeding cattle, (2) one who subsists by the first three out of the above six, (3) one who subsists by officiating as a priest and by teaching, (4) one who subsists by teaching alone. Manu IV. 9 (as interpreted by the Mit.) refers to these four varieties. The Āp. Śr. (V. 3. 22) distinguishes between śālīna and yāyāvara.[1503] The Baud. gṛ. III. 5. 4 refers to yāyāvara. The word 'yāyāvara' occurs in the Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 7 [1504] 'therefore the active man lords it over one who is easy-going'; but here the word has not probably any technical sense.

In the Vaik. VIII. 5 [1505] (=Vaik. Dh. S. I. 5) householders are divided into four classes. The first class (called vārtāvṛtti)

1503. उदवसाय शालीन आदधीतानुदवसाय यायावरीयः। आप. श्रौ. V. 3. 22. The com. रुद्रदत्त explains यायावर as यात्वा यात्वा यत्र क्वचन वासीति.

1504. तस्माद्यायावरः क्षेम्यस्येशे। तै. सं. V. 2. 1. 7.

1505. गृहस्थाश्चतुर्विधा वार्तावृत्तिः शालीनवृत्तिर्यायावरो घोराचारिकश्चेति। वार्तावृत्तिः कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्योपजीवी। शालीनवृत्तिर्नियमैर्युतः पाकयज्ञैरिष्ट्वाग्नीनाधाय पक्षे पक्षे दर्शपूर्णमासयाजी चतुर्षु चतुर्षु मासेषु चातुर्मास्ययाजी षट्सु षट्सु मासेषु पशुबन्धयाजी प्रतिसंवत्सरं सोमयाजी च। यायावरो हविर्यज्ञैः सोमयज्ञैश्च यजते याजयत्यधीतेऽध्यापयति ददाति प्रतिगृह्णाति षट्कर्मनिरतो नित्यमग्निपरिचरणमतिथिभ्योऽभ्यागतेभ्योऽन्नाद्यं च कुरुते। घोराचारिको नियमैर्युक्तो यजते न याजयत्यधीते नाध्यापयति ददाति न प्रतिगृह्णाति उञ्छवृत्तिमुपजीवति नारायणपरायणः सायंप्रातरग्निहोत्रं हुत्वा मार्गशीर्ष-ज्येष्ठमासयोरसिधाराव्रतं वनौषधिभिरग्निपरिचरणं करोति। वैखानसगृह्य VIII. 5. Vide also IV. 2 for शालीन and यायावर. The असिधाराव्रत according to the com. consists in standing in water for tapas in मार्गशीर्ष and in the midst of five fires in ज्येष्ठ. The असिधाराव्रत is differently defined in other works. Vide नीतिशतक of भर्तृहरि verse 64 (Telang's ed.) 'प्रदानं प्रच्छन्नं...विषममसिधाराव्रतमिदम्.'

maintains itself by agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade; the second (śālīna) observes various *niyamas* (vide Yāj. III. 313), offers pākayajñas (sacrifices of cooked food), kindles the śrauta fires, offers the darśa and pūrṇamāsa sacrifices each half month, offers cāturmāsyas, in each half year offers an animal sacrifice and each year the soma sacrifice; the third (yāyāvara) is engaged in the six actions viz. offering sacrifices of *havis* and *soma*, officiating as priest at such sacrifices, studying the Veda and teaching it, making gifts and receiving them, constantly attends his fires (śrauta and smārta), and gives food to guests that come to him; the fourth (called ghorācārika, one whose rules are awfully difficult to observe) is observant of *niyamas*, offers sacrifices but does not officiate at others' sacrifices, studies the Veda but does not teach it, makes gifts but does not receive them, maintains himself on corn fallen in the fields &c., is absorbed in Nārāyaṇa, performs agnihotra in the morning and evening, in Mārgaśīrṣa and Jyeṣṭha performs observances that are like the edge of a sword and attends upon his fires with herbs from a forest. These four names occur also in Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 290 (Jīvānanda's ed.).

In numerous smṛtis, purāṇas and digests the duties of householders have been described in detail. For example, *vide* Gaut. V and IX, Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1–II. 4. 9, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1–17 and XI. 1–48, Manu IV, Yāj. I. 96–127, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60–71, Dakṣa II, Vedavyāsa III, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 29–30 and 34, Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa 58. 45–106, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārdha chap. 15–16), Laghu-Hārīta IV. p. 183 ff (Jīvānanda), Droṇaparva 82, Vanaparva 2. 53–63, Āśvamedhika 45. 16–25, Anuśāsana-parva 97. Among the digests may be mentioned the Sm. C. (I. pp. 88–232), the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 18–48), the Madanapārijāta (pp. 204–345), the Gṛhastharatnākara, the Āhnikatattva of Raghunandana, the Vīramitrodaya (Āhnika-prakāśa), the Smṛtimuktāphala (Āhnikakāṇḍa). It would be impossible to present in the space at our disposal all the details of the duties of the householder contained in the vast sources indicated above. Some of the usual, outstanding or important matters alone can be dealt with here. Some of the works contain moral exhortations to the householder. For example, the Anuśāsanaparva[1506] (141. 25–26)

1506. अहिंसा सत्यवचनं सर्वभूतानुकम्पनम्। शमो दानं यथाशक्ति गार्हस्थ्यो धर्म उत्तमः ॥ परदारेष्वसंसर्गो न्यासस्त्रीपरिरक्षणम् । अदत्तादानविरमो मधुमांसस्य वर्जनम् । एष पञ्चविधो धर्मो बहुशाखः सुखोदयः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 25–26.

says 'ahiṁsā, truthfulness, compassion towards all beings, quiescence, charity according to one's ability—this is the best dharma for a gṛhastha (householder). Non-contact with the wives of others, guarding one's wife and deposit (made by another), abstaining from taking what is not given (by the owner), avoiding honey and meat—this five-fold dharma has many branches and gives rise to happiness.' Dakṣa (II. 66-67) also has similar provisions. But such moral exhortations (called sādhāraṇa dharmas) have already been discussed above (pp. 3-11).

From very ancient times there were several ways of dividing the day. Sometimes the word 'ahaḥ' is distinguished from night and sometimes it stands for the period from sunrise to sunrise (and includes day and night). For example, in Ṛg. VI. 9. 1 we have[1507] the dark day (i. e. night) and the bright day (i. e. the period when there is light). This part (viz. the period of sunlight) is divided some times into two parts viz. pūrvāhṇa (period before noon) and aparāhṇa (the time after noon) *Vide* Ṛg. X. 34. 11, Manu III. 278. Day time is also divided into three parts, morning, midday and evening, which correspond to the three libations of Soma juice in prātaḥsavana, mādhyandina-savana and tṛtīya-savana. *Vide* Ṛg. III. 53. 8 where these three parts of the day are mentioned when Indra comes to drink Soma for a *muhūrta* each time and III. 28. 1, 4 and 5 (where all three savanas are named) and III. 32. 1, III. 52. 5-6. The day (of 12 hours) was often divided into five parts,[1508] viz. *prātaḥ* or udaya (sunrise), *saṁgava*, *mādhyandina* or *madhyāhna* (mid-day), *aparāhṇa* (afternoon) and *sāyāhna* or *astagamana* or *sāyam* (evening). Each of these five parts of day time will be equal to three muhūrtas. In some smṛtis and purāṇas these five parts are mentioned and defined; e. g. in the Prajāpatismṛti,

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1507. अहश्च कृष्णमहरर्जुनं च विवर्तेते रजसी वेद्याभिः। वैश्वानरो जायमानो न राजावातिरज्ज्योतिषाग्निस्तमांसि ॥ ऋ. VI. 9. 1. This verse is explained in the निरुक्त II. 21 'अहश्च कृष्णं रात्रिः शुक्लं च अहरर्जुनम् । &c.'

1508. उता यातं संगवे प्रातरह्नो मध्यन्दिन उदिता सूर्यस्य । ऋ. V. 76. 3. Here प्रातः, संगव and मध्यन्दिन are expressly named. संगव is the time of milking the cows after they return from grazing pastures to which they were taken at dawn. Vide आश्व. श्रौ. III. 12. 1-2 प्रदोषान्तो होमकालः संगवान्तः प्रातः on which the com. says 'यस्मिन्काले गावो वत्सैः सहासते स संगवः कालः तावत्पर्यन्तं प्रातर्होमकालः'. तस्मा उद्यन्सूर्यो हिङ्कृणोति संगवः प्रस्तौति । मध्यन्दिन उद्गायत्यपराह्णः प्रतिहरत्यस्तं यन्निधनम् ॥ अथर्ववेद IX. 6. 4-5.

vv. 156-157, Matsyapurāṇa 22. 82-84, 124. 88-90, Vāyu 50. 170-174. *Vide* Aparārka p. 465 (on Yāj. I. 226) where a *śruti* passage and verses from Vyāsa are quoted about these five parts.[1509] The whole day of twenty-four hours was divided into thirty muhūrtas; vide Śat. Br. XII. 3. 2. 5, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 169 where the year is said to have 10800 muhūrtas (360 x 30). The Tai. Br. III. 10. 1 gives the names of the fifteen muhūrtas of day-time, such as Citra, Ketu &c.

The Madanapārijāta p. 496 quotes Vyāsa for the fifteen parts of the day.

The smṛtis however generally divide day-time into eight parts. Dakṣa II. 4-5 divides the day into eight parts and then treats at length about the duties to be performed during those eight parts. Kātyāyana divides day-time into eight parts and asks the king to assign three parts after the first to the investigation of judicial proceedings.[1510] That this was a very ancient division follows from several considerations. Kauṭilya[1511] divides the day and night each into eight parts and prescribes what the king is to do in the eight parts of the day and also in the eight parts of the night. Vas. XI. 36, Laghu-Hārīta 99, Laghu-Śātātapa v. 108 say 'the sun becomes mild-rayed in the 8th part of the day and that time is called kutapa'.[1512] The Kādambarī of Bāṇa (para 24) speaks of the light of the sun becoming clear and bright in the first eighth part of the day.[1513] In the Mahābhārata frequent reference is made to the sixth part of the day as a somewhat late hour for taking one's meal (and as making one hungry). Vide Vanaparva 179. 16, 180. 16, 293. 9, Āśvamedhika parva 90. 26-27.[1514]

1509. प्रातःकालो मुहूर्तांस्त्रीन्संगवस्तावदेव तु। मत्स्य 22. 82; रेखाप्रभृत्यथादित्ये त्रिमुहूर्ते गते रवौ। प्रातस्तनः स्मृतः कालो भागः सोऽह्नस्तु पञ्चमः॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु 3. 280.

1510. आद्यादह्नोऽष्टभागाद्यदूर्ध्वं भागत्रयं भवेत्। स कालो व्यवहारस्य शास्त्रदृष्टो मनीषिभिः॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 601 (on Yāj. II. 1.)

1511. नाडिकाभिरहरष्टधा रात्रिं च विभजेत् छायाप्रमाणेन वा। द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत्। अर्थशास्त्र I. 19. According to the ब्रह्मपुराण, two नाडिकाs are equal to a मुहूर्त 'नाडिकाभ्यामथ द्वाभ्यां मुहूर्तो द्विजसत्तमाः।.' The सूर्यसिद्धान्त (मध्यमाधिकार v. 12) has 'नाडीषष्ट्या तु नाक्षत्रमहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम्॥'

1512 दिवसस्याष्टमे भागे मन्दीभवति भास्करः। स कालः कुतपो ज्ञेयः पितॄणां दत्तमक्षयम्॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 36.

1513. न चिरादिव दिवसाष्टमभागभाजि स्पष्टभासि भास्वति भूते। कादम्बरी para 24.

1514. षष्ठे काले मयाहारः प्राप्तोऽयमनुजस्तव। वनपर्व 180. 16; षष्ठे षष्ठे तदा काले बभूव मितभोजनः। वनपर्व 293. 9.

The principal matters to be discussed under *āhnika* are: getting up from bed, śauca (bodily purity), dantadhāvana (brushing the teeth), snāna (bath), *saṁdhyā*, *tarpaṇa*, the five *mahāyajñas* (including brahmayajña and honouring guests), attending on fire, *bhojana* (mid-day meal), obtaining wealth, studying and teaching, evening saṁdhyā, gifts, going to bed, performing sacrifices at certain stated times. The Parāśara smṛti I. 39 summarises the most important daily duties as bathing, performing the saṁdhyā prayers, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests, and vaiśvadeva are the six (principal) daily actions.[1515] Manu (IV. 152 = Anuśāsana parva 104. 23) also enumerates in one place the principal daily actions that must be got through in the morning viz. answering calls of nature, toilet, bathing, brushing the teeth, applying collyrium to the eyes and worship of the gods[1516].

Although as stated in the Sūryasiddhānta[1517] the day was calculated from sunrise, daytime for practical purposes was extended for a short time before sunrise and after sunrise. According to the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa the four *nāḍīs* (or *ghaṭikās*) before sunrise and the four nāḍīs after sunset are included in daytime (*dina*) i. e. when a man takes his bath before sunrise on a particular day that bath is one for the day that is to begin after he takes his bath[1518]. Several smṛtis like Manu IV. 92, Yāj. I. 115 enjoin that a man should get up from bed at the brāhma muhūrta,[1519] should reflect over *dharma* and *artha* that he would seek to attain that day and over the bodily efforts that he would have to undergo for securing his object and think out the real meaning of Vedic injunctions. Kullūka and others say that the word *muhūrta* in Manu IV. 92 means

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1515. संध्या स्नानं जपो होमो देवतातिथिपूजनम् । आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवं च षट् कर्माणि दिने दिने ।। पराशर I. 39.

1516. मैत्रं प्रसाधनं स्नानं दन्तधावनमञ्जनम् । पूर्वाह्ण एव कुर्वीत देवतानां च पूजनम् ॥ मनु IV. 152. मित्र is the presiding deity over the anus and so *maitra* means *mūtrapurīṣotsarga*.

1517. उदयादुदयं भानोर्भूमिसावनवासरः । सूर्यसिद्धान्त (मध्यमाधिकार v. 36.)

1518. त्रियामां रजनीं प्राहुस्त्यक्त्वाद्यन्तचतुष्टयम् । नाडीनां तदुभे संध्ये दिवसाद्यन्तसंज्ञिते ॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण quoted in the आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327 and सं. प्र. p. 81.

1519. ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते बुध्येत धर्मार्थौ चानुचिन्तयेत् । कायक्लेशांश्च तन्मूलान्वेदतत्त्वार्थमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 92; ब्राह्मो मुहूर्तो रात्रेः पश्चिमो यामः । ब्राह्मी भारती तत्प्रबोधहेतुत्वात् । मुहूर्तशब्दोऽत्र कालमात्रवचनः । कुल्लूक. The first half also occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 104. 16, ब्रह्मपुराण 113. 17, मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 17. The कूर्मपुराण as quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 220–221 has almost the same verse as मनु. Compare 'गहनमपररात्रमासशुद्धिप्रसादाः कवय इव महीपाश्चिन्तयन्त्यर्थजातम् ॥' शिशुपालवध 11. 6.

only time generally and not a period of two ghaṭikās and that it is called brāhma because that is a time when one's intelligence and one's power to compose a literary work are at their best. The Par. M. (I. 1. p. 220)[1520] says that there are two muhūrtas in the half watch before sunrise, the first of the two is called brāhma and the second raudra. Pitāmaha quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 88) says that the last watch of the night is called 'brāhma muhūrta'. From very early times getting up before sunrise was prescribed specially for a student and generally for everyone. Gaut. 23. 21 says that if the sun rose while a brahmacārin was asleep he should stand up the whole day without food and mutter the Gāyatrī throughout the day (as a penance) and if the sun set while he was asleep he should sit up the whole night engaged in muttering the Gāyatrī. Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 13–14 and Manu II. 220–221 contain similar rules and they employ the word 'abhinirmukta[1521] (or abhinimrukta) to denote one who is asleep when the sun sets. The Gobhila-smṛti (in verse) I. 139 says that on getting up one should wash one's eyes. In the Ṛgvidhāna it is ordained that on getting up one should wipe one's eyes with water after reciting Ṛg. X. 73. 11 the latter half of which says 'remove away from us darkness, fulfil our eyes and release us who are as if bound with snares'.

The Sm. C. (I. p. 88) quotes the Kūrmapurāṇa to the effect that on getting up from sleep some time before sunrise one should contemplate on God. The Āhnika-prakāśa (p. 16) quotes five verses from the Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 23–27) which are to be recited on getting up as a morning hymn, one of which is quoted below.[1522] These verses are repeated even now by some

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1520. सूर्योदयात्प्रागर्धप्रहरे द्वौ मुहूर्तौ तत्राद्यो ब्राह्मो द्वितीयो रौद्रः। परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 220. रात्रेश्च पश्चिमे यामे मुहूर्तो यस्तृतीयकः। स ब्राह्म इति विख्यातो विहितः संप्रबोधने॥ सुमन्तु q. in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 326 ; रात्रेस्तु पश्चिमो यामो मुहूर्तो ब्राह्म उच्यते। इति पितामहस्मरणात्। स्मृतिच. I. p. 88.

1521. सूर्याभ्युदितो ब्रह्मचारी तिष्ठेदहरभुञ्जानोऽभ्यस्तमितश्च रात्रिं जपन् सावित्रीम्। गौ. 23. 21 ; 'स्वपन्नभिनिर्मुक्तो नाश्नीयात् वाग्यतो रात्रिमासीत श्वोभूत उदकमुपस्पृश्य वाचं विसृजेत्। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 12. 13; वयः सुपर्णा इत्येतां जपन्वै विन्दते श्रियम्। इत्युपक्रम्य-अक्षिणी प्रातरुत्थाय विमृजीतैतया सह। चक्षुष्मान्भवति श्रीमानलक्ष्मीः प्रतिबाधते। इति ऋग्विधाने उक्तम्। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 19 ; वयः सुपर्णा is Ṛg. X. 73. 11. This verse is explained in निरुक्त IV. 3.

1522. ब्रह्मा मुरारिस्त्रिपुरान्तकारी भानुः शशी भूमिसुतो बुधश्च। गुरुश्च शुक्रः शनि-राहुकेतवः कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम्॥. This is वामनपुराण 14. 23. These five are quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 16, आचारमयूख p. 6, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 210 (where they are ascribed to दक्ष).

old people. Some works say that he who repeats the four verses called Bhāratasāvitrī in the morning obtains the reward of hearing the whole Mahābhārata and attains the highest Brahma.[1523] The Āhnikatattva (p. 327) quotes a verse to be repeated on getting up from bed in which the serpent Karkoṭaka, Damayantī, kings Nala and Ṛtuparṇa are remembered for removing the effects of Kali,[1524] and the Smṛtimuktāphala quotes a verse about Nala, Yudhiṣṭhira, Sītā and Kṛṣṇa as *puṇyaśloka* (singing of whose glory is holy)[1525]. The Ācāraratna (p. 10 a) states that one should repeat the names of certain famous and long-lived (cirajīvins) personages viz. Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanūmān, Bibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa, Paraśurāma and Mārkaṇḍeya and also the names of five holy women, Ahalyā, Draupadī, Sītā, Tārā and Mandodarī. Even now old men brought up in the orthodox ways repeat these names on getting up.

In some works it is said that if on getting up a man sees a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda, a lady whose husband is living, a cow, an altar where fire is kindled, he becomes free from adversities and that if a man sees on getting up in the morning a very sinful man, a widow, an untouchable, one naked, one whose nose is cut off, that is an indication of *kali* (misfortune or strife).[1526] Parāśara XII. 47 says that one who has built the fire altar (for Vedic sacrifices), a dark-brown cow, one who is engaged in a *sattra* (or performed it), the king, an ascetic, the ocean—these purify a man the moment they are seen, so one should see them always.

Then the next act is to answer the calls of nature. Very detailed rules are laid down about these even in the most ancient sūtras and smṛtis. Many of the rules are simply hygienic, but as religion, rules of law, of morality, of health and

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1523. Vide नित्याचारपद्धति pp. 15–16, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 21. These verses viz. महाभारत, स्वर्गारोहणिक पर्व 5. 60–63, are called भारतसावित्री (in verse 64). Their first pādas are मातापितृसहस्राणि, हर्षस्थानसहस्राणि, ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष, न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभात्.

1524. कर्कोटकस्य नागस्य दमयन्त्या नलस्य च । ऋतुपर्णस्य राजर्षेः कीर्तनं कलिनाशनम् ॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 79. 10, quoted in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327 and स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 211.

1525. पुण्यश्लोको नलो राजा पुण्यश्लोको युधिष्ठिरः । पुण्यश्लोका च वैदेही पुण्यश्लोको जनार्दनः ॥ quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 210), आचारमयूख p. 6.

1526. These verses are from गोभिलस्मृति II. 163 and 165 (called कर्मप्रदीप also) quoted in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327, आह्निकप्र. p. 22, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 211. I read पापिष्ठं दुर्भगामन्त्यं (and not मद्यं or मर्त्यं as these do).

hygiene are mixed up in the ancient works, they are given in works on dharma. Even in the Atharvaveda (XIII. 1. 56) it[1527] is said 'I cut off thy root who kick a cow with the foot or who urinate opposite the sun (facing the sun); thou shall not further cast a shadow.' Urinating while standing seems to have been condemned in the time of the Atharvaveda; *vide* VII. 102 (107). 1 'I shall urinate standing erect; let not the lords harm me.' Gaut. IX. 13, 15, 37–43, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 15–30 and I. 11. 31. 1–3, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 10–19 and XII. 11–13, Manu IV. 45–52, 56, 151, Yāj. I. 16–17, 134, 154, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 1–26, Śaṅkha,[1528] Vāyupurāṇa 78. 59–64 and 79. 25–31, Vāmanapurāṇa 14. 30–32 may be summarised as follows: one should not void urine or ordure on the road, on ashes, on cow-dung, in ploughed or sown fields, under the shade of trees, in rivers or water, on grassy or beautiful spots, on bricks made ready for erecting altars, on mountain-tops, near dilapidated shrines or cowpens, on ant-hills, in cemeteries or in holes, on threshing floors, on sandy shores. Nor should one answer calls of nature looking at or facing fire, the sun, the moon, a brāhmaṇa, water, the image of some god, cow, wind. Nor should one do these acts on the bare ground, but on ground covered with dry twigs or leaves or grass or loose earth. One should cover one's head and should face the north by day or when there is twilight and face the south at night, but when there is a danger one may face any direction. One should not urinate while standing or walking (Manu. IV. 47) nor should one speak while doing so.[1529] One should answer calls of nature away from a human habitation towards the south or south-west. Manu V. 126 and Yāj. I. 17 prescribe that, after answering calls of nature, one should perform cleansing the parts with water held in a pot and lumps of earth to such an extent that no smell or filth will stick. According to Manu V. 136 and 137 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 25–26 one lump of earth is to be applied to the penis, three to the arms, ten to the left hand

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1527. यश्च गां पदा स्फुरति प्रत्यङ् सूर्यं च मेहति। तस्य वृश्चामि ते मूलं न च्छायां करवोऽपरम् ॥ अथर्व XIII. 1. 56; मेक्ष्याम्यूर्ध्वस्तिष्ठन्मा मा हिंसिषुरीश्वराः ॥ अथर्व VII. 102 (107). 1.

1528. न गोमयकृष्टोप्तशाद्वलचितिश्मशान-वल्मीक-वर्त्मखलगोष्ठबिलपर्वतपुलिनेषु मेहेत भूताधारत्वात्। शङ्ख quoted in मिता० on या. I. 134.

1529. उच्चारे मैथुने चैव प्रस्रावे दन्तधावने। स्नाने भोजनकाले च षट्सु मौनं समाचरेत् ॥ हारीत quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 26. This is लघुहारीत verse 40; अत्रि 323 is पुरीषे मैथुने होमे प्रस्रावे दन्तधावने। स्नानभोजनजप्येषु सदा मौनं समाचरेत् ॥

and seven to both hands, three to both feet together. This is the extent of *śauca* required for householders, and for brahmacārin, forest hermit and saṁnyāsin, twice, thrice and four times as much is required. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 17 remarks that for all āśramas the cleansing required is only as much as will remove foul smell and filth and the several numbers of lumps of earth prescribed in different smṛtis are only precribed for unseen (or spiritual) results. Gaut. I. 45–46, Vas. III. 48 and Manu V. 134 say that cleansing of the body is to be so effected first with water and then with earth that foul smell and filth will be totally removed. Devala (quoted in the Gṛ. R. p. 147) says that respectable people do not emphasize the number of times mentioned in the smṛtis, but they say that cleansing should be carried on till one feels that it is all right.[1530] The Smṛtyarthasāra[1531] (p. 19) following Dakṣa V. 12 says that at night only half of the *śauca* prescribed for the day is required, only one-fourth of it is prescribed for the ailing and only one-eighth when a man is on a journey and that no special number of lumps of earth are prescribed for women, śūdras, boys whose upanayana has not been performed. In cleansing one is not to employ stones, clods of earth, and green twigs cut off for the purpose from herbs and trees (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 30, Gaut. IX. 15) nor is one to use earth from inside a river or water reservoir or from a temple, from an ant-hill or from the hiding places of rats or from dung-hills or what is left after being used for a prior cleansing (Vas. Dh. S. VI. 17) nor what is taken from a road or cemetery, nor should one use earth that has worms, coals, or bones or gravel in it. Dakṣa V. 7 prescribes that for the first time as much earth as will fill half of the outstretched hand and for the second time half of that is to be taken and so on.[1532] The lump of earth should not be bigger than a myrobalan fruit (Kūrmapurāṇa in Sm. C. I. p. 182). One is not to answer calls of nature with the shoes on (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 18) and one's *yajñopavīta* should be suspended from the right ear or he should throw it on his

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1530. यावत्साध्विति मन्येत तावच्छौचं विधीयते । प्रमाणं शौचसंख्यायां न शिष्टैरुपदिश्यते ॥ देवल in गृह. र. p. 147 and स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 93.

1531. Vide विश्वरूप on या. I. 17 वल्मीकाखूत्करोत्था वा जलात् पथि कृता च या । कृतशौचावशिष्टा च बहुभिः शौचं न विद्यते ॥, also मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 65–66, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 19.

1532. अर्धप्रसृतिमात्रा तु प्रथमा मृत्तिका स्मृता । द्वितीया च तृतीया च तदर्धार्धा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ दक्ष V. 7. The first half is quoted even by विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

back in the *nivīta* form.[1533] According to Yāj. I. 16 the *yajñopavīta* should be suspended from the right ear only. Vanaparva 59. 2 describes that *kali* (the principle of evil and strife) entered Nala when the latter did not wash his feet after urinating.

This cleansing of the body in the morning is only a part of general *śauca*. Śauca is according to Gaut. VIII. 24 one of the ātmaguṇas. Even the Ṛg. (in VII. 56. 12 and other verses) appears to emphasize cleanliness (śucitva).[1534] According to Hārīta 'śauca is the first path to *dharma*, it is the resting place of brahma (Veda), the abode of śrī (prosperity), the means of clearing (or soothing) the mind, the favourite of gods, the means of realizing the *Ātman* and the awakener of intelligence.'[1535] According to Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 26, Hārīta, Dakṣa V. 3 and Vyāghrapāda (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 93) śauca is of two kinds,[1536] *bāhya* (outward) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (inward), the first being effected by water and loose earth and the latter is the purity of one's sentiments. Hārīta divides the first into three, that of kula (being free from impurity due to birth or death in the family), of artha (i. e. of the vessels and things to be used in all matters) and of *śarīra* (of one's body); Hārīta divides ābhyantara into five, mānasa (mental), cākṣuṣa (of the eye i. e. not looking at things that should not be looked at), ghrāṇya (of the nose), vācya (of speech), svādya (of the tongue). According to a verse quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 24 śauca is of four kinds, viz. of dravya (the vessels and things employed by one), of the mind, of speech and of the body. Vṛddha-Gautama (Jīvānanda p. 632) speaks of five kinds of śauca viz. of the mind, of actions, of kula (family), of the body and of speech. According to Manu V. 135, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 81, Atri v. 31 and others there are twelve *malas* (filthy exudations or impurities) of the human body, viz. fat, semen, blood, marrow, urine, fæces, mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears,

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1533. अङ्गिरा अपि । कृत्वा यज्ञोपवीतं तु पृष्ठतः कण्ठलम्बितम् । विण्मूत्रं तु गृही कुर्याद् यद्वा कर्णे समाहितः । कर्णे निधानमेकवस्त्रविषयम् । तथा च सांख्यायनगृह्यम् । यद्येकवस्त्रो यज्ञोपवीतं कर्णे कृत्वा मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गं कुर्यात् इति । स्मृतिच. I. p. 89. Vide शाङ्खायनगृह्य IV. 12. 22 (S. B. E. vol 29 p. 126).

1534. शुची वो हव्या मरुतः शुचीनां शुचिं हिनोम्यध्वरं शुचिभ्यः । ऋतेन सत्यमृतसाप आयञ्छुचिजन्मानः शुचयः पावकाः ॥ ऋ. VII. 56. 12.

1535. तत्र हारीतः । शौचं नाम धर्मादिपथो ब्रह्मायतनं श्रियोधिवासो मनसः प्रसादनं देवानां प्रियं शरीरे क्षेत्रदर्शनं बुद्धिप्रबोधनम् । गृह. र. p. 522.

1536. शौचं च द्विविधं प्रोक्तं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं तथा । मृज्जलाभ्यां स्मृतं बाह्यं भावशुद्धिस्तथान्तरम् ॥ दक्ष V. 3 and व्याघ्रपाद.

rheum of eyes, sweat; and the first six of these are removed by water and earth and the latter six by water (Atri v. 32).

After preforming śauca one has to rinse the mouth with twelve mouthfuls (gaṇḍūṣa) of water (vide Smṛtimuktāphala, āhnika p. 220). When one finishes the purification of the body by washing the hands and feet and by rinsing the mouth one has to engage in *ācamana.*[1537] A good deal has been said about ācamana above (pp. 315-316) under upanayana. Ācamana (sipping water) is to be done after tying the top-knot and tucking up the garment from behind; the water is to be poured in the hollowed palm of the hand in such a quantity that a grain of māṣa (bean) will be plunged in it and the three fingers except the thumb and the small one are to be joined together and the water is to be drunk from that part of the hand which is called *brāhma tīrtha* describ-ed above (n. 750). The word *tīrtha* means that part of the right hand by which water is taken in or poured in religious rites and the parts are given the names of deities for lauding them, as Viśva-rūpa says.[1538] In most smṛtis their number is four, viz. prājāpatya or kāya, pitrya, brāhma, and daiva (for example in Manu II. 59, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 62. 1-4, Yāj. I. 19, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 103-109, Dakṣa II. 18). Some works like the Śāṭyāyanakalpa and Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 19 name five tīrthas viz. daiva (when a brāhmaṇa faces the east, the front part of his hand), pitrya (the right portion of the right hand), brāhma (the portion of the hand opposite the fingers), prājāpatya (the portion of the hand near the small finger) and pārameṣṭhya (the centre of the right palm). The Pār. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa names the above five, except that it substitutes the name āgneya for pārameṣṭhya. The Śaṅkha-smṛti (in verse, X. 1-2) distinguishes kāya and prājāpatya and omits the name of brāhma altogether which is called prājāpatya by it. Vaik. I. 5 has six, the usual four, the fifth being āgneya (centre of the palm) and the sixth being *ārṣa* (the roots and tips of all fingers together). According to some, *daiva tīrtha* means the tips of the fingers and the centre of the palm is either saumya or āgneya. According to Hārīta the

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1537. तत्र हस्तौ पादौ प्रक्षाल्य यज्ञोपवीती शुद्धभूमौ पादौ प्रतिष्ठाप्य बद्धकच्छशिखः पुण्डरीकाक्षमिष्टदेवतां स्मृत्वा प्रकृतिस्थं फेनबुद्बुदरहितं संहताङ्गुलिपाणिनाऽम्बु गृहीत्वाऽङ्गुष्ठकनिष्ठिके मुक्त्वा शेषं वीक्षितं ब्राह्मतीर्थेन त्रिश्चतुर्वारं समाहितः पिबेत्। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 20.

1538. तीर्थमिति च दक्षिणहस्तेऽवतारप्रदेशनामधेयम्। लोकेप्युदकावतारे तीर्थशब्दः प्रसिद्धः। तानि च विशेषकार्योपयिकत्वात् स्तुत्यर्थं देवताभिराख्यायन्ते। विश्वरूप on या. I. 19.

daiva [1539] tīrtha is to be used in mārjana, worship of gods, offering of *bali* and in *bhojana*; the kāya tīrtha is to be employed in lāja-homa (homa of fried grain) and daily homa, the pitrya in all rites for dead ancestors. Touching the kamaṇḍalu (water jar), eating curds and fresh products of the fields (navānna) are to be done with the saumya tīrtha (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 20). When there is difficulty of getting water and an occasion for purification by ācamana arises, one should touch one's right [1540] ear. Very elaborate rules are laid down in the digests on the subject of ācamana (e. g. Sm. C. I. pp. 95–104), Smṛtimuktāphala, Āhnika-prakāśa pp. 221–240, Āhnika-tattva pp. 333–344. Gṛ. R. pp. 150–172 &c., which have to be all passed over for want of space. One matter to be noticed is that according to the Āpastamba-smṛti (in verse) the procedure of ācamana is of four kinds, viz. paurāṇika (in which each sipping of water is accompanied by the names, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava &c.); smārta (as laid down in the smṛtis like Manu II. 60 ff), āgama (i. e. taught in the sacred books of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarians) and śrauta (laid down in the Śrautasūtras for Vedic sacrifices [1541]). The first of these four is the method usually followed now by most brāhmaṇas.

Danta-dhāvana (brushing the teeth).

Danta-dhāvana comes after śauca and ācamana and before snāna (bath). *Vide* Yāj. I. 98 and Dakṣa II. 6. The practice of daily danta-dhāvana has existed in India from the most ancient times. The Tai. S. [1542] (II. 5. 1. 7) when enumerating the actions which a *rajasvalā* (a woman in her monthly period) was to avoid mentions *dantadhāvana* among them and remarks that if she indulges in it during that period, she gives birth to a son whose teeth are naturally black. Dantadhāvana is an independent act by itself performed for rendering the body (here the mouth) clean and it is not an aṅga (a subordinate

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1539. तत्र हारीतः। मार्जनार्चनबलिकर्मभोजनानि दैवेन तीर्थेन कुर्यात्। इति। दैवं तीर्थमङ्गुल्यग्रम्। स्मृतिच. I. p. 226.

1540. आपत्सु नैमित्तिककर्माङ्गाचमनस्थाने श्रवणस्पर्शनं स्यान्मनःशुद्ध्यर्थम्। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 21.

1541. आपस्तम्बस्मृतौ। आद्यौ पौराणिकं प्रोक्तं स्मार्तमागममेव च। श्रौतं चतुर्विधं प्राहुराचामं ब्रह्मवादिनः॥ अच्युताद्यैः समाचामेत्केशवाद्यैस्तु नामभिः। अङ्गानां स्पर्शनं कुर्यादेतत्पौराणिकं मतम्॥ स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 221.

1542. या दतो धावते तस्यै श्यावदन्। तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 7.

constituent part) of bath or morning prayer.[1543] Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 5 forbids[1544] one who has returned from his teacher's home after finishing his studies to engage in the sight of his teacher in such acts of pleasure as cleansing the teeth, shampooing the body and combing the hair and also forbids the study of the Veda while such actions are going on (*ibid.* I. 3. 11. 10–12).[1545] The brahmacārin was not to engage in the leisurely actions of brushing the teeth (but was to rinse his mouth) according to Gaut. II. 19 and Vas. Dh. S. VII. 15.

In dantadhāvana one has to take the twig (with its bark) of certain trees, crush the end of the twig with his teeth so as to make a brush of it and then to cleanse his teeth with the brush-like end. According to Gobhilasmṛti[1546] (which is also called Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa in some works) if a man only rinses his mouth with river water or at home, he has not to repeat a mantra, but if he uses a twig he has to repeat a mantra 'Oh tree, bestow on me long life, strength, fame, brilliance, offspring, cattle, wealth, brahma (Veda), memory and intelligence.' In the Pār. gṛ. II. 6 and Āp. gṛ. 12. 6 brushing of the teeth with an *udumbara* twig is prescribed in Samāvartana with a mantra 'may you be ready for food; here comes the king Soma; may he clean my mouth with glory and good luck.'[1547] Therefore the same mantra is to be employed every day after samāvartana. In some of the digests (like the Āhnikaprakāśa

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1543. अत्र संध्यायां स्नाने च दन्तधावनस्य नाङ्गत्वम्। मुखे पर्युषिते नित्यं भवत्यप्रयतो नरः। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम्॥ इति वृद्धशातातपवचनेन स्वतन्त्रस्यैव शुद्धिहेतुतयाभिधानात्। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 121; the verse मुखे पर्युषिते is लघुशातातप 74.

1544. स्वैरिकर्मसु च यथा दन्तप्रक्षालनोत्सादनावलेखनानीति। आप. ध. I. 2. 8. 4–5; vide आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 10–11 for the same words followed by तावन्तं कालं नाधीयीताध्यापयेद्वा.

1545. खट्वाशयनदन्तधावनप्रक्षालनाञ्जनाभ्यञ्जनोपानच्छत्रवर्जी। वसिष्ठ VII. 15.

1546. दन्तान् प्रक्षाल्य नद्यादौ गृहे चेत्तदमन्त्रवत्। नारद्यायुक्तवार्क्षे यदष्टाङ्गुलमपाटितम्। सत्वचं दन्तकाष्ठं स्यात्तदग्रेण प्रधावयेत्॥ ...... परिजप्य च मन्त्रेण भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम्॥ आयुर्बलं यशो वर्चः प्रजां पशून् वसूनि च। ब्रह्म प्रज्ञां च मेधां च त्वं नो देहि वनस्पते॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 137–140. This मन्त्र is quoted by the मिता० on याज्ञ. I. 98 and by almost all digests on धर्मशास्त्र.

1547. औदुम्बरेण दन्तान्धावेत। अन्नाद्याय व्यूहध्वं सोमो राजायमागमत्। स मे मुखं प्रमार्क्ष्यते यशसा च भगेन च। इति। ...... दन्तप्रक्षालनादीनि नित्यम्। पारस्कर II. 6. The मन्त्र 'अन्नाद्याय' occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 7. 19 with variations. सोम is the king of plants and hence the udumbara twig is called 'this king Soma'.

pp. 121–122) it is stated that that mantra may be employed by the students of the Śukla Yajurveda, while those who study the Gobhila gṛhya may use the mantra 'āyurbalam &c'.

Very detailed rules are laid down about the length of the twig, about the trees the twigs of which are allowed or forbidden, about the days or occasions or times on which there is to be no dantadhāvana. A few of these details are given below. Trees having thorns on their trunk or from which a milky fluid oozes out when a twig is broken off are allowed and so are vaṭa, asana, arka, khadira, karañja, badara, sarja, nimba, arimeda, apāmārga, mālatī, kakubha, bilva, āmra (mango), punnāga, śirīṣa and further the twig must be astringent, pungent or bitter in taste and not sweet or sour.[1548] Vide Bṛhat-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira chap. 85, Laghu-Hārīta (Jīvānanda part I. p. 183), Laghu-Vyāsa I. 17–18, Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 58. 47. Before the advent of the modern dentrifrices people in India followed these directions and even now many even in the cities still follow them and brush their teeth with twigs of various trees. Among the trees which are not to be used for danta-dhāvana are palāśa,[1549] ślesmātaka, ariṣṭa, vibhītaka, dhava, bandhūka, nirguḍī, śigru, tilva, tinduka, inguda, guggulu, śamī, pīlu, pippala, kovidāra &c. (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 1–5). The twig may be undried or dried, but one dried on the tree itself is not to be taken (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 8, Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 58. 46). One must brush the teeth facing north or east, but not west or south (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 12–13). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (61. 16–17) prescribes that the twig should be as big as the end of one's small finger and twelve *aṅgulas* in length and it should be washed before its use and after using it it should not be cast off in an impure place. There are various opinions about the length of the twig employed. The Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa (58. 49. 50) says that it may be of eight aṅgulas in length or a

1548. वटासनार्कखदिरकरञ्जबदरसर्जनिम्बारिमेदापामार्गमालतीककुभबिल्वानामन्यतमम् । कषायं तिक्तं कटुकं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 14–15; आम्रपालाशबिल्वानामपामार्गशिरीषयोः । खादिरस्य करञ्जस्य कदम्बस्य तथैव च ॥ अर्कस्य करवीरस्य कुटजस्य विशेषतः ॥ वाग्यतः प्रातरुत्थाय भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ माण्डूकीशिक्षा of अथर्ववेद (ed. by Bhagavad-datta, Lahore) IV. 1–2; सर्वे कण्टकिनः पुण्याः क्षीरिणश्च यशस्विनः । नारद; आम्रपुन्नाग-बिल्वानामपामार्गशिरीषयोः । भक्षयेत् प्रातरुत्थाय वाग्यतो दन्तधावनम् । अङ्गिरस्. All these are quoted in the स्मृतिच० I. pp. 105–106 and other digests. 'सर्वे कण्टकिनः ... ... यशस्विनः' is नृसिंहपुराण 58. 49.

1549. पालाशमासनं पादुके दन्तधावनमिति च वर्जयेत् । गौतम IX. 44, आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 32. 9 (reads दन्तप्रक्षालनं), वसिष्ठ XII. 34., बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 30.

span in length (prādeśa); Garga (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 105) says that the twig should be 10, 9, 8, 7 or 4 aṅgulas in length respectively for the four varṇas and women. One was not to cleanse one's teeth with pieces of brick or with clods of earth or with stones or with the bare fingers (except the thumb and the finger next to the small finger). [1550]

According to Laghu-Hārīta (Jivānanda I. p. 183) and Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 58. 50-52 there is to be no brushing of the teeth with a twig on the 1st *tithi*, the parva tithis (i. e. new moon, full moon, 8th day, 14th day and the day on which the Sun enters a new zodiacal sign, according to Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 11. 118), on the 6th tithi and 9th tithi and on those days when twigs are not available one may rinse one's mouth with twelve mouthfuls of water [1551]. Paiṭhīnasi (quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 106) says 'one may brush one's teeth with grass, leaves and water and with the fingers except the 4th finger.' One may also cleanse with mouthfuls of water when one has no teeth (Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 127). One may also rub one's tongue with these or with a twig on the days on which it is allowed. There is to be no dantadhāvana on śrāddha day (for the performer), on the day of a sacrifice, when one is observing *niyama*, when the husband has gone to another country, when there is indigestion, on marriage day, on a fast or a vrata (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 25). Viṣṇu [1552] Dh. S. 61. 16 prescribes dantadhāvana not only in the morning but also after taking one's meal. This, as stated by Devala, is intended for removing particles of food sticking to the teeth or the gums.

Snāna.—After dantadhāvana comes snāna. As ācamana, snāna (bath), japa (muttering of holy Vedic texts), homa and

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1550. यदाह वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः । इष्टकालोष्ठपाषाणैरितराङ्गुलिभिस्तथा । मुक्त्वा चानामिकाङ्गुष्ठौ न कुर्याद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 106 ; vide लघुशातातप v. 73.

1551. प्रतिपत्पर्वषष्ठीषु नवम्यां चैव सत्तमाः । दन्तानां काष्ठसंयोगाद्दहत्या सप्तमं कुलम् ॥ अभावे दन्तकाष्ठानां प्रतिषिद्धदिनेषु च । अपां द्वादशगण्डूषैर्मुखशुद्धिं समाचरेत् । लघुहारीत, नृसिंहपुराण 58. 50–52 ; vide लघ्वाश्वलायन I. 14–15, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25 ; अनुशासन 127. 4 condemns the use of a twig on the new moon day.

1552. प्रातर्भुक्त्वा च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 16; एतेन प्रातःकाले भोजनोत्तरं दन्तलग्ननिर्हरणार्थं भोजने दन्तलग्नानि निर्हृत्याचमनं चरेदिति देवलस्वरसासिद्धमपि दन्तधावनं कार्यम् । आह्निकप्र. p. 125. The अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह I. 3 also recommends this ' प्रातर्भुक्त्वा च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥. Vide Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 52 (for 1932) p. 163 ff for references to the twigs used for brushing teeth from ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien's 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' (Legge p. 54) for the dantakāṣṭha of Buddha.

other rites are to be performed after holding kuśa grass in the right hand some remarks must be offered on kuśas. The Kūrmapurāṇa says 'whatever action is done without darbha or without yajñopavīta, it becomes useless and brings no reward here or in the next world' (quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara p. 47). Śātātapa[1553] says 'in japa, homa, dāna, svādhyāya (study of the Veda) or in pitṛtarpaṇa one should have in his hand gold, silver and kuśas'. One should have at the time of ācamana &c. a pavitra (a ring-like loop) of *darbhas* in his right hand or in both his hands on the finger next to the small one or have kuśa in his right hand. There were several views about wearing a *pavitra* or darbhas, as stated in note 1553. The darbha grass is to be collected on the *darśa* day (new moon) in the month of Śrāvaṇa and the darbhas so collected are never stale and may be used again and again[1554]. The *pavitra* of the four varṇas should be made with 4 darbhas or with 3, 2, or 1 respectively or it should be made with two darbhas for all (Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 36-37). Those darbha blades from which no further blades shoot forth are called simply darbhas, blades from which fresh ones sprout forth are called kuśas, blades with their roots are called kutapas and those the tips of which are cut off are called *tṛṇa*[1555] (grass). The darbha grass growing in a field of sesame and having seven blades is very auspicious.

The darbhas to be used in yajñas should be green in colour, yellowish for use in *pākayajñas*, they should be with roots when used in rites for the pitṛs and variegated when used in vaiśvadeva. Those darbhas that were held in the hand at the time of offering piṇḍas to the dead or in śrāddhas or in pitṛtarpaṇa or at the time of urination or voiding fæces should be thrown away (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 37). If kuśa grass is not available, then kāśa or dūrvā may be employed instead.

1553. शातातपः । जपे होमे तथा दाने स्वाध्याये पितृतर्पणे । अशून्यं तु करं कुर्यात्सुवर्णरजतैः कुशैः ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 108 ; vide स्मृत्यर्थसार for a similar verse. अत्र चत्वारः पक्षाः । हस्तद्वये दर्भधारणम् । हस्तद्वये पवित्रधारणं दक्षिणे पवित्रं वामे कुशा दक्षिण एवोभयमिति ।. आचाररत्न p. 24 b. Vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 28 quoted by अपरार्क pp. 43 and 480.

1554. मासे नभस्यमावास्या तस्यां दर्भोच्चयो मतः । अयातयामास्ते दर्भा नियोज्याः स्युः पुनः पुनः ॥ हारीत quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 107. Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 36, लिखितस्मृति v. 41, मरीचि quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 67.

1555. अप्रसूताः स्मृता दर्भाः प्रसूतास्तु कुशाः स्मृताः । समूलाः कुतपाः प्रोक्ताश्छिन्नाग्रास्तृणसंज्ञिताः ॥ वृद्धहारीत VII. 44 ; this is quoted as कौशिक's in स्मृतिच० I p. 108.) and as of कात्यायन in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 231.)

The subject of snāna can be treated from various points of view. Snāna [1556] is either *mukhya* (principal) or *gauṇa* (secondary), the first being a bath with water and the second being without water. Each of these is again subdivided into various kinds. According to Dakṣa II. 48 snāna is nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be performed on certain occasions), and kāmya (to be performed only if one desires certain rewards). All the varṇas [1557] have to bathe in or with water every day the whole body together with the head also (Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 4, Manu II. 176 and IV. 82) and *dvijātis* have to do it with Vedic mantras. This is *nitya*. This [1558] is required to be done, because a man who has not bathed is not entitled to perform homa, japa and other rites (Śaṅkha VIII. 2, Dakṣa II. 9). The body is dirty and from it ooze various exudations day and night and a bath in the morning cleanses and purifies the body. In this way snāna has seen and unseen (i. e. spiritual) results [1559].

Some works (Yāj. I. 95, 100, Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 16, 75, Dakṣa II. 9 and 43 &c.), prescribe two baths a day for brāhmaṇa house-holders, one before day-break and another at noon. There is only one bath a day for brahmacārins, two for forest hermits (Manu VI. 6). According to Manu VI. 22 and Yāj. III. 48 the forest hermit has to bathe thrice (in the morning, at noon and in the evening) and a *yati* has also to bathe thrice [1560]. Though even now some orthodox brāhmaṇa householders do perform two baths a day, the usual rule for all Hindus (including even the so-called untouchables) is to bathe once a day, which also has

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1556. स्नानं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं गाणमुख्यप्रभेदतः । तयोस्तु वारुणं मुख्यं तत्पुनः षड्विधं भवेत् ॥ नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं क्रियाङ्गं मलकर्षणम् । क्रियास्नानं तथा षष्ठं षोढा स्नानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 127, मद्. पा. 236, स्मृतिच० I. p. 110, गृह. र. pp. 200–201, परा. मा. I. 1. p. 268. The 2nd verse is शङ्खस्मृति VIII. 1.

1557. अपोवगाहनं स्नानं विहितं सार्ववर्णिकम् । मन्त्रवत्प्रोक्षणं चापि द्विजातीनां विशिष्यते ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 4 ; स्नानं च सर्ववर्णानां कार्यं शौचपुरःसरम् । समन्त्रकं द्विजानां स्यात्स्त्रीशूद्राणाममन्त्रकम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 26.

1558. अस्नातस्तु पुमान्नार्हो जप्याग्निहवनादिषु । प्रातःस्नानं तदर्थं च नित्यस्नानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ शङ्ख VIII. 2 quoted in अपरार्क p. 127.

1559. अत्यन्तमलिनः कायो नवच्छिद्रसमन्वितः । स्रवत्येष दिवा रात्रौ प्रातःस्नानं विशोधनम् ॥ प्रातःस्नानं प्रशंसन्ति दृष्टादृष्टकरं हि तत् । सर्वमर्हति शुद्धात्मा प्रातःस्नायी जपादिकम् ॥ दक्ष II. 7 and 9 quoted in अपरार्क p. 125 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 111.

1560. प्रातर्मध्याह्नयोः स्नानं वानप्रस्थगृहस्थयोः । यतेस्त्रिषवणं प्रोक्तं सकृत्तु ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ दक्ष quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 181 and स्मृत्यर्थसार. p. 26 ; उभे संध्ये तु स्नातव्यं ब्राह्मणैस्तु गृहाश्रितैः । तिसृष्वपि च संध्यासु स्नातव्यं च तपस्विभिः ॥ योगियाज्ञवल्क्य quoted in गृह. र. p. 191.

been the general rule for centuries (vide Smṛtyarthasāra p. 26 'sarve vāpi sakṛt kuryur). Snāna is usually done now before noon, that in the early morning being done only by a *yati*, one observing a *vrata*, a brahmacārin, sacrificial priests, students of the Veda and those engaged in austerities (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 27). The morning bath is to be taken immediately after brushing the teeth before day-break when one sees the eastern direction lit up by the morning rays of the rising sun (Viṣṇu [1561] Dh. S. 64. 8). Gobhila-smṛti (II. 24) says that [1562] one should not lengthen out the process of taking the morning bath (by repeating too many mantras) as it would come in the way of performing the morning homa at the proper time, which is between the first appearance of light and the sun's reaching about one cubit above the eastern horizon (Gobhila I. 122–123). *Vide* Manu II. 15 also. The mādhyāhna (midday) bath is to be performed in the fourth part of the day-time divided into eight parts (Dakṣa II. 43, Laghu-Vyāsa II. 9) and one has to bring together loose earth, cow-dung, flowers, whole rice grains, kuśas, sesame and sandalwood paste [1563]. This midday bath is not to be performed by one who is ill. The third bath (in the case of forest hermits and yatis) is to be performed before sunset, but not after sun-set or at night. No bathing is allowed for any one at night except when there is an eclipse or the sun passes into the zodiacal signs of Cancer and Capricorn (at night), a marriage, a birth or death or when a *vrata* is undertaken with some object [1564]. Night means specially the two middle watches (Manu IV. 129, Kullūka thereon and Parāśara XII. 27).

1561. प्रातःस्नाय्यरुणकिरणग्रस्तां प्राचीमवलोक्य स्नायात् । विष्णुध. सू. 64. 8; उषस्युषसि यत्स्नानं संध्यायामुदितेऽपि वा । प्राजापत्येन तत्तुल्यं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत ।; both quoted by the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 111.

1562. अल्पत्वाद्धोमकालस्य बहुत्वात्स्नानकर्मणः । प्रातर्न तनुयात्स्नानं होमलोपी विगर्हितः ॥ गोभिल II. 24, quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 111.

1563. चतुर्थेऽह्नस्तथा भागे स्नानार्थं मृदमाहरेत् । तिलपुष्पकुशादींश्च स्नायाच्चाकृत्रिमे जले ॥ दक्ष II. 43 ; ततो मध्याह्नसमये स्नानार्थं मृदमाहरेत् । पुष्पाक्षतान्कुशतिलान् गोमयं गन्धमेव च ॥ लघुव्यास II. 9 (Jivānanda, part 2). The first is quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 181 and by अपरार्क p. 128 and the 2nd in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 269.

1564. अस्तमिते च स्नानम् (वर्जयेत्) ॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 32. 8, बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 29 ; राहुदर्शनसंक्रान्तिविवाहात्ययवृद्धिषु । स्नानदानादिकं कुर्युर्निशि काम्यव्रतेषु च ॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क pp. 135, 229, स्मृतिच॰ I. pp. 120, 229; vide पराशर XII. 26 to the same effect.

The obligatory (*nitya*) bath is to be taken with cold water and ordinarily hot water is not allowed. Śaṅkha (VIII. 9–10) says that if one bathes with heated water or in water belonging to another individual, he may effect the cleansing of the body but he would not secure the unseen spiritual result of a bath. Dakṣa II. 64 is to the same effect [1565]. Naimittika and kāmya baths must be performed with cold water, there is an option only as to *nitya* (daily obligatory) bath (Garga quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 123).

Manu IV. 203, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 1–2 and 15–16, Yāj. I. 159, Dakṣa II. 43, Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti III. 7–8, Śaṅkha VIII. 11 and others say that one must daily bathe in natural water, i. e. in rivers, in tanks connected with temples, in lakes, in deep reservoirs and in mountain springs. One should not bathe in water belonging to an individual (i. e. a well or reservoir dug or dammed by him &c.) but if no water is otherwise available one may bathe with such water after removing three or five lumps of clay (from the bottom of the reservoir [1566]) or three or five jars from the well. The idea is that either the private owner would participate in the merit of the bath (as Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 7 remarks) or that the bather incurs a fourth part of the sin of the owner of the water (Manu IV. 201–202). If no such water is available or one is unable to go to a river &c. for a bath one may bathe in the court-yard of one's house with water drawn in a vessel (from a well &c.) till his clothes are wetted. The words 'nadī' and 'garta' (used in Manu IV. 203) are defined as follows: a nadī (river) is one that has a stream of water at least 8000 bows in length, while all other streams are called garta (a pool). As in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada all rivers are full of mud (*rajasvalā* is used in a double sense) one should not bathe in them in those months, except in rivers that

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1565. स्नानं तु वह्नितप्तेन तथैव परवारिणा ॥ शरीरशुद्धिर्विज्ञेया न तु स्नानफलं लभेत् । शङ्ख VIII. 9–10 ; वृथा तप्तोदकं स्नानं वृथा जाप्यमवैदिकम् । वृथा रतमपुत्रस्य वृथा भुक्तमसाक्षिकम् ॥ दक्ष IV. 64. The first is quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 128.

1566. निरुद्धासु न कुर्वीरन्नंशभाक्तत्र सेतुकृत् । तस्मात्परकृतान्सेतून् कूपांश्च परिवर्जयेत् ॥ उद्धृत्य वापि त्रीन्पिण्डान्कुर्यादापत्सु नो सदा । निरुद्धासु तु मृत्पिण्डान्कूपात्त्रीनपघांस्तथा ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 7 and 9. Vide गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 195 for explanation.

directly reach the sea.[1567] But even in these months one may bathe in muddy rivers at the time of upākarma or utsarga, or on the death of a person or on the eclipse of the sun or the moon. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 17 which says that out of water drawn in a pot, water standing in a reservoir, a spring, a river, water in which noble men of the past bathed, Ganges water, each succeeding one is holier than each preceding one for a bath.[1568]

The actual bath is described differently in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests. Gobhila-smṛti (I. 137) says[1569] that the morning bath contains the same procedure as the mid-day bath. The morning bath has to be brief, as already stated, in the case of one who has consecrated the śrauta fires. The procedure of bathing will be indicated by a few brief extracts. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 18–22) says 'having removed[1570] the dirt from his body with water and loose earth, he should plunge in water, he should invoke the water with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3), with the four verses 'hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1–2) and with the verse 'idamāpaḥ pravahata' (Ṛg. I. 23. 22 or X. 9. 8). Then while still plunged in water he should thrice mutter the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. X. 190. 1–3, ṛtam ca satyam &c.) or he may mutter 'tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam' (Ṛg. I. 22. 20) or the Drupadā Sāvitrī verse (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the anuvāka beginning with 'yuñjate mana' (Ṛg. V. 81. 1–5) or the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1–16). 'Having bathed he should, with his garment still wet, perform *tarpaṇa* of gods and Manes while still in the water. But if he has changed his clothes, then he may do it (tarpaṇa) after

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1567. मासद्वयं श्रावणादि सर्वा नद्यो रजस्वलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्वीत वर्जयित्वा समुद्रगाः ॥ धनुःसहस्राण्यष्टौ च गतिर्यासां न विद्यते । न ता नदीशब्दवहा गर्तास्ते परिकीर्तिताः ॥ उपाकर्मणि चोत्सर्गे प्रेतस्नाने तथैव च । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे चैव रजोदोषो न विद्यते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 141–143, quoted by अपरार्क p. 135, स्मृतिच० I. pp. 130–131, गृह. र. 197–198 &c. अपरार्क p. 905 quotes a smṛti that a dhanus is equal to 96 aṅgulas and that 2000 bows are equal to one *krośa*.

1568. उद्धृताद्भूमिष्ठमुदकं पुण्यं स्थावरात्प्रस्रवणं तस्मान्नादेयं तस्मादपि साधुपरिगृहीतं सर्वत एव गाङ्गम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 17.

1569. यथाहनि तथा प्रातर्नित्यं स्नायादनातुरः । दन्तान्प्रक्षाल्य नद्यादौ गृहे चेत्तदमन्त्रवत् ॥ गोभिल 1. 137 ; vide गृह. र. p. 179 for explanation.

1570. मृत्तोयैः कृतमलापकर्षोऽप्सु निमज्यापो हि ष्ठेति तिसृभिर्हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिरिदमापः प्रवहतेति चतुर्थमभिमन्त्रयेत् । ततोऽप्सु निमग्नस्त्रिरघमर्षणं जपेत् । तद्विष्णोः परमं पदमिति वा । द्रुपदां सावित्रीं वा । युञ्जते मन इत्यनुवाकं वा । पुरुषसूक्तं वा । स्नातश्चार्द्रवासा देवपितृतर्पणमम्भःस्थ एव कुर्यात् परिवर्तितवासाश्चेत्तीर्थमुत्तीर्य । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 18–24.

coming out of the water'. Even now many brāhmaṇas mutter the Puruṣasūkta while bathing. Śaṅkha-smṛti (IX) has a brief description of snāna which consists in invoking water, then mārjana with the three verses (āpo hi ṣṭhā), then repeating certain Vedic verses like 'hiraṇya-varṇāḥ', 'śan-no devīr', 'śam na āpaḥ' (Atharvaveda I. 6. 1 and 4) and thrice repeating Aghamarṣaṇa. *Vide* Madanapārijāta pp. 270–271, Gṛ. R. pp. 206–208 and Par. M. I. 1. pp. 274–275 where the whole of Śaṅkha (IX) is quoted. The Snānasūtra [1571] of Kātyāyana says "Now then will be treated the daily obligatory bath in a river and the like. Having fetched loose earth, cowdung, sesame, kuśas and flowers, having approached the water side, having placed (the above) materials on a pure spot, having washed one's hands and feet, holding kuśa blades (or pavitra) in his hand, tying up his top knot and wearing the yajñopavīta, he should perform *ācamana* and invoke the water with the verse 'urum hi' (Ṛg. I. 24. 8 = Vāj. S. 8. 23), stir it (with his thumb) with the verses 'ye te śatam' (*vide* Par. gṛ. I. 2). He should fill his joined hands with water with the verse 'sumitriyā naḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 22) and should cast it on the ground with the verse 'durmitriyā' (Vāj. S. VI. 22) in the direction of his enemy. He should apply loose earth thrice to each of the limbs, viz. the waist, the abdomen, thighs, feet and hands, then perform ācamana, should do obeisance to the water and should smear his body with loose earth. Facing the sun with the verse 'idam viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17 = Vāj. S. 5. 15), he should dive into the water and bathe with the verse 'āpo asmān' (Ṛg. X. 17. 10 = Vāj. S. IV. 2), then raise up his body with the mantra 'ud-id-ābhyaḥ' (Vāj. S. IV. 2), again dip into water and again raise his head out of the water, perform ācamana and smear his body with cowdung with the mantra 'mā nastoke.' (Ṛg. I. 114. 1 = Vāj. S. 16. 16). Then he should bathe with the

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1571. अथातो नित्यस्नानं नद्यादौ । मृद्गोमयकुशतिलसुमनस आहृत्योदकान्तं गत्वा शुचौ देशे स्थाप्य प्रक्षाल्य पाणिपादं कुशोपग्रहो बद्धशिखी यज्ञोपवीत्याचम्योरुं हीति तोयमामन्त्र्यावर्तयेद्ये ते शतमिति । सुमित्रिया न इत्यपोऽञ्जलिनादाय दुर्मित्रिया इति द्वेष्यं प्रति निषिञ्चेत् । कटिं बस्त्यूरुजङ्घे चरणौ करौ मृदा त्रिस्त्रिः प्रक्षाल्याचम्य नमस्योदकमालभेदङ्गानि मृदेदं विष्णुरिति सूर्याभिमुखो निमज्जेदापो अस्मानिति स्नात्वोदिदाभ्य इत्युन्मज्य निमज्योन्मज्याचम्य गोमयेन विलिम्पेन्मा नस्तोक इति । ततोऽभिषिञ्चेदिमं मे वरुणेति चतसृभिर्मापउत्तमं मुञ्चन्त्ववभृथेत्यन्ते चैतन्निमज्योन्मज्याचम्य दर्भैः पावयेदापो हिष्ठेति तिसृभिरिदमापो हविष्मतीर्देवीराप इति द्वाभ्यामपो देवा द्रुपदादिव शन्नो देवीरपां रसमपो देवीः पुनन्तु मेति नवभिश्चित्पतिर्मेत्योंकारेण व्याहृतिभिर्गायत्र्या चादावन्ते चान्तर्जलेऽघमर्षणं त्रिरावर्तयेद् द्रुपदादिवायं गौरिति वा तृचं प्राणायामं वा साशिरसोमिति वा विष्णोर्वा स्मरणम् ॥ कात्यायनीय स्नानसूत्र. गृह. र. (pp. 208–211) quotes this and explains some portion and differs from a Bhāṣya thereon.

four mantras 'imam me Varuṇa' (Vāj. S. 21. 1–4), and with the verses 'mā āpo', 'uduttamam' (Vāj. S. 12. 12), 'muñcantu', (Ṛg. X. 97. 16 = Vāj. S. 12. 90), 'avabhṛtha' (Vāj. S. III. 48). At the end of these mantras he should dive into the water and then rise up out of it, perform ācamana and sprinkle with darbha blades his body with the nine verses, viz. the three beginning with 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3 = Vāj. S. 11. 50–52), 'idam-āpaḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 17), with the two verses 'haviṣmatīr' (Vāj. S. VI. 23) and 'devīrāpaḥ' (Vāj. S. I. 12), 'apo devāḥ' (Vāj. S. X. 1), 'drupadād-iva' (Vaj. S. 20. 20), 'śan-no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12), 'apām rasam' (Vāj. S. 9. 3), 'āpo devīḥ', and 'punantu mā'. Then he should repeat thrice, while diving in water, the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. X. 190. 1–3) preceded by the mantra 'cit patir-mā' (Vāj. S. 4. 4), by the syllable om, by the vyāhṛtis, by the Gāyatrī and followed by the same; or he may repeat the verse 'drupadād-iva' (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the three verses 'āyam gauḥ' (Ṛg. X. 189. 1–3 = Vāj. S. 3. 6) or he should perform prāṇāyāma with the śiras (viz. āpo jyotī raso smṛtam brahma &c. cited above on p. 304 from Tai. Ā. X. 15) or he should repeat simply 'om' thrice or he should only contemplate on Viṣṇu. Having come out of the water, he should put on two washed garments, should wash his hands and thighs with loose earth, should perform ācamana and then prāṇāyāma thrice ".[1572]

Yogi-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka and other works says that when a man is unable to perform the elaborate snāna described by himself and others, he should engage only in this; he should invoke the water, then perform ācamana, then mārjana (sprinkling water on body with kuśa blades) and then snāna and muttering of Aghamarṣaṇa (Ṛg. X. 190.1–3)[1573] thrice. The Gṛ. R. (pp. 215–217) quotes the method of snāna according to the Padmapurāṇa and the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa and remarks that the procedure in the Padmapurāṇa may be observed by all varṇas and by men following all the different Vedic schools (except the Vedic mantras in the case of śūdras). The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 28) also gives a brief procedure of *snāna.*

1572. उत्तीर्य धौते वाससी परिधाय मृदोरू करौ प्रक्षाल्याचम्य त्रिरायम्यासून्। कात्यायनीयस्नानसूत्र 2.

1573 योऽसौ विस्तरतः प्रोक्तः स्नानस्य विधिरुत्तमः। असामर्थ्यान्न कुर्याच्चेत्तत्रायं विधिरुच्यते॥ स्नानमन्तर्जले चैव मार्जनाचमने तथा। जलाभिमन्त्रणं चैव तीर्थस्य परिकल्पनम्॥ अघमर्षणसूक्तेन त्रिरावृत्तेन नित्यशः। स्नानाचरणमित्येतत्समुद्दिष्टं महात्मभिः॥ योगियाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 134, गृह. र. p. 212 (where it is explained).

There are certain rules to be observed when bathing. One was not to bathe naked (Gaut. IX. 61 and Manu IV. 45), nor with all clothes on (but only with the lower garment) nor after taking one's meal (Manu 4. 29); one was not to rub the body in water but outside on the bank, one should not strike the water with one's foot or hand or dash a portion of the water against the rest.[1574]

The earth to be employed (like soap) for cleansing the body was to be obtained from a pure place and not from an[1575] ant-hill or from places infested by mice, nor from under water, nor from the public road, nor from the bottom of a tree, nor from near temples, nor out of what was left by some person after using a portion for his own śauca and is to be invoked with two verses 'aśvakrānte[1576] &c.' Laghu-Hārīta (v. 70–71) says 'earth secured after digging eight aṅgulas from the surface should be used, all earth is pure which is taken from a place not frequented by people and that ten kinds of earth should not be used at the time of bathing' (verses 72–73).

The brahmacārin was not to bathe in a leisurely or sporting manner but to dive in water motionless like a stick.

The Mahābhārata, Dakṣa and others say that ten good consequences follow from snāna viz. strength, beauty, clearness of complexion and voice, (pleasant) touch and odour (of the body), purity, prosperity, delicacy and fine women.[1577]

Bathing with water is divided into six varieties by Śaṅkha smṛti (VIII. 1–11), Agnipurāṇa 155. 3–4 and others, viz. *nitya*, *naimittika*, *kāmya*, *kriyāṅga*, *malāpakarṣaṇa* (or *abhyaṅga-snāna*),

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1574. शङ्खलिखितौ । अनश्नन् अनग्नः स्नायान्नाचमेहेत नोद्धर्षणं कुर्यान्न पादेन पाणिना वा जलमतिहन्यायस्मादापो वै सर्वा देवताः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 191–192; vide वसिष्ठ VI. 36–37 न पादेन पाणिना वा जलमभिहन्यात् । न जलेन जलम् ॥.

1575. मृत्तिकाः सप्त न ग्राह्या वल्मीकान्मूषकस्थलात् । अन्तर्जलाच्च मार्गाच्च वृक्षमूलात्सुरालयात् ॥ परशौचावशिष्टा च श्रेयस्कामैः सदा बुधैः । शुचिदेशात्तु संग्राह्या मृत्तिका स्नानहेतवे ॥ दक्ष II. 44–45. Vide शातातप quoted by गृह. र. p. 188 and परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 271. Vide अत्रि 321–322 for the seven kinds of earth to be avoided.

1576. The verses अश्वक्रान्ते are दक्ष II. 46–47 and occur in तै. आ. X. 1, the मत्स्यपुराण 102. 10–12. Vide स्मृतिच. I. p. 183.

1577. गुणा दश स्नानशीलं भजन्ते बलं रूपं स्वरवर्णप्रशुद्धिः । स्पर्शश्च गन्धश्च विशुद्धता च श्रीः सौकुमार्यं प्रवराश्च नार्यः ॥ उद्योगपर्व 37. 33. दक्ष II. 13 is similar which occurs also in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25.

kriyāsnāna. Nitya snāna (daily bath) has been described above. A few observations are made below on each of the others. On certain occasions or on coming in contact with certain persons or things one has to bathe, although one may have already bathed that day. This is called naimittika (due to some occasion or cause) *snāna.* For example, on the birth of a son, in a sacrifice (at the end), on the passing away of a relative, in eclipses, one has to bathe and even at night [1578] (Parāśara XII. 26 and Devala quoted above). Similarly a man has to bathe with all his clothes on if he touches an outcast (who is guilty of one of the mortal sins), a caṇḍāla, a woman who has recently delivered, a woman in her monthly course, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse or one who has touched another that has come in contact with a corpse or when a man follows a corpse [1579] (Gaut. 14. 28–29, Vas. 4. 38, Manu V. 85 and 103, Yāj. III. 30, Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 24). According to Manu V. 144, Śaṅkha-smṛti VIII. 3, Mārk. purāṇa 34. 82–83, Brahmapurāṇa 113. 79, Parāśara XII. 28, if a man vomits or has many purges (ten or more), if he has a shave or has a bad dream, has had sexual intercourse, if he repairs to a cemetery, or is covered with smoke from a funeral pyre or touches a sacrificial post or a human bone, he has to undergo a bath to purify himself [1580]. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 16 prescribes a bath if a man is bitten by a dog and Gaut. 14. 30 prescribes it even for touching it. If a man touches Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, atheists, dvijātis living by condemned actions and śūdras he should bathe with his clothes [1581] on. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, the Sm. C. I. pp. 117–119 and other digests speak of snāna being necessary on coming in contact with

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1578. पुत्रजन्मनि यज्ञे च तथा चात्ययकर्मणि । राहोश्च दर्शने दानं प्रशस्तं नान्यदा निशि ॥ पराशर XII. 26.

1579. पतितचण्डालसूतिकोदक्याशवस्पृष्टितत्स्पृष्टयुपस्पर्शने सचैलोदकोपस्पर्शनाच्छुध्येत् । शवानुगमने च । गौ. 14. 28–29 ; सपिण्डमरणे चैव पुत्रजन्मनि वै तथा । स्नानं नैमित्तिकं शस्तं प्रवदन्ति महर्षयः ॥ लघ्वाश्वलायन 20. 24.

1580. दुःस्वप्ने मैथुने वान्ते विरिक्ते क्षुरकर्मणि । चितियूपश्मशानास्थ्नां स्पर्शने स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ पराशर quoted in मिता॰ on या. III. 30, which is slightly different from the printed पराशर XII. 1. ; क्षुरकर्माणि वान्ते च स्त्रीसंभोगे च पुत्रक । स्नायीत चेलवान्प्राज्ञः कटभूमिमुपेत्य च ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 82–83; vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 52 for a verse similar to पराशर's.

1581. शैवान्पाशुपतान् स्पृष्ट्वा लोकायतिकनास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् शूद्रान्सवासा जलमाविशेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in मिता॰ on या. III. 30. ; स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 118 quotes षट्त्रिंशन्मत reading 'बौद्धान् पाशुपताञ्जैनान् लोकायतिककापिलान् । विक ...... स्पृष्ट्वा सवासा जलमाविशेत् '.

several birds (like the crow) and animals (like the cock and village hog), which are passed over for want of space.

Kāmya-snāna[1582] (bath for some desired object) is that which is taken when one goes to a tīrtha (a sacred place) or when there is some astrological conjunction like the moon being in the constellation of *puṣya* (*vide* Śaṅkhasmṛti VIII. 4) or when one bathes in the morning in the two months of Māgha and Phālguna for securing abundant pleasures. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 122–123 for numerous examples.

When a man has to take a bath as a part of the religious rite such as the rite of dedicating a well, a temple, a park to the public, that is called *kriyāṅga-snāna.*[1583]

When a man applies oil to his body, uses myrobalans and engages in a bath solely for cleaning the body (and with no idea of performing an obligatory duty or securing religious merit) that is called *malāpakarṣaka* or *abhyaṅga-snāna.* The Sm. C. I. p. 125, Aparārka pp. 195–196 and other works lay down elaborate rules about this snāna. One rule is that on certain tithis like parva (vide Manu IV 128 and Yāj I. 79 above on p. 204) there is to be no bath with oil &c. It is said that one desiring prosperity should use dried myrobalan (āmalaka) at the time of bath except on the 7th and 9th tithis and on parva days.[1584] *Vide* Vāmanapurāṇa 14. 49 ff. (quoted in Sm. C. I, p. 125) for astrological rules.

When a man regards bathing at a sacred place the reward of his pilgrimage and engages in the procedure prescribed by Śaṅkhasmṛti IX. that is called *kriyā-snāna.*[1585]

A person who is ill may bathe with hot water or he may, if he cannot bear that, only wash his body except the head or his body may be rubbed with a wet piece of cloth. This last method

1582. पुण्यस्नानादिकं स्नानं दैवज्ञविधिचोदितम्। तद्धि काम्यं समुद्दिष्टं नाकामस्तत्प्रयोजयेत् ॥ शङ्ख VIII. 4.

1583. इष्टापूर्तक्रियार्थं यत् क्रियाङ्गं स्नानमुच्यते। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 27; मलापकर्षणार्थं तु स्नानमभ्यङ्गपूर्वकम्। मलापकर्षणार्थाय प्रवृत्तिस्तस्य नान्यथा ॥ शङ्ख VIII. 6.

1584. श्रीकामस्तु सदा स्नानं कुर्वीतामलकैर्नरः। सप्तमीं नवमीं चैव पर्वकालं च वर्जयेत् ॥ मार्कण्डेय quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 123.

1585. स्नानमेव फलं तीर्थे क्रियास्नानं तदुच्यते। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 27. Śaṅkha IX is quoted by Sm. C. I. p.127, Gṛ. R. pp. 206–8, Par. M. I. part 1 p. 274.

is called *kāpila-snāna.*[1586] There is another method where a man is ill and something happens on which it is absolutely necessary for him to bathe; in this case one who is not ill should touch him and then bathe himself and then again touch him and bathe; when this is repeated ten times the person who is ill is deemed to have become pure as if he had bathed.[1587] In the case of a woman in her monthly course, if on the fourth day she has high fever, she is not to be bathed, but another woman is to touch her and bathe with all her clothes on and perform ācamana and touch her and bathe again; this is to be carried out ten or twelve times and in the end the clothes worn by the ailing woman are to be taken off and new ones to be given to her and she becomes clean.[1588]

The bath with water is called Vāruṇa (as Varuṇa is the lord of waters, according to Ṛg. VII. 49. 3 'yāsām rājā Varuṇo' &c.) and Vāruṇa is the principal kind of bath. There are six kinds of *gauṇa snānas* which may be employed when one is either ill and so unable as to undergo a regular bath or when there is no time or room to take a regular bath. These six (with Vāruṇa as the seventh) are enumerated and defined in Yogayājñavalkya and other works and they are: mantrasnāna, bhauma, āgneya, vāyavya, divya, mānasa. Dakṣa II. 15–16 and Parāśara XII. 9–11 mention these except bhauma and mānasa and employ the word brāhma in place of mantrasnāna. The Vaik. gṛ. (I. 2 and 5) employs both words 'mantra' and 'gurvanujñā' as synonymous. Garga and Bṛhaspati omit bhauma and mānasa and speak of *sārasvata-snāna* instead, which consists in the blessing pronounced by a learned man in the case of a dvijāti, or a pupil or his son 'may you have a bath with golden jars of Ganges water and of other sacred waters' (vide Āhnika-prakāśa

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1586. अशिरस्कं भवेत् स्नानं स्नानाशक्तौ तु कर्मिणाम् । आर्द्रेण वाससा वापि मार्जनं दैहिकं विदुः ॥ जाबालि quoted by अपरार्क p. 135; 'आर्द्रेण कर्पटेनाङ्गशोधनं कापिलं विदुः ।' बृहस्पति, both quoted by स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 134, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 197.

1587. आतुरस्नान उत्पन्ने दशकृत्वो ह्यनातुरः । स्नात्वा स्नात्वा स्पृशेदेनं ततः शुध्येत्स आतुरः ॥ यम (Jivānanda, part 1 p. 565), बृहत्पराशर chap. VI. p. 208 (Jivānanda, part II); quoted as यम's in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 121, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 197.

1588. ज्वराभिभूता या नारी रजसा च परिप्लुता । ... चतुर्थेऽहनि संप्राप्ते स्पृशेदन्या तु तां स्त्रियम् । सा सचेलावगाह्यापः स्नात्वा स्नात्वा पुनः स्पृशेत् ॥ दशद्वादशकृत्वो वा आचामेच्च पुनः पुनः । अन्ते तु वाससां त्यागस्ततः शुद्धा भवेत्तु सा । उशनस् quoted by स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 121,

pp. 196–197). The mantrasnāna[1589] consists in sprinkling water with the verses 'āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X. 9. 1–3), the *bhauma* (or *pārthiva*) in smearing the body with loose earth, *āgneya* in smearing the body with holy ashes, *vāyavya* in taking on the body the dust raised by the hoofs of cows, *divya* in wetting one's body with a shower of rain accompanied with sunshine and *mānasa* in reflecting on God Viṣṇu.

Tarpaṇa (offering water to gods, sages and Manes) is an *aṅga* (a subsidiary constituent part) of snāna, just as it is an aṅga in *brahma-yajña*. When a person plunges his whole body in water including the head, he has to perform *tarpaṇa* while still standing in the water. *Vide* Manu II. 176, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 23–24 (quoted above in *n.*1570), Parāśara XII. 12–13 for this. He joins his two hands together, takes water in the joined hands and casts the water into the stream in which he is standing. If he changes his clothes, then he may perform the tarpaṇa on the bank of the river. There was a difference of opinion about tarpaṇa. Some said[1590] that a man had to perform tarpaṇa as an aṅga of snāna immediately after it and before saṁdhyā prayer and then again the same day as an aṅga of *brahmayajña*; while others held that tarpaṇa was to be performed only once in the day after saṁdhyā prayer. One has to perform tarpaṇa according to the procedure prescribed in one's śākhā (Vedic school) but Śaṅkha prescribes a brief tarpaṇa which consists in the words 'may the universe from Brahmā down to a bunch of grass be satisfied' (or satiated) and offering three *añjalis* (joined hands) of water. When he performs tarpaṇa

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1589. असामर्थ्याच्छरीरस्य कालशक्त्याद्यपेक्षया। मन्त्रस्नानादितः सप्त केचिदिच्छन्ति सूरयः। मान्त्रं भौमं तथाग्नेयं वायव्यं दिव्यमेव च। वारुणं मानसं चैव सप्त स्नानान्यनुक्रमात्॥ आपो हिष्ठादिभिर्मान्त्रं मृदालम्भश्च पार्थिवम्। आग्नेयं भस्मना स्नानं वायव्यं गोरजः स्मृतम्॥ यत्तु सातपवर्षेण तद्दिव्यं स्नानमुच्यते। वारुणं चावगाहस्तु मानसं विष्णुचिन्तनम्। ... ... कालाद्देशादसामर्थ्यात्सर्वं तुल्यफलं स्मृतम्॥ मानसं प्रवरं स्नानं केचिदिच्छन्ति सूरयः। योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क pp. 134–135, स्मृतिच० I. p. 133, गृह. र. p. 203. विश्वरूप on या I. 22 quotes दक्ष II. 15.

1590. इदं च स्नानाङ्गतर्पणं स्नानाव्यवहितोत्तरमेव कार्यम्। अङ्गानां प्रधानदेशकालान्वयौचित्यात्। यत्तु कात्यायनादिभिः संध्यावन्दनब्रह्मयज्ञानुत्तरं तर्पणमभिहितं तत् ब्रह्मयज्ञान्तर्गतमात्याह्निकतर्पणाभिप्रायम्। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 191; vide the next page also and p. 144 'स्पष्टमेतत्पाराशरमाधवीये चतुर्विंशतिमते। यथा। स्नानादनन्तरं तावत्तर्पयेत्पितृदेवताः। उत्तीर्य पीडयेद्वस्त्रं संध्याकर्म ततः परम्। इति। एवं च यत् क्वचित्संध्योत्तरतर्पणाभिधानं तदहःकर्तव्यस्वतन्त्रतर्पणाभिप्रायकम्। .... मैथिलास्तु यथाहनि तथा प्रातरिति वचनेन माध्याह्निकक्रमातिदेशात् संध्योत्तरमेव प्रातःस्नानाङ्गतर्पणम्। शिष्टाचारोऽप्येवमेव।

standing in water, he should not wring the water from the ends of his garment until he has finished it. He should then wring[1591] the ends of his garment and the water so falling down is deemed to be meant for the sonless deceased persons born in the family of the bather and he has to repeat a verse to that effect. Further details of *tarpaṇa* are set out under *brahmayajña* below.

After one takes a bath one was not to shake one's head (for getting rid of the water), nor should one rub off the water on one's body with one's hand or with the garment already worn by one; one has to cover one's head with a turban (to dry the hair) and wear two fresh garments already washed and dried (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 9–13).

What clothes the brahmacārin was to wear has already been stated (pp. 278–279). A few words must be said about the clothes to be worn by a householder.

Weaving and woven cloth are frequently referred to in the Veda, generally in a metaphorical sense or in similes. *Vide* Ṛg. I. 115. 4, II. 3. 6, V. 29. 15, X. 106. 1. In Ṛg. VI. 9. 2–3, both warp (*tantu*) and woof (*otu*) are mentioned. The words used for garment are 'vāsas' or 'vastra'. In the Tai. S. (VI. 1. 1. 3) it is said that *kṣauma* (linen) cloth is worn when a person takes the dīkṣā (initiatory rite) for a Vedic sacrifice. In the Kāṭhaka Saṁ. XV. 1 *kṣauma* cloth is said to be the fee in a certain rite. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 2. 16 we have the two words 'vāsaḥ' (outer garment) and 'nīvi' (under garment)[1592] used with reference to the same man. In the Ṛg. the word 'adhivāsa' is also used with reference to a garment which must have been somewhat like a mantle or toga (Ṛg. I. 162. 16). In the Tai. S. II. 4. 9. 2. the skin of the black deer is mentioned. In the Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 8 it is said that when the Neṣṭṛ[1593] priest is about to lead up the sacrificer's wife he makes her put on a kuśa upper garment (vāsas) or a kuśa skirt next to the cloth that

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1591. शङ्खः । आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्तं जगत्तृप्यत्विति ब्रुवन् । जलाञ्जलित्रयं दद्यादेतत्संक्षेपतर्पणम् । आह्निकप्रकाश p. 145. चतुः संवेष्ट्य वासोन्तं स्नातो निष्पीडयेत्स्थले । ये के चास्मत्कुले जाता इति मन्त्रेण मानवः । मन्त्रश्च कार्ष्णाजिनिनोक्तः । ये के चास्मत्कुले जाता अपुत्रा गोत्रिणो मृताः । ते गृह्णन्तु मया दत्तं वस्त्रनिष्पीडनोदकम् ॥ स्मृतिच. (आह्निक) p.250.

1592. यत्ते वासः परिधानं यां नीविं कृणुषे त्वम् । अथर्ववेद VIII. 2. 16.

1593. तस्मान्नेष्टा पत्नीमुदानेष्यन्कौशं वासः परिधापयति कौशं वा चण्डातकमन्तरं दीक्षितवसनात् । शतपथब्रा. V. 2. 1. 8. कौश may mean 'made of silk or made of kuśa grass'.

one who is initiated for the sacrifice wears. In the Bṛ. Up. II. 3. 6. there [1594] is a reference to cloth dyed red with safflower or woollen cloth that is whitish in colour. Ṛg. IV. 22. 2 and Ṛg. V. 52. 9 are interpreted by Western scholars as referring to wool on the Paruṣṇī river being the best, but the sense is rather obscure. It appears from the above that cloth was either woollen or linen, that silken (or kuśa) cloth was worn on very solemn occasions, that deer-skin was also employed as covering and that cloth was also dyed red. Whether cotton cloth was known in the earliest Vedic period is not certain. It is clear that in the sūtras (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 15 and 63. 24) and in Manu (8. 326 and 12. 64) cotton cloth is known and so its use must have reached several centuries before the times of the sūtras. Arrian (tr. by MacCrindle) says that Indian dress was made of cotton (p. 219).

The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22–23) requires that a householder should always wear an upper garment (besides the lower one) but allows him to have only the sacred thread instead (if he be poor &c.). Vas. Dh. S. XII. 14 says that *snātakas* (those who have returned from the stage of student-hood) should always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two yajñopavītas &c. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 3. 2. says the same and adds that a snātaka should wear a turban, a deer-skin as upper garment, shoes and have an umbrella. Aparārka (pp. 133–134) quotes verses from Vyāghra and Yogayājñavalkya to the same effect, the latter remarking that if one cannot procure a second washed garment one may wear a blanket of wool, or hempen or linen cloth. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 6. 5–6, 10–11) says 'among garments[1595] the one that has not been worn is pure and therefore everything connected with sacrifice and worship should be done with fresh (or unblemished) clothes. The sacrificer, his wife and the priests should wear garments that have been washed, dried in the wind and are not worn out by use; but in sacrifices performed for *abhicāra* (harm to one's enemies) the priests should wear clothes and turbans dyed red. In consecrating the Vedic fires one should wear clothes made

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1594. तस्य हैतस्य पुरुषस्य रूपं यथा माहारजनं वासो यथा पाण्ड्वाविकं &c. बृह. उप. II. 3. 6.

1595. अथ स्नातकस्य अन्तर्वास उत्तरीयम्। वैणवं दण्डं धारयेत्। सोदकं च कमण्डलुम्। द्वियज्ञोपवीती। उष्णीषमजिनमुत्तरमुपानहौ छत्रमौपासनं दर्शपूर्णमासौ। बौ. ध. सू. I. 3. 1–6. Compare for red clothes and turban in magic rites शबर on जै. III. 8. 12 'श्येने श्रूयते लोहितोष्णीषा लोहितवसना ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्तीति।'

of flax or if they are not available cotton or woollen ones. Śabara on Jaimini X. 4. 13 quotes *śruti* passages to the effect that the sacrificer and his wife wear fresh unused clothes in the model sacrifice and in the Mahāvrata the sacrificer wears in addition a *tārpya* (silk garment) and his wife wears one made of kuśa grass.[1596] Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 66 requires that one must wear an upper garment in five acts viz. study of the Veda, dedication of a well or a tank &c. to the public, making gifts, taking one's meal or ācamana. Similarly the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 12. 20) requires that a man must not, with only one garment on, begin homa, the worship of gods and similar rites, study of the Veda, *ācamana* and *japa*.[1597] Gaut. 9. 4–5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 10–13, Manu IV. 34–35, Yāj. I. 131 and others enjoin that a *snātaka* and a householder should wear white garments and they must not be worn out or dirty if he has enough (means) and should not wear dyed garments or garments of high price (or gaudy ones) or those worn by another.[1598] Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 24 remarks 'what a man, while wearing reddish garments, does such as japa, homa, receiving gifts, offerings made to gods and Manes, does not reach the gods.[1599] Cloth dyed in indigo is also forbidden and a male has to undergo a fast and take *pañcagavya* for wearing such cloth. The Āpastamba smṛti (in verse) chap. VI has several verses on cloth dyed in indigo. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes verses 1–5 of Āpastamba. *Vide* Aparārka p. 1186 for quotation of the same verses and also of Aṅgiras, verses 32–39 (which are almost the same as Āpastamba's). Gaut. 9. 5-7, Manu IV. 66, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 47, Mārk. purāṇa[1600] 34. 42–43 prescribe that one should not wear the shoes, garments

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1596. महाव्रते श्रूयते तार्प्यं यजमानः परिधत्ते दर्भमयं पत्नी इति। अस्ति तु प्रकृतौ अहतं वासः परिधत्ते इति। शबर on जै. X, 4. 13. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 13 as to how *tārpya* is to be purified. The word अहत has two meanings; (1) cloth fresh from the loom (to be worn in marriages and similar *maṅgala* ceremonies); (2) garment that is washed, but not used for many days, that is virtually new and has its fringes intact. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 113.

1597. होमदेवार्चनाद्यासु क्रियासु पठने तथा। नैकवस्त्रः प्रवर्तेत द्विजो नाचमने जपे॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 12. 20, quoted by हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड p. 35).

1598. सति विभवे न जीर्णमलवद्वासाः स्यात्। न रक्तमुल्बणमन्यधृतं वासो बिभृयात्। गौतम 9. 4–5; सर्वान्रागान्वाससि वर्जयेत्। कृष्णं च स्वाभाविकम्। अनूद्भासि वासो वसीत। अप्रतिकृष्टं च शक्तिविषये। आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 30. 10–13.

1599. काषायवासा यान्कुरुते जपहोमप्रतिग्रहान्। न तद्देवगमं भवति हव्यकव्येषु यद्धविः॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 24, quoted by अपरार्क p. 461.

1600. उपानद्वस्त्रमाल्यादि धृतमन्यैर्न धारयेत्। उपवीतमलंकारं करकं चैव वर्जयेत्॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 42–43.

yajñopavīta, ornament, garland, or water-jar used by another but if a man is unable to secure one for himself, he may wear another's garment or shoes or garland after cleansing it. According to Garga quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 113) a brāhmaṇa should wear white garments, a kṣatriya red and brilliant ones, a vaiśya yellow ones, a śūdra should wear a dark one that is dirty. The Mahābhārata says that one has to wear garments at the time of worshipping gods that are different from those that one wears while walking on a road or when one is in bed [1601]. Prajāpati quoted by Par. M. states that in tarpaṇa one should wear silk cloth having a hem or one that is orange-coloured, but never one that is gaudy. Probably it is requirements like these that led to the practice of wearing silken garments at the time of meals and worship, which practice is observed even now in many parts of India. Manu IV. 18 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 5-6 prescribe that one must dress, speak and entertain thoughts that would be in keeping with one's age, occupation, monetary affairs, learning, family and country. The garments to be worn by the vānaprastha and saṁnyāsin will be discussed below. The smṛtis contain rules about tucking up the lower garment. A garment should be tucked in three places i. e. when it is tucked near the navel, on the left side and behind on the back. A brāhmaṇa is said to be a śūdra as long as he has not tucked his garment behind or allows one corner of it to hang down from behind like a tail, or has tucked it in the wrong way or side, or has wound part of it round his waist or has covered the upper part of the body with a portion of the lower garment. Vide Sm. M. (āhnika pp. 351-353) and Sm. C. I. pp. 113-114 for these and other rules about wearing garments.

After one bathes, one has to sip water (Dakṣa II. 20. ff) and make marks on his forehead (variously called *tilaka*, ūrdhvapuṇḍra, tripuṇḍra &c.) according to one's caste or sect. In the Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 248-252), in the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 292-310) elaborate rules are laid down on this subject. In the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa [1602] it is stated that for making

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1601. अन्यदेव भवेद्वासः शयनीयेऽन्यदेव तु । अन्यद्रथ्यासु देवानामर्चायामन्यदेव तु । अनुशासन 104. 46, quoted by अपरार्क p. 173 and गृह. र. p. 501. माधवीये प्रजापतिः । क्षौमं वासः प्रशंसन्ति तर्पणे सदशं तथा । काषायं धातुरक्तं वा नोल्बणं तत्तु कर्हिचित् ॥ आचाररत्न p. 33a.

1602. पर्वताग्रे नदीतीरे मम क्षेत्रे विशेषतः । सिन्धुतीरे च वल्मीके तुलसीमूलमाश्रिते ॥ मृद एतास्तु संग्राह्या वर्जयेदन्यमृत्तिकाः । ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 115; vide नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 42-43.

ūrdhvapuṇḍra (vertical mark of a line or lines on the forehead) one may select earth from the top of mountains or from banks of holy rivers like the Indus and the Ganges, from places sacred to Viṣṇu, from ant-hills and from the root of the *tulasī* plant. The thumb, the middle finger and the finger next to the small finger are to be used in making the mark, but the nails should not come in contact with the earth employed. The mark may be of the form of a lamp and its wick, or of the form of bamboo leaves or a lotus bud, or of a fish or tortoise or a conch and the mark may be in length from two to ten fingers. The marks are to be made on the forehead, the chest, the throat and its pit, on the abdomen, the right and left sides, the arms, the ears, the back, the back of the neck, after taking the twelve names of Viṣṇu (viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa &c.) for each of the above twelve parts of the body. The *tripuṇḍra* mark (three oblique lines) is to be made with holy ashes (*bhasman*) and the tilaka with sandalwood paste.[1603] According to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, the ūrdhvapuṇḍra is made after a bath with loose earth in such a way that it resembles the outline of the foot (of Hari),[1604] the tripuṇḍra with holy ashes after homa, and the tilaka (a circular mark) with sandalwood paste on worshipping gods (devapūjā). The Sm. M. (āhnika p. 292) quotes Vāsudevopaniṣad for making the ūrdhvapuṇḍra mark on the forehead and other places with Gopīcandana (magnesian or calcareous clay) or in its absence with earth from the roots of the *tulasī* plant. Sacrifice, gifts, japa, homa, study of the Veda, tarpaṇa of the Manes, if done without the ūrdhvapuṇḍra mark, become fruitless (according to Viṣṇu quoted in Sm. M. āhnika p. 292). The Vṛddha-Hārīta smṛti (II. 58–72) has a long note on *ūrdhvapuṇḍra*. The Sm. M. (āhnika p. 296) notes that some texts of the Pāśupata and other Śaiva sectarians run down ūrdhvapuṇḍra and highly extol the tripuṇḍra mark, while Pāñcarātra texts enjoin the marking of the body with śaṅkha, cakra and other weapons of Viṣṇu and condemn tripuṇḍra. Devout worshippers of Viṣṇu who are followers of Madhvācārya brand the weapons of

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1603. ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं मृदा कुर्यात्त्रिपुण्ड्रं भस्मना सदा। तिलकं वै द्विजः कुर्याच्चन्दनेन यदृच्छया ॥ quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 250 and मदनपारिजात p. 279. The त्रिपुण्ड्र is defined as भ्रुवोर्मध्ये समारभ्य यावदन्तो भवेद्भ्रुवोः। मध्यमानामिकाङ्गुल्योर्मध्ये तु प्रतिलोमतः। अङ्गुष्ठेन कृता रेखा त्रिपुण्ड्राख्याभिधीयते ॥.

1604. द्वारवत्युद्भवं गोपीचन्दनं वेङ्कटोद्भवम्। सान्तराले प्रकुर्वीत पुण्ड्रं हरिपदाकृतिम् ॥ श्राद्धकाले विशेषेण कर्ता भोक्ता च धारयेत्। वृद्धहारीत VIII. 67–68.

Viṣṇu such as the conch on their arms and bodies with heated metal pieces, just as early Christians stamped the cross on the forehead with red-hot iron (vide Wilson's 'Religious Sects of the Hindus', vol. I. p. 42). Works like Vṛddha-Hārīta II. 44–45, the Pṛthvīcandrodaya condemn the practice of branding the body with marks of the conch &c. with red-hot iron as fit only for śūdras. The Smṛtyartha-sāgara of Chalāri quotes passages of the Vāyupurāṇa and Viṣṇupurāṇa supporting branding. In the Kālāgnirudropaniṣad the procedure[1605] of the tripuṇḍra mark is laid down. Holy ashes are taken from the sacred fire with the five mantras 'sadyo jātam' (Tai. Ār. 10. 43–47) and they are then invoked with the mantras 'agniriti bhasma'; part of the ashes is then taken in the palm of one's hand with the mantra 'mā nastoke', (Ṛg. I. 114. 8) and mixed with water and therewith lines are made on the head, the forehead up to the (middle of the) eyebrows and eyes, on the chest and shoulders, after repeating 'tryāyuṣam Jamadagner' when applying the ashes to the forehead, 'kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam' when applying to the navel (or chest) and so on (the head coming last). The Sāṅkhyāyana gṛ. says[1606] " He makes the tripuṇḍra mark with ashes with the five formulas 'tryāyuṣam' &c. on his forehead, chest, right and left shoulders and then on the back; (by doing this) he studies these Vedas, one, two, three or all." The Smṛtimuktāphala[1607] (āhnika p. 301) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana in which the words of the exhortation to the pupil returning home 'bhūtyai na pramaditavyam' occurring in the Tai. Up. I. 11 are interpreted as referring to the making

1605. Vide Sm. M. p. 301 for all details. Even now parts of a mantra are used in applying holy ashes to the forehead, to the navel, to the right and left shoulders and the head. The mantra occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 7. 2 'त्र्यायुषं जमदग्नेः कश्यपस्य त्र्यायुषम् । यद्देवानां त्र्यायुषं तन्मे अस्तु त्र्यायुषम्' ॥. वाज. सं. III. 62 has the same mantra with slight variations. About the ashes the following are repeated 'अग्निरिति भस्म वायुरिति भस्म जलमिति भस्म स्थलमिति भस्म व्योमेति भस्म सर्वं वा इदं भस्म,' quoted in नारायण's दीपिका on कालाग्निरुद्र उपनिषद्.

1606. त्र्यायुषमिति पञ्चभिर्मन्त्रैर्ललाटे हृदये च दक्षिणस्कन्धे वामे च ततः पृष्ठे च पञ्चसु भस्मना त्रिपुण्ड्रं करोति स एषां वेदानामेकं द्वौ त्रीन् सर्वानधीते । सांख्यायनगृह्य quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 303). Vide S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 76 where this passage is said to be a late addition.

1607. अथातो द्विजातीनां त्रिपुण्ड्रधारणविधिं व्याख्यास्यामो भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यमिति विज्ञायते । बौधायन quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 301).

of the tripuṇḍra mark with ashes (*bhūti*). This is a fine example of how sectarians twist the words of ancient texts to bolster up their practices and dogmas. In the Kādambarī (para 34) Hārīta is described as ornamented by the tripuṇḍra mark of ashes. The Ācāramayūkha quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa 'of him who does not bear the tripuṇḍra mark, truthfulness, *śauca*, japa, homa, pilgrimage and worship of gods—all this becomes futile' and a verse from the Smṛtiratnāvali as to the parts of the body that are to be smeared with holy ashes, viz. the forehead, the region of the heart, navel, throat, shoulders, the joints of the arms, the back and the head. The Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika p. 310) gives the following sage advice to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarian writers that were guilty of running down the practices of each other 'As one God appears in the form of various deities, all should worship their (favourite) god, whether Śiva, Viṣṇu or any other, without indulging in the calumny of other deities and they should wear the puṇḍra mark that is deemed to be pleasing to any deity without calumniating other sect marks'.[1608] The Nirṇayasindhu (II pariccheda) when dealing with the 11th day of Āṣāḍha sets out from the Rāmārcana-candrikā passages about the marking of the body with conch figure by means of heated metal pieces and also quotes the Pṛthvīcandrodaya and other works that condemn such practices and remarks that one may follow the *śiṣṭas*. The ācāraratna (p. 37 a) states that votaries are of several kinds, viz. Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas who are purely followers of the Vedic cult, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas who follow both Vaidika and Tāntrika practices and the same two following purely the Tāntric cult.

After bath comes *saṁdhyā* (Yāj. I. 98). This subject has been dealt with above (pp. 312–321) under Upanayana.

After saṁdhyā comes homa (Dakṣa II. 28 and Yāj. I. 98–99). If a brāhmaṇa took a bath in the early morning and engaged in a lengthy saṁdhyā prayer he may not be able to perform homa in the morning at the proper time. Homa was performed in the morning before sunrise according to one view (*anudite juhoti*) and after sunrise, according to another (*udite juhoti*); but even on the latter view, homa must be performed before the

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1608. तस्मादेकस्यैवेश्वरस्य सर्वदेवमयत्वाद्देवतान्तरनिन्दावर्जितैरेवेश्वर आराध्यः शिवो विष्णुरन्यो वा देवः। पुण्ड्रमपि तत्तद्देवताप्रीतिकरं पुण्ड्रान्तरनिन्दावर्जितैरेव धार्यम्। स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 310).

sun rises one cubit above the horizon (Gobhila-smṛti I. 123).[1609] The evening homa is to be performed at a time when the stars clearly appear in the sky and the ruddy colour has left the western horizon (Gobhila-smṛti I. 124). Āśv. Śr. II. 2 and Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 5 state the time for morning homa to be up to the end of the period of *saṅgava* (i. e. the second of the five periods of day time). Therefore some said that in order to perform homa in time one may perform the morning *saṁdhyā* prayer even after homa.[1610] It has been shown above (p. 425) that the belief was that a man owed three debts one of which, viz. that to the gods, was discharged by performance of sacrifices and that a man had to perform agnihotra (fire worship) to the end of his life. The fire to be tended was either śrauta or smārta. As to the first there were certain rules. Only a person that had attained a certain age was to kindle the śrauta fires, viz. one who had a son or had reached an age when he could have a son and whose hair was still black (i. e. who had not become middle-aged or old). There were two views on the necessity of kindling the śrauta fires. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 45–48 [1611] says " a brāhmaṇa must necessarily kindle the three śrauta fires and offer (in them) the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa (new moon and full moon sacrifices), the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi, the Cāturmāsyas, the animal and soma sacrifices. For this is enjoined as an observance and has been lauded as a debt. For it is declared (in the Veda) ' a brāhmaṇa is born

1609. संध्याकर्मावसाने तु स्वयं होमो विधीयते । दक्ष II. 28; प्रादुष्करणमग्नीनां प्रातर्भासां च दर्शनात् । हस्तादूर्ध्वं रविर्यावद्गिरिं हित्वा न गच्छति । तावद्धोमविधिः पुण्यो नान्योऽभ्युदितहोमिनाम् । गोभिलस्मृति I. 122–123. Manu II. 15 refers to the several views about होमकाल. समयाध्युषित in Manu is explained as the time before the sun's disc appears after the stars have become invisible. Vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 161 and बौ. गृ. सं. परिशिष्ट I. 72 for explanation of उदित, समयाध्युषित &c. The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35 says प्रातर्होमे संगवान्तः कालस्त्वनुदिते तथा । सायमस्तमिते होमकालस्तु नव नाडिकाः ॥

1610. होमं वैतानिके कृत्वा स्मार्तं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । स्मृतीनां वेदमूलत्वात्स्मार्तं केचित्पुरा विदुः ॥ भरद्वाज quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 163 ; vide नित्याचारपद्धति p. 314 and संस्कारप्रकाश p. 890.

1611. अवश्यं ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत । दर्शपूर्णमासाग्रयणेष्टिचातुर्मास्यपशुसोमैश्च यजेत । नैयमिकं ह्येतदृणसंस्तुतं च । विज्ञायते हि त्रिभिर्ऋणैर्ऋणवान् ब्राह्मणो जायत इति । यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः ...... इत्येष वानृणो यज्वा यः पुत्री ब्रह्मचर्यवानिति । वसिष्ठ XI. 45–48 ; vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 59. 4–9 for similar provisions. Manu IV. 26 explains that the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi is to be performed with the new grain that is brought in at the end of the rainy season (in śarad) after the old grain is consumed, that an animal sacrifice is to be performed at the eginning of the uttarāyaṇa and of dakṣiṇāyana (i. e. twice a year) and a Soma sacrifice once a year at its beginning. Vide also Yāj. I. 125–126.

indebted in three debts, in sacrifice to the gods &c." Śabara on Jaimini V. 4. 16 expressly says that there is no particular time fixed for kindling the sacred fires and that a person may do so the very day on which the pious desire to do so arises in his mind[1612]. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana I. 6-7 refers to the two views that *ādhāna* (kindling of śrauta fires) is nitya (obligatory) and the other view (discussed by Baudhāyana) that it is merely *kāmya* (to be performed only if one desires the fulfilment of certain objects). The person who had kindled the sacred fires offered his daily oblations in them. It is clear that even in very ancient times not many kindled the sacred Vedic fires. The Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras often contain rules referring to those who had kindled the sacred fires and to those who had not. For example, the Āśv. gṛ. I. 1. 4 quotes Ṛg. VIII. 19. 5 'the person who lays a fuel stick on fire, or throws an oblation on it or offers it the study of the Veda, or who pays adoration to Agni, (in substance) offers a good sacrifice.' Āśv. gṛ. then quotes a brāhmaṇa passage explaining[1613] Ṛg. VIII. 19. 5 in which reliance is also placed on two more Ṛk verses (viz. Ṛg. VIII. 24. 20 and VI. 16. 47). The purpose of all this is to show that even the study of the Veda, the performing of *namaskāra* and offering of a *samidh* in the fire are equivalent to a real sacrifice. That shows that it was not obligatory on every-body to kindle the three sacred fires. But it must be said that agnihotra was highly thought of in ancient India. Vide Chāndogya Up. V. 24. 5 for a verse extolling it.

The three fires (often called Tretā) are the Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya and Dakṣiṇāgni. The Āhavanīya fire-place is a square, Gārhapatya is round (as the earth is round) and Dakṣiṇāgnī is in the form of half the orb of the moon (vide Vṛddha-Gautama p. 604, Jivānanda). In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras elaborate discussions are held about the kindling of fires (agnyādhāna), about the several sacrifices and the various details connected therewith. It has been decided, in view of the vastness of the subject of śrauta rites and the academic nature for modern times of the treatment of most of those rites, to pass them over

1612. नैवाधाने कश्चित्कालनियमोऽस्ति। यदहरेवैनं श्रद्धोपनमेत्तदहरादधीत इति। शबर on अपनयो वाधानस्य सर्वकालत्वात्। जै. V. 4. 16.

1613. यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तो अग्नये। यो नमसा स्वध्वरः॥ तस्येदर्वन्तो रंहयन्त आशवस्तस्य द्युम्नितमं यशः। न तमंहो देवकृतं कुतश्चन न मर्त्यकृतं नशत्॥ ऋ. VIII. 19. 5-6.

in this work and to give in a separate chapter at the end of this volume only some information about the śrauta sacrifices. For about two thousand years hardly any animal or soma sacrifices have been performed (except rarely by kings, nobles and rich people). In medieval times there were many brāhmaṇas who performed the New and Full moon sacrifices, the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi and the Cāturmāsyas. But in modern times even such *agnihotrins* have become very rare and in certain parts of India one can hardly find a single *agnihotrin* keeping śrauta fires even among thousands of brāhmaṇas.

Every one who has kindled [1614] the sacred fires has to offer every morning and evening the Agnihotra (oblations of clarified butter) in the śrauta fires. Not only has one who has consecrated the three sacred fires to offer agnihotra everyday, but also every householder has to do so every day twice, in the morning and in the evening. Vide Manu IV. 25, Yāj. I. 99, Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 22 and I. 4. 14. 1. 'For when a man is married, there are daily observances declared for him such as agnihotra, (honouring) guests and such other proper actions' (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 1). The rules about the proper time of kindling fire and offering oblations and about the material of the oblations are the same for gṛhya rites as in śrauta agnihotra (Āśv. gr. I. 9. 4-6). The fire in which these daily offerings are made by one who has not kindled the three śrauta fires is called aupāsana, āvasathya, aupasada, vaivāhika or (-hana), smārta or gṛhya or śālāgni.[1615] There are various views about the time from which this fire is to be maintained. The view of the vast majority of writers is that the gṛhya fire is the nuptial fire which is kindled on the day of marriage by the newly married pair. We saw above (pp. 530, 557) that the Āśv. gr. (I. 8. 5) directs that when the bridegroom starts after marriage from the bride's house for his own house (whether in the same village or in

1614. अग्निहोत्रं च जुहुयादाद्यन्ते द्युनिशोः सदा। मनु IV. 25.

1615. यस्मिन्नग्नौ पाणिं गृह्णीयात्स गृह्यः। खादिरगृह्य I. 5 1; vide गोभिलगृ. I. 1. 20-21; पाणिग्रहणादिरग्निस्तमौपासनमित्याचक्षते तस्मिन्गार्ह्याणि कर्माणि। हिरण्यकेशिगृ. I. 26. 1-2; आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले दायाद्यकाल एकेषाम्। पार. गृ. I. 2; उपयमनप्रभृत्यौपासनस्य परिचरणम्। पार. गृ. I. 9; वैवाहिकेऽग्नौ कुर्वीत गृह्यं कर्म यथाविधि। पञ्चयज्ञविधानं च पक्तिं चान्वाहिकीं गृही॥ मनु III. 67; vide या I. 97 for the word विवाहाग्नि; एष औपसदोऽग्निर्वैवाहनो वा। तस्मिन् पाकयज्ञाः। काठकगृह्य 47. 1-2. अपरार्क p. 490 explains औपसद as गृह्याग्नि. Vide आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 16 (for औपासन). अनाहिताग्नेरपि शालाग्नौ। आश्व. गृ. II. 2. 5. हरदत्त on गौ. XI. 17 distinguishes शालाग्नि from औपासन and says it has a wider application.

another village) the nuptial fire is continually carried in a vessel (called *ukhā*) in front till he reaches his house.[1616] Vide also Āp. gṛ. V. 14-15. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 1-3 says 'beginning from the holding of the hand (i. e. marriage) he should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife, also his son or his daughter or pupil.[1617] The worship of fire should be constantly kept up'. A man's nuptial fire may go out and he may not re-instate it through neglect or other cause or his wife may be dead and he may remain a widower. In such cases he has to offer his daily offerings in the ordinary fire on which he cooks his food (*laukika* or *pacana* fire); so that so far five kinds of fires (viz. the three śrauta ones, aupāsana or gṛhya and the *laukika*) are spoken of. There is another fire called 'sabhya' (which is the sixth). According [1618] to Medhātithi on Manu III. 185 the sabhya fire is that which is kept burning in the hall of a rich man for the removal of cold and for the diffusion of warmth. Vide Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 302 *n* 1), where the translator says that the sabhya fire was kept only by kṣatriyas. The Kātyāyana Śrauta sūtra IV. 9. 20 prescribes that the sabhya fire also is generated by friction like the Gārhapatya fire. Āp. Śr. sūtra IV. 4. 7 says that the sabhya fire is to be kindled in the hall (of gambling, according to the com.) to the east of the place of the āhavanīya fire. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 14)[1619] says that a householder should maintain six fires, five, four, three, two or one, but should never remain without fire. When he keeps the *tretā*, *aupāsana*, *sabhya* and ordinary fire he will have six; when he maintains the *tretā*, aupāsana and sabhya he is called pañcāgni, who is among the brāhmaṇas that are paṅkti-pāvanas (i. e. that sanctify the company at dinner). Vide Gaut. 15. 29, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 22, Vas. Dh. S. III. 19, Manu III. 185, Yāj. I. 221. He who maintains tretā and aupāsana will have only four, he who maintains only tretā

1616. विवाहाग्निमग्रतोऽजस्रं नयन्ति। आश्व गृ. I. 8. 5; समोप्यैतमाग्निमनुहरन्ति। नित्यो धार्यः। आप. गृ. V. 14–15.

1617. पाणिग्रहणाद्धि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा। नित्यानुगृहीतं स्यात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1–2.

1618. सभ्यो नाम यो महासाधनस्य शीतापनोदार्थमेव बहुषु देशेषु व्यवह्रियते। मेधा० on मनु III. 175; वृद्धगौतम 15th chap. p. 604 (Jivananda part 2) defines as 'आवसथ्यं तु ये चाग्निं पचनाग्निं प्रचक्षते। तेषां सभागतो वह्निः सभ्य इत्यभिधीयते। अग्रेणाहवनीयं सभायां सभ्यः। आप. श्रौ. IV. 4. 7.

1619. गृहस्थस्तु षडग्निः स्यात्पञ्चाग्निश्चतुरग्निकः। स्यात् द्वित्र्यग्निरथैकाग्निर्नाग्निहीनः कथंचन॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14.

will have three, he who maintains aupāsana and the ordinary fire will have two and one may only maintain the ordinary fire. The rites prescribed in[1620] the gṛhyasūtra of a person's śākhā were to be performed in the aupāsana; other rites prescribed in the smṛtis were to be performed in the ordinary fire. But if one has no fire other than the ordinary one, every rite has to performed in it. The under-lying idea of this emphasis on the worship of Agni seems to be that the oblations thrown into the fire reach the sun, that sends rain, from which springs corn, that is the sustenance of all beings. *Vide* Manu III. 76 (= Śāntiparva 264. 11) and Sm. C. I. p. 155, Par. M. I, part I, p. 130 for the eulogy of agnihotra.

There were other views about the time from which one was to begin keeping one's gṛhya fire. Gaut. V. 6, Yāj. I. 97, Pār. gṛ. I. 2 and others refer to an optional course viz. setting up the gṛhya fire at the time when one separates from other members of the family. The Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 1. 2–5 refers to four alternatives in all (including the two already referred to); the other two are: When [1621] a pupil is about to return from his teacher's home, he may keep as his gṛhya fire that fire on which he puts the last *samidh*; or a person may, if he is the eldest son, keep the fire of his father on the latter's death or of his eldest brother on the latter's death (if there is no division and the family continues joint). Baud. gṛ. II. 6. 17 says[1622] that the gṛhya fire for a person is one by which his upanayana is performed, that from upanayana to samāvartana the homa is performed only by uttering the vyāhṛtis and with fuel sticks, from samāvartana to marriage with vyāhṛtis and clarified butter, and from marriage onwards with offerings of boiled rice or barley.

1620. गार्ह्यमौपासने कुर्यात्सर्वाधानी तु लौकिके। स्मार्तं च लौकिके कार्यं श्रौतं वैतानिकाग्निषु ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14; अनाहितावसथ्याग्निरादायाज्यं घृतप्लुतम्। शाकलेन विधानेन जुहुयाल्लौकिकेऽनले ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति III. 31–32

1621. भार्यादिरग्निर्दायादिर्वा। गौ. V. 6. अभिसमावर्त्स्यमानो यत्रान्त्यां समिधमभ्यादध्यात्तमग्निमिन्धीत। वैवाह्यं वा। दायाद्यकाल एके। प्रेते वा गृहपतौ स्वयं ज्यायान्। शां. गृ. I. 1. 2–5; compare गोभिलगृ. I. 1. 12.

1622. यस्मिन्नग्नावुपनयति तस्मिन् ब्रह्मचर्यं तस्मिन्व्रतचर्यं तस्मिन् समावर्तनं तस्मिन् पाणिग्रहणं तस्मिन् गृह्याणि कर्माणि क्रियन्ते। ...... स एष उपनयनप्रभृति व्याहृतिभिः समिद्भिर्हूयत आ समावर्तनात्। समावर्तनप्रभृत्याज्येन व्याहृतिभिर्हूयते आ पाणिग्रहणात्। पाणिग्रहणप्रभृति व्रीहिभिर्वा यवैर्वा हस्तेनैते आहुती जुहोति अग्नये स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहा इति सायम्। सूर्याय स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहेति प्रातरपि। बौ. गृ. II. 6. 17, 19–21; अग्नये स्वाहेति सायं जुहुयात्सूर्याय स्वाहेति प्रातस्तूष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र। आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 8.

The deities to whom agnihotra is offered in the morning and evening are Agni and Prajāpati (to the latter inaudibly). According to some in the morning the sun takes the place of Agni (*vide* Baud. gṛ. II. 7. 21 quoted in *n.* 1622 Hir. gṛ. I. 26. 9, Bhār. gṛ. III. 3, Āp. gṛ. VII. 21).

The oblations are to be made in the morning and evening of cooked food, but only such corn as is fit to be offered to fire as *havis* is to be used (Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 1). It is either boiled rice or barley (Āp. gṛ. VII. 19).[1623] Gobhila-smṛti (I. 131 and III. 114) says[1624] that among *haviṣyas* the foremost are yavas (barley), then comes rice, but one should eschew māṣa, kodrava and gaura among corns even if nothing else is available, that if rice and barley are not available one may employ curds or milk or in their absence, *yavāgū* (gruel) or water. According to a verse quoted by Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 6 ten materials can be offered as *havis* into fire viz. milk, curds, *yavāgū*, clarified butter, boiled rice, husked rice, *soma*, flesh, sesame oil and water.[1625] Manu III. 257 specifies some articles as naturally fit for being employed as *havis*. *Vide* also Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 12–14. Though flesh is allowed as offering in some sacrifices it cannot be employed in the morning and evening homa (vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 6). The general rule is that when no particular material is specified for homa into fire, clarified butter is to be used as offering, and when no particular deity is mentioned, then the deity is to be Prajāpati[1626]. There is another rule that fluid materials are to be offered into fire with the sruva ladle, while solid *havis* is to be offered with the right hand[1627].

1623. अथ सायं प्रातः सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य जुहुयात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 2. 1; सायं प्रातरत ऊर्ध्वं हस्तेनैते आहुती तण्डुलैर्यवैर्वा जुहुयात्। आप. गृ. VII. 19.

1624. हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तदनु व्रीहयः स्मृताः। माषकोद्रवगौरादि सर्वालाभे विवर्जयेत्॥ अभावे व्रीहियवयोर्दध्ना वा पयसापि वा। तदभावे यवाग्वा वा जुहुयादुदकेन वा॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 131 and III. 114; the first is quoted by अपरार्क p. 142 and the 2nd by स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 163.

1625. पयो दधि यवागूश्च सर्पिरोदनतण्डुलाः। सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि दशैव तु॥ quoted by नारायण on आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 6 and by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 320; vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35 for a similar verse.

1626. आज्यं हव्यमनादेशे जुहोतिषु विधीयते। तन्त्रश्च (?) देवतायाश्च प्रजापतिरिति स्थितिः॥ गोभिल I. 113.

1627. द्रव्यं स्रुवेण होतव्यं पाणिना कठिनं हविः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35. ओषध्यः सक्तवः पुष्पं काष्ठं मूलं फलं तृणम्। एतद्धस्तेन होतव्यं नान्यत्किंचिदचोदनात्। बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र I. 3. 8.

The Gobhila gṛ. (I. 1. 15–19) lays down that 'one is to kindle one's gṛhya fire (originally or if it goes out) by bringing it from the house of a vaiśya or from a frying pan or he may bring it from the house of a person who performs many sacrifices, whether he be a brāhmaṇa or rājanya or vaiśya or one may produce it by attrition; this last is holy, but does not bring prosperity. One may do as one likes[1628]'. There are similar provisions in Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 1. 8, Pār. gṛ. I. 2, Āp. gṛ. V. 16–17. If the gṛhya fire goes out, the husband or the wife has to observe a fast that day as a penance (Āp. gṛ. V. 19).

The fire in which oblations are to be offered must be fed by plenty of dry wood, must be well kindled and smokeless, the cinders must be red-hot and it must be flaming up[1629]. The Chān. Up. V. 24. 1 indicates that oblations were to be offered only on red hot coals. The Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 2 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 15. 18–21), Manu IV. 53 and others lay down that one should not come very near fire when one is not pure, one should not blow on fire with the mouth (to kindle it), nor should one place it under a cot &c., one should not throw anything impure in fire, nor should one warm one's feet over it, nor should one place it towards one's feet (when one is sleeping). Gobhilasmṛti I. 135–136 says that one should not blow on fire with the hand or a winnowing basket or a *darvī* (ladle), but one may use a fan; some blow on fire with the mouth because fire was produced from the mouth and construe the words (of Manu IV. 53) 'one should not blow on fire with the mouth' as applicable to ordinary fire (i. e. one may blow with the mouth on śrauta fires[1630]).

1628. वैश्यकुलाद्वाम्बरीषाद्वाग्निमाहृत्याभ्यादध्यात्। अपि वा बहुयाजिन एवागाराद् ब्राह्मणस्य वा राजन्यस्य वा वैश्यस्य वा। अपि वाभ्यं मथित्वाभ्यादध्यात्। पुण्यस्त्वेवानर्धुको भवतीति। यथा कामयेत तथा कुर्यात्। गोभिलगृह्य I.1.15–19; काठकसंहिता VIII.12 has 'यो ब्राह्मणो वा वैश्यो वा पुष्टोऽसुर इव स्यात्तस्य गृहादाहरेत्सैव सा पुष्टिर्यद्वृजं तदवरुन्धे'.

1629. बहुशुष्केन्धने चाग्नौ सुसमिद्धे विधूमके। साङ्गारे लेलिहाने च होतव्यं नान्यथा क्वचित्॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35; vide स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 168 for similar quotations from several smṛtis and vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 133–134.

1630. The पुरुषसूक्त (Ṛg. X. 90. 13) says 'मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुरजायत'. The गृह्यसंग्रहपरिशिष्ट (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 541) I. 70 requires that the blowing should be with the mouth 'मुखेनोपधमेदग्निं मुखाद्ध्येषोऽभ्यजायत' and not with a piece of cloth nor with the hand nor with a winnowing basket. Vide हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 20 for several explanations about blowing with the mouth on fire.

The daily homa must be offered by the man himself and Dakṣa says that the merit secured by performing homa by oneself cannot be secured by getting it performed through another, but he adds that homa performed on one's behalf by a priest, by one's son, teacher, brother, sister's son, or son-in-law is equivalent to *homa* made by oneself.[1631] We saw above (*n.* 1617) that the Āśv. gṛ. (I. 9. 1) allows the wife, a son, an unmarried daughter or a pupil of the householder to attend to the worship of the householder's gṛhya fire. Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 17. 3 is to the same effect. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 34) adds that the wife and the daughter should perform all the acts in homa except *paryukṣaṇa.* Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 15–16[1632] and Manu XI. 36–37 lay down that the wife, an unmarried daughter, a young married daughter, one who has studied little, a stupid person, a diseased person or one whose upanayana has not been performed should not offer agnihotra (on behalf of the householder); if they do so, they and he both fall into hell; therefore the person to offer agnihotra for another should be one proficient in śrauta sacrifices and master of the Vedas. These passages have been explained by the Sm. C. (I. p. 161) and other writers as applicable to the performance of śrauta sacrifices only; while as regards the daily homa in the gṛhya fire the wife and others specified by Āśv. are held to be competent if the sacrificer is ill or has gone abroad. Haradatta (on Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 1–2) says that either the husband or the wife must always be near the gṛhya fire.[1633] Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I. 69) says that one who has kindled the gṛhya fire should not leave the boundary of his village without his wife, as the texts lay down that homa is to be performed in the place where the wife stays. A brāhmaṇa[1634] may go abroad on business, leaving his fire in charge of his wife and after appointing a priest; but he should not stay away long without cause. A priest should not offer homa on behalf of a householder, when both the spouses are absent, because such homa by him in the

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1631. स्वयं होमे फलं यत्स्यान्न तदन्येन जायते ॥ ऋत्विक् पुत्रो गुरुर्भ्राता भागिनेयोऽथ विट्पतिः । एभिरेव हुतं यत्तु तद्धुतं स्वयमेव तु ॥ दक्ष II. 28–29, quoted by अपरार्क p. 125.

1632. पर्युक्षणवर्जं पत्नी जुहुयात्कुमारी च । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 34. न स्त्री जुहुयात् । नानुपेतः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 15–16.

1633. अन्यतरोऽवश्यमग्निसमीपे तिष्ठेत् । नोभौ सह प्रवसेतामित्यर्थः । हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1–2.

1634. निक्षिप्याग्निं स्वदारेषु परिकल्प्यर्त्विजं तथा । प्रवसेत्कार्यवान् विप्रो वृथैव न चिरं वसेत् ॥ quoted in the स्मृतिच I. p. 161.

absence of both is useless.[1635] If an householder has several wives of the same caste or wives of different castes, the texts lay down who is to be associated with him in religious rites. These rules have already been set out above (pp. 559–60). 'When a householder's wife dies he should not give up his Vedic fires, but that (i. e. the Agnihotra) should be performed till one's life by means of an *upādhi* (i. e. by marrying another savarṇa wife or by associating with himself an asavarṇa wife)' says Gobhila smṛti[1636] III. 9. Gobhila then refers to the story of Rāma, who performed sacrifices with a golden image of his discarded wife Sītā kept by his side. In spite of Gobhila's dictum, allowing a golden image or a kuśa representative of an absent or dead wife, Aparārka condemns the practice as opposed to the rule laid down by Satyāṣāḍha in his śrauta sūtra ' 'there[1637] is no *pratinidhi* (representative or substitute) in the case of the owner (i. e. yajamāna), the wife, the son, the (proper) place and time (for an act), fire, the deity (to be invoked), of a rite and of a text (directed to be employed in a rite).' His argument is that the wife's co-operation is required in such actions as looking at the clarified butter, in unhusking grains &c. and as an image of kuśa or gold cannot perform these acts, the image cannot be employed in place of the wife. The Sm. C. replies to this argument by saying that the words of Satyāṣāḍha have reference only to a human substitute for a wife and that other smṛtis allow a substitute made of gold or kuśa. For example, Vṛddha-Hārīta[1638] expressly prescribes that a man may perform agnihotra and the offering of the five daily sacrifices throughout his life in the company of his wife's image made of kuśa grass (if the wife be dead &c.). If a person loses his wife or if he goes abroad or

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1635. असमक्षं तु दम्पत्योर्होतव्यं नर्त्विगादिना । द्वयोरप्यसमक्षं तु भवेद्धुतमनर्थकम् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 1, quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 161.

1636. मृतायामपि भार्यायां वैदिकाग्निं न हि त्यजेत् । उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समापयेत् ॥ रामोपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरर्चितैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 9–10. These are explained at length by अपरार्क pp. 114–15 and the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. p. 167.

1637. न स्वामित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य देशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्देवतायाः कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिर्विद्यते । सत्याषाढश्रौत III. 1.; compare 'स्वामिनोऽग्नेर्देवतायाः शब्दात्कर्मणः प्रतिषेधाच्च प्रतिनिधिर्निवृत्तः ' आप. श्रौ. 24. 4. 1 ; जैमिनि VI. 3. 18–21.

1638. कृत्वा कुशमयीं पत्नीं यावज्जीवमतन्द्रितः । जुहुयादग्निहोत्रं तु पञ्चयज्ञादिकं तथा ॥ वृद्धहारीत XI. 214.

becomes *patita* his agnihotra may be continued by his son [1639] (Atri, verse 108). The Ait. Br. (32. 8) also says that even one who has lost his wife (or who has no wife) should perform agnihotra, as the Veda orders a man to offer sacrifice. [1640]

Not kindling Vedic fires when one was competent to do so and giving up śrauta and smārta fires were looked upon as upapātakas by Yāj. III. 234, 239, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 28 and 54. 13. The Vas. Dh. S. III. 1 says [1641] that those who do not study or teach the Veda or who do not maintain the sacred fires become equal to śūdras. Gārgya as quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 156) avers that if a *dvija* remains after marriage without fires even for a moment (when he has the power and authority to maintain them) he becomes a *vrātya* and *patita*. The Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 3 declares that if a person fails to perform the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices and Vaiśvadeva, his seven holy worlds are destroyed. The Tai. S. I. 5. 2. 1 and the Kāṭhaka S. IX. 2, declare 'He who makes the (sacred) fires go out (be extinguished) is indeed a killer of a hero in the eyes of the gods and brāhmaṇas who are anxiously devoted to ṛta (righteousness or correct order) did not formerly eat food at his house'.

The texts (such as Yāj. I. 99) prescribe *japa* (muttering of Gāyatrī and other holy Vedic mantras) as part of saṁdhyā adoration. This has been already referred to above (p. 313). Yāj. I. 99 speaks of *japa* (of verses addressed to the Sun) after morning homa and then in I. 101 again prescribes *japa* after the midday bath of philosophical texts (like the Upaniṣads, as stated in Gaut. 19. 12 and Vas. Dh. S. 22. 9). Vas. Dh. S. 28. 10-15 are verses which mention several hymns principally of the Ṛgveda, by reciting which (inaudibly) several times a man becomes pure. These verses occur in Śaṅkhasmṛti chap. XI (with some variations) and in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56 (in prose). Some

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1639. भार्यामरणपक्षे वा देशान्तरगतेपि वा । अधिकारी भवेत्पुत्रस्तथा पातकसंयुते ॥ अत्रि 108.

1640. तस्मादपत्नीकोपि अग्निहोत्रमाहरेत् । तदेषाभियज्ञगाथा गीयते । यजेत्सौत्राम-ण्यामपत्नीकोप्यसोमपः । मातापितृभ्यामनृणार्थाद्यजेति वचनाच्छ्रुतिः ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 8.

1641. अश्रोत्रिया अननुवाक्या अनग्नयो वा शूद्रसधर्माणो भवन्ति । वसिष्ठ III. 1; कृतदारो न वै तिष्ठेत्क्षणमप्यग्निना विना । तिष्ठेत चेद् द्विजो व्रात्यस्तथा च पतितो भवेत् ॥ गार्ग्य quoted by स्मृतिच॰ I, p. 156 ; वीरहा वा एष देवानां योग्निमुद्वासयते । न वा एतस्य ब्राह्मणा ऋतायवः पुराऽन्नमक्षन् । तै. सं. I. 5. 2. ; काठकसंहिता IX. 2 (reads the words as वीरहा ... ... उत्सादयते).

of these Vedic texts are well known, such as Aghamarṣaṇa (Ṛg. X. 190. 1–3), Pāvamānī verses (Ṛg. IX), Śatarudriya (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11), Trisuparṇa (Tai. Ār. X. 48–50) &c. Manu II. 87, Vas. 26. 11, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII. 28, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 21 say that a brāhmaṇa attains the highest perfection by *japa* alone, even if he does not do anything else. Gobhila smṛti II. 17 says that one should inaudibly repeat as much of the Veda from the beginning as one can and that *japa* may be performed before *tarpaṇa* or after the morning homa or at the end of vaiśvadeva and that it constitutes brahmayajña (II. 28–29). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 36–39) avers that *japa* should comprise sacred hymns, particularly the Gāyatrī and Puruṣasūkta, as nothing else is superior to these.[1642] *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṁśu* (inaudibly uttered) and mānasa (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior to each preceding one (Laghu-Hārīta[1643] chap. IV, p. 186, Jīvānanda I). *Vide* Manu II. 85 (= Vas. 26. 9, Śaṅkha XII. 29). *Japa* is one of the removers of sin (Gaut. 19. 11). *Japa* is to be performed sitting on a seat of kuśa grass, either in the house, or on a river bank, or in a cowpen, or in a fire room or at tīrthas or before images of gods or before an image of Viṣṇu, each succeeding place being many times superior to each preceding one.[1644] One is not to speak while engaged in japa. A brahmacārī or a householder who has consecrated sacred fires should mutter the Gāyatrī 108 times, while a *vānaprastha* and *yati* should repeat it more than 1000 times. *Vide* Manu II. 101 also about the extent of the time to be devoted to japa. When in the middle ages Vedic learning declined and Purāṇas came to the fore, the writers of the digests stated that one who has studied the whole Veda should repeat daily from the beginning of the Veda as much as he could; if one has studied only a portion of the Veda, then one should recite in his japa the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and similar hymns and a brāhmaṇa who knows only the

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1642. स्नातश्च पवित्राणि यथाशक्ति जपेत्। विशेषतस्तु सावित्रीमवश्यं जपेत्पुरुषसूक्तं च। नैताभ्यामधिकमस्ति। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 36–39.

1643. The verses of Laghu-Hārita about three kinds of japa are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā I. p. 149 from Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa (chap. 58. 78–81).

1644. Vide स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 150 गृह. र. p. 241 quoting the verses गृहे त्वेकगुणं जप्यं &c.

Gāyatrī should repeat the texts of the purāṇas.[1645] Vṛddha-Hārīta (VI. 33, 45, 163, 213) prescribes that the mantra of 6 letters (om namo Viṣṇave), eight letters (om namo Vāsudevāya) or of twelve letters (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) should be repeated 1008 or 108 times. The counting of the mantra as repeated so many times has to be done by means of one's fingers (except the thumb) or by drawing lines (on the ground or walls &c.), or by telling the beads of a rosary, as japa without counting the number is fruitless[1646]. Śaṅkha-smṛti (chap. XII. in prose) lays down that the rosary should have beads of gold or precious stones or pearls or crystal or *rudrākṣa*, padmākṣa (lotus seed) or putrajīvaka or a man may count by knots of kuśa grass or by bending the fingers of the left hand.[1647] Bṛhat-Parāśara V. p. 85 and Laghu-Vyāsa (Jīvānanda part II. p. 375) contain similar provisions about akṣamālā and counting of japa. They add 'indrākṣa' to the different kinds of beads. The rosary should have 108 beads (this is the best) or 54 (middling) or 27 (this is the lowest number of beads in a rosary).[1648] Kālidāsa (in his Raghuvaṁśa XI. 66) mentions that the hero Paraśurāma had on his right ear a rosary of akṣa seeds. Bāṇa (Kādambarī para 37) speaks of counting by means of rings of rudrākṣas. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 152–153, Par. M. I. part I, pp. 308–311, Madanapārijāta p. 80, Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 326–328 for further details about the rosary.

After homa and japa one may spend some time in attending to or looking at auspicious things, such as seeing one's elders, looking at a mirror or in clarified butter, arranging and decorating his hair, applying collyrium to the eye, touching

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1645. अत्र च समस्तवेदाध्ययनवता आद्यावारभ्य वेदपाठेन स्वाध्यायः करणीयः। एकदेशाध्यायिना पुरुषसूक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना पुराणपाठेनेति व्यवस्थेति पारिजातः। गृह. र. p. 249.

1646. असंख्यातं तु यज्जप्तं सर्वं तन्निष्फलं भवेत्। अङ्गिरस् quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 64; बृहत्पराशर p. 85 'असंख्यमासुरं यस्मात्तस्मात्तद्गणयेद्ध्रुवम्।

1647. कुशशय्यामासीनः कुशोत्तरीयवान् कुशपवित्रपाणिः प्राङ्मुखः सूर्याभिमुखो वाऽक्षमालामुपादाय देवताध्यायी जपं कुर्यात्। सुवर्णमणिमुक्ता-स्फटिक-पद्माक्ष-रुद्राक्ष-पुत्रजीवकानामन्यतमेनादाय मालां कुर्यात्। कुशग्रन्थिं कृत्वा वामहस्तोपयामैर्वा गणयेत्। शङ्खस्मृति XII. 4–6 quoted by अपरार्क p. 47, स्मृतिच॰ I. 148, परा. मा. I. part 1, p. 303, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 312.

1648. अष्टोत्तरशतां कुर्याच्चतुःपञ्चाशिकां तथा। सप्तविंशतिका कार्या ततो नैवाधमा हि सा॥ ब्रह्मा quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 153, परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 309 (ascribed to प्रजापति).

dūrvā[1649] &c. *Vide* Manu IV. 152 quoted above (p. 646). What objects a man should see on getting up has already been stated (p. 648). According to Nārada (prakīrṇaka vv. 54–55) there are eight maṅgala objects viz. a brāhmaṇa, a cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, the sun, water and the king and if one sees, bows to or circumambulates these, one's life is lengthened.[1650] The Vāmana-purāṇa (14. 35–37) mentions numerous objects that are auspicious and that one should touch or see before going out.[1651] The Matsyapurāṇa 243 enumerates in 26 verses numerous auspicious and inauspicious objects (these are quoted in Gr̥. R. pp. 553–554). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 58 enumerates six objects derived from the cow as auspicious. *Vide* Ādiparva 29. 34, Droṇaparva 127. 14 (for touching eight maṅgalas), Śānti 40. 7, Anuśāsana 126. 18 and 131. 8. According to the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 26 one should start on a journey after seeing such objects as fire, a brāhmaṇa, *hetaera*, a jar full of water, a mirror, a banner, a parasol, palaces, fans, chowries &c. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 27–31 states that when, on leaving one's house, one sees certain persons or objects one should return to the house and then restart viz. a drunkard, a lunatic, a cripple, one who has vomited or has undergone a purge, one who is completely shaved, one with dirty clothes, one having matted hair, a dwarf, one wearing orange-coloured clothes, an ascetic &c.

The performance of the duties of śauca, dantadhāvana, snāna, saṁdhyā, homa, japa would occupy the first of the eight parts of the day. In the second [1652] part of the day a brāhmaṇa householder was to go over and to revise his Vedic studies and to collect fuel sticks, flowers, kuśa &c. (Dakṣa II. 33, 35, Yāj. I. 99). This subject of Veda study has already been dealt with above (pp. 351–354). In the third part of the day the

1649. देवकार्यं ततः कृत्वा गुरुमङ्गलवीक्षणम्। दक्ष II. 30; आचान्तश्च पुमान्कुर्यात्ततः केशप्रसाधनम्। आदर्शाञ्जनमङ्गल्यदूर्वाद्यालम्भनानि च॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 183.

1650. लोकेऽस्मिन्मङ्गलान्यष्टौ ब्राह्मणो गौर्हुताशनः। हिरण्यं सर्पिरादित्य आपो राजा तथाष्टमः॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 54) quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 168.

1651. होमं च कृत्वालभनं शुभानां ततो बहिर्निर्गमनं प्रशस्तम्। दूर्वां च सर्पिर्दधि सोदकुम्भं धेनुं सवत्सामृषभं सुवर्णम्। मृद्गोमयं स्वस्तिकमक्षताश्च लाजा मधु ब्राह्मणकन्यकाश्च। श्वेतानि पुष्पाणि तथा शमीं च हुताशनं चन्दनमर्कबिम्बम्। अश्वत्थवृक्षं च समालभेत ततश्च कुर्यान्निजजातिधर्मान्। वामनपुराण 14. 35–36 quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 168, गृह. र. p. 187.

1652. द्वितीये च तथा भागे वेदाभ्यासो विधीयते।... समित्पुष्पकुशादीनां स कालः परिकीर्तितः। दक्ष II. 33 and 35; वेदार्थानधिगच्छेच्च शास्त्राणि विविधानि च। या. I. 99.

householder was to work and find out the means of maintaining those dependent on him (Dakṣa II. 35). The different ways of maintaining oneself in the case of brāhmaṇas have already been spoken of above (pp. 105–134). Gaut. IX. 63, Yāj. I. 100, Manu IV. 33, Viṣṇu 63. 1 and others say that a brāhmaṇa householder should approach a king or other rich person for the wherewithal to maintain his family. The persons whom every one must maintain have already been pointed out on p. 569 (Dakṣa II. 36)' In the case of the well-to-do, there are other persons who should be maintained viz. agnates and cognates, one who is without means, helpless or has taken shelter [1653]. In this world only that man may be said to live on whom many depend for their livelihood; other men who only fill their own·belly are really dead, though living (Dakṣa II. 40).

In the fourth part [1654] of the day (i. e. before noon) one was to have the mid-day bath (with tarpaṇa) and then the mid-day saṁdhyā prayer and devapūjā &c. (Dakṣa II. 43 and Yāj. I. 100). Those who bathe twice (in the morning and at noon) will strictly follow the routine sketched above in Dakṣa, Yāj. and others. But most of the brāhmaṇas bathe only once either in the morning or before noon. The principal matters to be described in connection with the bath before noon are *tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and pitṛs ; devapūjā and the five daily yajñas. These will now be described in detail.

Tarpaṇa—(satiating by offering water). As stated in Manu II. 176, every day one has to perform tarpaṇa of gods, sages and pitṛs. The water to be offered to gods is poured by that part of the right hand which is called *devatīrtha* and that for the pitṛs by the pitṛ-tīrtha. A person was to perform tarpaṇa according to the gṛhyasūtra of the Vedic śākhā which he or his ancestors studied. There is a good deal of divergence among the several gṛhyasūtras. Here the procedure of tarpaṇa prescribed

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1653. ज्ञातिर्बन्धुजनः क्षीणस्तथानाथः समाश्रितः । अन्योपि धनयुक्तस्य पोष्यवर्ग उदाहृतः ॥ दक्ष II. 36–37.

1654. चतुर्थेऽह्नस्तथा भागे स्नानार्थं मृदमाहरेत् । तिलपुष्पकुशादींश्च स्नायाच्चाकृत्रिमे जले । दक्ष II. 43 (quoted by अपरार्क p. 128); स्नात्वा देवान्पितॄंश्चैव तर्पयेदर्चयेत्तथा ॥ या. I. 100, on which the Mit. remarks ततो मध्याह्ने शास्त्रोक्तविधिना नद्यादिषु स्नात्वा देवान् स्वगृह्योक्तान् पितॄंश्च चकारादृषींश्च देवादितीर्थेन तर्पयेत् । तदनन्तरं गन्धपुष्पाक्षतैर्हरिहरहिरण्यगर्भप्रभृतीनामन्यतमं यथावासमृग्यजुःसाममन्त्रैस्तत्प्रकाशकैः स्वनामभिर्वा चतुर्थ्यन्तैर्नमस्कारयुक्तैराराधयेद्यथोक्तविधिना.

by the Āśv. gṛ. (III. 4. 1-5) will be first set out. In the Devatātarpaṇa the following deities are enumerated and one has to add the words 'tṛpyatu', 'tṛpyetām', or 'tṛpyantu' with each devatā according as it is one deity, two deities or more and offer water to each (e. g. 'Prajāpatis-tṛpyatu, Brahmā tṛpyatu, ... Dyāvāpṛthivī tṛpyetām' &c.). The deities are 31 viz. Prajāpati, Brahmā, Vedas, devas, ṛṣis, all metres, oṁkāra, vaṣaṭkāra, vyāhṛtis, the Gāyatrī, sacrifices (yajñas), heaven and earth, the air (antarikṣa), days and nights, the Sāṅkhyas, siddhas, oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases, snakes, birds, cows, sādhyas, vipras, yakṣas, the rakṣases, the bhūtas (beings) that have these (rakṣas) at the end. In modern times the fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases are put in one compound word and form only one devatā, while after bhūtas there is a separate deity 'evam-antāni tṛpyantu'. Haradatta on Āśv. gṛ. III. 3. 2 refers to the view of some that take 'evam-antāni' as a separate mantra but his opinion was that the phrase 'evam-antāni' only described the preceding devatās and that the devatās stopped at 'rakṣāṁsi'. He further adds that the tarpaṇa to these was done by the prājāpatya tīrtha (of the hand).

The sages to whom water is offered are divided into two groups. The first group contains twelve sages and when offering water to these the sacred thread is worn in the nivīta form. The twelve sages are those of the hundred ṛks, the middle ṛṣis (i. e. of maṇḍalas 2 to 9 of the Ṛgveda), Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Pragāthas, the Pāvamānī hymns, sages of the short hymns and those of the long hymns (the tarpaṇa formula will be 'śatarcinas-tṛpyantu, mādhyamās-tṛpyantu, Gṛtsamadas-tṛpyantu &c.). It will be noticed that the sages from Gṛtsamada to Vasiṣṭha are the seers of maṇḍalas 2 to 7 of the Ṛgveda. The Pragāthas stand for the eighth maṇḍala of which the first hymn is ascribed in the Anukramaṇī to Pragātha of the Kaṇva gotra and the rest of the eighth maṇḍala is ascribed to various scions of the Kaṇva gotra. The verses of the ninth maṇḍala are called Pāvamānyaḥ; but as it is a tarpaṇa of sages, we rather expect the form pāvamānāḥ as in the Śāṅkhyāyana gṛhya IV. 10. 'Śatarcinaḥ' refers to the sages of the first maṇḍala, and 'kṣudrasūktāḥ' and 'mahāsūktāḥ' to sages of the tenth maṇḍala. Water is offered to these sages by the *daiva tīrtha*. Then there is a second group of sages to whom water is offered by a person who wears his sacred

thread in the prācīnāvīta form (i. e. it is suspended over the right shoulder and under the left arm). There are two sub-groups here. In the first the verbal forms 'tṛpyantu' or 'tṛpyatu' are used with the nominative of the words for the sage; i. e. 'Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharmācāryās tṛpyantu';[1655] 'Jānanti-Bāhavi-Gārgya-Gautama-Śākalya-Bābhravya-Māṇḍavya-Māṇḍūkeyās tṛpyantu'; 'Gārgī-Vācaknavī tṛpyatu, Vaḍavā-Prātitheyī tṛpyatu, Sulabhā-Maitreyī tṛpyatu'. These together are five sentences. It is remarkable that in this list three women are mentioned as sages (Gārgī, Vaḍavā and Sulabhā). Among the other sages the first four are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the pupils of Vyāsa who taught them the Vedas (vide Sabhāparva 4. 11 and Śānti 328. 26-27 where all four are named). For chronological purposes it is important to note that the Āśv. gṛ. knew teachers of sūtras, bhāṣyas, of the Bhārata and also the Mahābhārata and of Dharma. In the second sub-group there are 17 single sages and the 18th is a miscellaneous offering to all other ācāryas. The names of the 17 sages occur in the accusative and after each the word 'tarpayāmi' is to be uttered (i. e. Kahoḷam tarpayāmi, Kauṣītakam tarpayāmi......Āśvalāyanam tarpayāmi). These 17 sages are: Kahoḷa, Kauṣītaka, Mahākauṣītaka, Paiṅgya, Mahāpaiṅgya, Suyajña, Sāṅkhyāyana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Śākala, Bāṣkala, Sujātavaktra, Audavāhi, Mahaudavāhi, Saujāmi, Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana. The 18th is 'may all the other ācāryas be satiated' (ye cānye ācāryās-te sarve tṛpyantu). All these sages are connected with the Ṛgveda, its Brāhmaṇas, its Āraṇyakas and other related works like the Prātiśākhya sūtra (of which Śaunaka is said to be the author). It is interesting to note that Āśvalāyana himself is named as the last teacher in tarpaṇa. Śaunaka is said to be the teacher of Āśvalāyana.[1656] In modern times in the Deccan water is offered twice to each sage or group of sages.

Āśv. gṛ. III. 4. 5 is very brief as to pitṛtarpaṇa 'after satiating the pitṛs with water, each generation separately, he returns to his house and whatever he gives then becomes the fee' (of the

1655 The Śāntiparva (350. 11-12) shows that Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Paila were along with Śuka, the son of Vyāsa, the pupils of Vyāsa.

1656. *Vide* Introduction to Āśvalāyana gṛhya in S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 153 ff.

Brahmayajña of which tarpaṇa is a constituent part). In modern times the deceased ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered are stated below. Water is offered to each thrice (except to women ancestors other than the mother, grand-mother and the great-grandmother) by the pitṛ-tīrtha and the relationship, the gotra and the name of each are recited when doing so. For example, water is offered to the deceased father in the form, 'I offer svadhā and bow to and satiate my father, so and so by name, whose gotra was so and so and who has attained the form of Vasu' (asmatpitaram amukaśarmāṇam amuka-gotram vasurūpam svadhānamas tarpayāmi). The ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered, if they are dead, are in order:—father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather; mother, paternal grand-mother and great-grandmother; step-mother; maternal grand-father (with maternal grand-mother, sapatnīkam being used with 'mātāmaham'), maternal great-grand-father and maternal great-great-grand-father (with their wives); one's wife; one's son (or sons, if several are dead already and with his wife or their wives that are dead); daughter (with her husband, if both are dead); uncle (with his wife, if dead); maternal uncle (with his wife, if dead); brother (with wife); paternal aunt (with husband); maternal aunt (with husband); sister (with husband); father-in-law (with his wife and son, if they are dead); guru (father as teacher of the Gāyatrī and Veda); pupil. In the case of grand-fathers and grand-mothers they are described as 'rudrarūpa' and the great-grand-fathers and great-grand-mothers as 'ādityarūpa'. The three ancestors of the mother with their wives are respectively vasurūpa, rudrarūpa and ādityarūpa[1657]. The names of women ancestors have the affix 'dā' added and all persons both male and female other than those specified above are described as 'vasurūpa'.

A few points of divergence will be noticed. Haradatta on Āśv. gṛ. III. 3. 6 notes that some do not include the mother and maternal relations in the daily tarpaṇa, and that according to the established practice in his day the tarpaṇa formulæ did not include the names and the gotra of the relatives. Most sūtras

1657. Vide Manu III. 284 for the terms Vasurūpa, Rudrarūpa and Ādityarūpa. हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 6 says 'मातॄणां मातामहादीनां मातामह्यादीनां च तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। तत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः। केचित्पित्रादीनां नाम्ना तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। देवदत्तं यज्ञदत्तं विष्णुमित्रमिति। एवं मात्रादीनामपि। प्रसिद्धस्त्वाचारः पितरं तर्पयामीति।'

do not say that the names and gotras of the relatives are to be repeated in daily tarpaṇa. The words 'svadhā namas' do not occur in many sūtras, but some do contain them (e.g. Baud. Dh. S. II. 5. 184 ff., Vaik. I. 4). The devatās of tarpaṇa differ in each sūtra. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (IV. 9) which belongs to the Ṛgveda just as Āśvalāyana's does, enumerates the deities differently in the beginning (it has Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Prajāpati, Virūpākṣa, Sahasrākṣa &c.). Its order of sages is somewhat different and it adds some names such as Śākapūṇi, Gautami &c. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5 contains the most elaborate tarpaṇa of all sūtras. It puts 'om' before each devatā, ṛṣi and pitṛ. It includes not only many more deities than elsewhere, but includes several names of the same deity (e. g. Vināyaka, Vakratuṇḍa, Hastimukha, Ekadanta; Yama, Yamarāja, Dharma, Dharmarāja, Kāla, Nīla, Vaivasvata &c.). Among ṛṣis it includes many sūtrakāras like Kaṇva, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāṣāḍha, and also Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa. The Hir. gṛ. II. 19. 20, Baud. gṛ. III. 9, Bhāradvāja gṛ. III. 9–11 contain long and interesting lists of deities and particularly of sages.

If a man has no time for this lengthy tarpaṇa the Dharmasindhu and other digests prescribe an extremely brief one, viz. he repeats two verses and offers water thrice. The verses are 'may the gods, sages, pitṛs, human beings, from Brahmā up to a blade of grass, be satiated and also all the pitṛs, the mother and the maternal grand-father and the rest, may this water mixed with sesame be for the crores of families of bygone ages residing in the seven dvīpas from the world of Brahmā downwards'.

The Snānasūtra (3rd kaṇḍikā) of Kātyāyana attached to the Pār. gṛ. contains a description of *tarpaṇa*. Like the Baud. Dh. S. it lays down that 'om' is to be uttered before the name of every deity (devatā) and 'tṛpyatām' (or tṛpyantām if the word denoting the deity is in the plural) is the verbal form employed. The deities are only 28 and slightly differ from those of Āśv. The group of sages is made up of only Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Voḍhu, and Pañcaśikha (Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha are according to the Sāṅkhyakārikā the names of the founders of the Sāṅkhya philosophy and stand in the relation of teacher and pupil). Then (after the ṛṣitarpaṇa), the householder is to mix sesame in water and wear the sacred thread under the left arm and suspend it from the right shoulder and offer the water to Kavyavāḍ Anala

(fire), Soma, Yama, Aryaman, Agniṣvāttas, Somapas, Barhiṣads [1658]. Offerings of water mixed with sesame are to be made thrice to each of the above with joined hands (jalāñjali) and this is to be done by all householders even if the father be living. The remaining part of *tarpaṇa* (viz. pitṛtarpaṇa) is to be done only by him whose father is dead. Gobhila-smṛti II. 18–20, Matsyapurāṇa 102. 14–21 are very similar to the Snānasūtra. According to Āśvalāyana and others water is offered with the right hand only while according to Kātyāyana and others water is offered with both hands.[1659] The Sm. C. I. p. 191 says that the householder should follow his gṛhyasūtra and if there is nothing in it on this point there is an option. Kārṣṇājini prescribes that in śrāddha and marriage only the right hand is employed in making an offering or gift, but in *tarpaṇa* both hands (made into an añjali) are employed. One [1660] añjali of water is offered to each of the gods, two to Sanaka and other sages and three to each of the pitṛs. When *tarpaṇa* is performed while the householder is still in the water with his wet clothes on, he offers the water in the stream itself; but when he wears dry clothes and performs tarpaṇa, then he is to let fall the handfuls of water in a pure vessel of gold, silver, copper, bronze, but not in an earthen one; or he may let the water fall on the ground covered with kuśas (Sm. C. I. p. 192). There were several views on this point (*vide* Gṛ. R. pp. 263–264). In modern times daily tarpaṇa has become very rare. Only a few even among the orthodox or priestly brāhmaṇas and among those who have studied the several śāstras (such as grammar

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1658. Yoga-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka pp. 138–139 gives the same names of devatās and of the divine *pitṛs* as the Snānasūtra. Vide Manu III. 195–199 for अग्निष्वात्ताः, सोमपाः and बर्हिषदः that are all pitṛs of various kinds. बृहत्पराशर 3rd chap. p. 74 (Jivānanda, part 2) says that all from Kavyavāḍ Anala to Barhiṣads are divine pitṛs (divyāḥ pitaraḥ). Vide Sabhāparva 11. 45 for seven groups (gaṇas) of pitṛs, four of whom are said to be corporeal and three disembodied. Kārṣṇājini quoted by Aparārka p. 138 says that the seven sages from Sanaka to Pañcaśikha are the sons of Brahmā.

1659. श्राद्धे विवाहकाले तु पाणिनैकेन दीयते। तर्पणे तूभयेनैव विधिरेष पुरातनः॥ कार्ष्णाजिनि quoted by अपरार्क p. 132, स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 191; यम v. 99 is श्राद्धे हवनकाले च दद्यादेकेन पाणिना। उभाभ्यां तर्पणे दद्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः॥; हरदत्त on आश्व गृ. सू. III. 4. 1 says 'देवतास्तर्पयति। तच्चाञ्जलिना कर्तव्यम्। जलाञ्जलिरिति हि तर्पणं प्रसिद्धम्। अन्ये स्वनादेशाद्दक्षिणेन पाणिना कुर्वन्ति। अपरे तु सव्योपगृहीतेन दक्षिणेन॥.'

1660. एकैकं चात्र द्वौ द्वौ वै त्रींस्त्रीनेकैकमञ्जलिम्। अर्हन्त्येते क्रमाच्चैव देवर्षिपितरस्त्रयः॥ लध्वाश्व. I. 95; vide also व्यास in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 191.

&c.) do it daily, but generally most brāhmaṇas perform tarpaṇa as part of brahmayajña on one day in the year in the month of Śrāvaṇa.

A special *tarpaṇa* was offered to Yama on the 14th of the dark half of a month if it was a Tuesday or on the 14th of the dark half. *Vide* Sm. C. I. pp. 197–198, Madanapārijāta p. 296, Par. M. I. part 1, p. 361. Dakṣa (II. 52–55) prescribes that Yama-tarpaṇa is specially performed in the Jumna on the days specified above and gives the several names under which Yama is invoked. *Vide* also Matsyapurāṇa 213. 2–8. The Tai. Ār. VI. 5 speaks of a yajña or *bali* (offering) in honour of Yama every month. There is also tarpaṇa in honour of the great epic hero Bhīṣma offered on the 8th of the bright half of Māgha. *Vide* Sm. C. I. p. 198.

Gobhila-smṛti [1661] (II. 22–23) emphasizes the importance of tarpaṇa by remarking that, as all beings, animate or inanimate, desire water from the brāhmaṇa who brings prosperity to all, tarpaṇa should always be done by him and that if he does not do it he would incur great sin and that if he does it he would support this world. The idea underlying tarpaṇa seems to be indicated even by the Tai. S. V. 4. 4. 1.[1662]

It has already been seen (at pp. 668–669) that tarpaṇa was prescribed as an appendage of the early morning bath and that some required it to be done twice daily while others said that it was to be done only once. As Āśv. gṛ. places tarpaṇa immediately after svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) it follows that he treated it as a constituent though subordinate part of it. The Gobhilasmṛti (II. 29) says that brahmayajña which consists in inaudibly muttering Vedic texts (japa) should be performed before tarpaṇa or after the morning homa or at the end of Vaiśvadeva and at no other time unless there is some special reason. [1663]

The Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 336–377) gives summaries of tarpaṇa according to Kātyāyana, Śaṅkha, Baudhāyana, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Yogiyājñavalkya, Āśvalāyana, Gobhilagṛhya.

1661. तथा भूतानि सर्वाणि स्थावराणि चराणि च। विप्रादुदकमिच्छन्ति सर्वाभ्युदयकृद्धि सः ॥ तस्मात्सदैतत्कर्तव्यमकुर्वन्महतैनसा। युज्यते ब्राह्मणः कुर्वन्विश्वमेतद्बिभर्ति हि ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II, 22–23, quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 196.

1662. अश्मन्नूर्जमिति परिषिञ्चति मार्जयत्येवैनमथो तर्पयत्येव स एनं तृप्तोऽक्षुध्यन्नशोचन्नमुष्मिँल्लोक उपतिष्ठते। तै. सं. V. 4. 4. 1.

1663. यश्च श्रुतिजपः प्रोक्तो ब्रह्मयज्ञः स चोच्यते। स चार्वाक्तर्पणात् कार्यः पश्चाद्वा प्रातराहुतेः। वैश्वदेवावसाने वा नान्यत्रर्ते निमित्तकात् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 28–29, quoted in गृह. र. p. 273, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 335.

CHAPTER XVIII

PAÑCA MAHĀYAJÑAS

Pañca Mahāyajñas:—(the five daily great observances or sacrifices).

From early Vedic times five daily observances called *mahāyajñas* were prescribed. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 6. I.)[1664] says 'there are only five mahāyajñas, they are like great sacrificial sessions, viz. the sacrifice to beings, the sacrifice to men, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to the gods, the sacrifice to *brahman* (Veda)'. These are then briefly defined. In the Tai. Ār. II. 10 we read 'these five mahāyajñas indeed are spread out continuously, viz. devayajña, pitṛyajña, bhūtayajña, manuṣya-yajña, brahmayajña. That is fulfilled as devayajña when one makes an offering in fire, even if it be a mere fuel-stick; when one offers svadhā (śrāddha repast) to the fathers, even if it be mere water, that becomes pitṛyajña; when a man offers a *bali* (a ball of food) to the beings it becomes bhūtayajña, when he gives food to brāhmaṇas that becomes manuṣyayajña. When one studies svādhyāya even if it be a single *ṛk* or *yajus* formula or a *sāman*, it becomes brahmayajña'.[1665]

The Āśv. gṛ. (III 1. 1–4) speaks of the five mahāyajñas and defines them in practically the same words as the Tai. Ār. II. 10 and enjoins that those yajñas must be performed every-day. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. III. 1. 2 expressly asserts that the

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1664. पञ्चैव महायज्ञाः। तान्येव महासत्राणि भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञः पितृयज्ञो देवयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति। शतपथ ब्रा. XI. 5. 6. 1. These words are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 101. The शतपथ proceeds to define these 'अहरहर्भूतेभ्यो बलिं हरेत्। तथैतं भूतयज्ञं समाप्नोत्यहरहर्दद्यादोदपात्रात्तथैतं मनुष्ययज्ञं समाप्नोत्यहरहः स्वधा कुर्यादोदपात्रात्तथैतं पितृयज्ञं समाप्नोत्यहरहः स्वाहाकुर्यादा काष्ठात्तथैतं देवयज्ञं समाप्नोति॥ अथ ब्रह्मयज्ञः। स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञः।.'

1665. पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतति प्रतायन्ते सतति संतिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति। यदग्नौ जुहोत्यपि समिधं तद्देवयज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यत् पितृभ्यः स्वधा करोत्यप्यपस्तात्पितृयज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यद्भूतेभ्यो बलिं हरति तद् भूतयज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यद् ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽन्नं ददाति तन्मनुष्ययज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यत्स्वाध्यायमधीयीतैकामप्यृचं यजुः साम वा तद् ब्रह्मयज्ञः संतिष्ठते॥ तै. आ. II. 10.

basis of the five yajñas is the Tai. Ār.[1666] The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 13–15 and I 4. 13. 1) names and explains them similarly and states that they are called (in the Tai. Ār. II. 10) 'great yajñas' and 'great sacrificial sessions' by way of laudation. The word 'yajña' applied to these five daily duties is figurative and the adjective 'great' is applied only for belauding[1667] them. Gaut. V. 8 and VIII. 17, Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1–8, Gobhilasmṛti II. 26 and numerous smṛti texts speak of the same five yajñas. Gaut. VIII. 17 includes them among *saṁskāras* as stated above (p. 193).

It will be noticed from the description of the five yajñas given below that they are distinguished from the solemn śrauta sacrifices in two respects. In these five the chief agent is the householder himself, he does not need the help and ministration of a professional priest, while in the śrauta sacrifices the priests occupy the most prominent place and the householder is more or less a passive spectator or agent in the hands of the priests who direct everything. In the second place, in the five yajñas the central point is the discharge of duties to the Creator, to the ancient sages, to the Manes, and to the whole universe with myriads of creatures of various grades of intelligence. In the śrauta sacrifices the main-spring of action is the desire to secure Heaven or some object such as prosperity, a son &c. Therefore the institution of the five sacrifices is morally and spiritually more progressive and more ennobling than that of the śrauta sacrifices.

The sentiments that prompted the performance of these five observances appear to have been as follows: Every man could not afford to celebrate the solemn śrauta rites prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta sūtras. But every one could offer a fuel-stick to fire that was deemed to be the mouth of the

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1666. अथातः पञ्च यज्ञाः। देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति। आश्व. गृ. III. 1. 1–2; पञ्चयज्ञानां हि तैत्तिरीयारण्यकं मूलं पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञा इत्यादि। नारायण on आश्व. गृ. III. 1. 3. The परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 11 also notes that the five yajñas are prescribed in the Tai. Ār. and draws therefrom the sweeping generalization that all smṛti rules were known to śruti.

1667. अथ ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयः। तेषां महायज्ञा महासत्त्राणीति च संस्तुतिः। अहरहर्भूतबलिर्मनुष्येभ्यो यथाशक्ति दानम्। देवेभ्यः स्वाहाकार आ काष्ठात्पितृभ्यः स्वधाकार ओदपात्रादृषिभ्यः स्वाध्याय इति। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 13—I. 4. 13. 1. Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1–8 for very similar words.

great Gods[1668] of Heaven and thus show his reverence and devotion to them. Similarly everyone could show his reverence for and gratitude to the great sages that had bequeathed a glorious heritage of sacred literature by repeating at least one verse and one could propitiate his deceased ancestors by offering in loving memory and filial devotion a mere handful or vessel-ful of water (which costs nothing). The whole world human and non-human is one creation and there must be a spirit of live and let live or give and take. Therefore one must offer what one can afford to a guest and also have something for all beings (including even such shunned animals as dogs, crows and insects). These feelings of devotion, gratitude, reverence, loving memory, kindliness and tolerance seem to have been the springs that prompted the Aryans of old to emphasize the importance of the five daily yajñas and to have led sūtra writers like Gautama and legislators like Manu (II. 28) to look upon them as saṁskāras, as ennobling the soul by freeing it from mere selfishness and elevating the body to become a fit vehicle for higher things.[1669] Later on it appears that other purposes came to be attributed to the institution of the five daily yajñas. According to Manu III. 68–71, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 59. 19–20, Śaṅkha V. 1–2, Hārīta, Matsyapurāṇa 52. 15–16 and others every householder causes injury or death to sentient beings every day in five places, viz. the hearth, the grinding mill, broomstick, winnowing basket and similar household gear, mortar and pestle, and water-jar. The five daily yajñas were devised by the great sages as atonements for the sins arising from these five sources of injury to life. These five are: brahmayajña which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda, pitṛyajña which consists of *tarpaṇa*, daivayajña which consists in offerings made into fire, bhūtayajña which is offering oblations to beings and manuṣyayajña which consists in honouring guests. He who performs these daily according to his means is never tainted by the sin of the injuries arising from the five places mentioned above. Manu (III. 73–74) further[1670] says that former sages had a different nomenclature for the five

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1668. त्वामग्ने आदित्यास आस्यं त्वां जिह्वां शुचयश्चक्रिरे कवे । ऋ. II. 1. 13; त्वे अग्ने विश्वे अमृतासो अद्रुह आसा देवा हविरदन्त्याहुतम् । ऋ. II. 1. 14.

1669. स्वाध्यायेन व्रतैर्होमैस्त्रैविद्येनेज्यया सुतैः । महायज्ञैश्च यज्ञैश्च ब्राह्मीयं क्रियते तनुः ॥ मनु II. 28.

1670. आश्व. गृ. I. 1. 2–3 supports मनु 'त्रयः पाकयज्ञाः । हुता अग्नौ हूयमाना अनग्नौ प्रहुता ब्राह्मणभोजने ब्रह्मणि हुताः ।'

yajñas i. e. *ahuta, huta, prahuta, brāhmya-huta* and *prāśita*, which were the same respectively as japa (or brahmayajña), homa (devayajña), bhūtayajña, manuṣyayajña and pitṛtarpaṇa (pitṛyajña). In the Atharvaveda VI. 71. 2 four out of these seem to be alluded to 'what came to me as huta or ahuta or given by pitṛs and assented to by men '.[1671] Huta and prahuta in the sense of *homa* to gods and *bali* to bhūtas occur in Bṛ. Up. I. 5.2. But in some gṛhyasūtras different meanings are attached to these very words e. g. Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 5 and Pār. gṛ. I. 4 say that there are four pākayajñas viz. huta, ahuta, prahuta and prāśita and Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 10. 7 [1672] explains that they are respectively the same as agnihotra (or daivayajña), bali (bhūtayajña), pitṛ-yajña and brāhmya-huta (or mānuṣyayajña). The Hārīta-dharma-sūtra has a very interesting passage on this point. ' We shall now explain the *sūnās* (places of injury) which are so called because they kill moving and immovable sentient beings. They are five. The first (sūnā) is caused by actions like sudden entrance in water, plunging into water, whirling water, splashing it in various directions, taking water without straining it through a piece of cloth and driving vehicles ; the second by walking about in the dark or away from the beaten path or in quick jerks or by treading upon insects &c. ; the third by striking (a tree with an axe &c.), by plucking flowers &c., by tying with a rope &c., by crushing (in a mortar), by splitting (wood &c.) ; the fourth by cutting crops, by rubbing or grinding ; and the fifth by ignition (of fire-wood), heating (of water), by roasting, frying and cooking. These five injuries that lead to Hell are committed every day by people. Brahma-cārins get rid of the first three by attending on fire and on their teacher and by the study of the Veda ; householders and forest hermits purify themselves from these five by performing the five yajñas ; ascetics get rid of the first two injuries by sacred knowledge and contemplation, but the injury caused by crushing uncooked seeds under the teeth cannot be removed by any of these '.[1673] Although in the Āp. Dh. S. snd others the five yajñas are enumerated in the order of bhūta-yajña, manuṣya-yajña,

1671. यन्मा हुतमहुतमाजगाम दत्तं पितृभिरनुमतं मनुष्यैः । यस्मान्मे मन उदिव रारजीत्यग्निष्टद्धोता सुहुतं कृणोतु ॥ अथर्ववेद VI. 71. 2.

1672. हुतोऽग्निहोत्रहोमेन अहुतो बलिकर्मणा । प्रहुतः पितृकर्मणा प्राशितो ब्राह्मणे हुतः ॥ शां. गृ. I. 10. 7. Vide बौ. गृ. I. 1. 1–11 for a somewhat different terminology

1673. Vide Appendix under note 1673.

devayajña, pitṛyajña and svādhyāya, still the proper order from the point of view of the times of performance is first brahmayajña (japa &c.), then devayajña, then bhūtayajña, then pitṛyajña, and lastly manuṣyayajña.[1674] Therefore they will be dealt with in the same order here. But some matters have first to be noted. Various views were entertained about the time and nature of brahmayajña[1675] and pitṛyajña. According to Gobhila-smṛti II. 28–29 quoted above (n. 1663), *japa* prescribed in saṁdhyā adoration may be looked upon as brahmayajña, that the latter may be performed before tarpaṇa and after the morning homa or after vaiśvadeva. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. III. 2. 1 says that brahmayajña may be performed before or after vaiśvadeva. According to the Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana, brahmayajña precedes tarpaṇa and Āśv. gṛ. as stated above (p. 695) appears to regard tarpaṇa as part of it. Manu III. 82 (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 23–25) enjoins upon a man the performance of daily śrāddha with food or water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus to propitiate and please the Manes of his deceased ancestors; while Manu (III. 70 and 283) says that tarpaṇa (done after bath) constitutes pitṛyajña. Therefore Gobhila says that śrāddha, tarpaṇa and the *bali* offered to pitṛs constitute pitṛyajña and even when one of them is gone through, the performance of pitṛyajña is effected and it is not necessary to perform all three.[1676] In the bali-haraṇa (described below) the remnants of bali are offered to pitṛs (Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 11, Manu III. 91).

Brahma-yajña. Probably the earliest description of this is to be found in the Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 3–8. That Brāhmaṇa, after stating that brahmayajña is one's own daily study of the Veda, compares several elements required in the ordinary sacrifice to certain elements of brahmayajña, viz. the juhū spoon, upabhṛt, dhruvā, sruva, avabhṛtha (the solemn bath at the end of a sacrifice) and heaven are said to be represented by the speech, the mind, the eye, mental power, truth and the conclusion (that

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1674. न च्यायमुपदेशक्रमोऽनुष्ठान उपयुज्यते । अनुष्ठानं तु ब्रह्मयज्ञो देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति । हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 1.

1675. कालादर्शे । प्रातर्मध्यन्दिनं वापि ब्रह्मयज्ञो विधीयते। प्रातर्यदि तदा प्राहुराहुत्याः परतो भवेत् ॥ मध्याह्ने चेत् तर्पणात् प्राग्वैश्वदेवात्परत्र वा । quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 368.

1676. श्राद्धं वा पितृयज्ञः स्यात् पित्र्योर्बलिरथापि वा । गोभिलस्मृति II. 28; श्राद्धं नित्यश्राद्धम् । एतेन त्रयाणां पितृयज्ञत्वादसंभवे एकेनापि कृतेन पितृयज्ञनिष्पत्तेः पितृयज्ञाकरणप्रसक्तः प्रत्यवायः परिहृतो भवति । आह्निकप्रकाश p. 391.

are present in brahmayajña).[1677] Then it says that whoever studies day by day his Vedic lessons gains an imperishable world which is thrice or more of the world that one may secure by making a gift to priests of the whole earth replete with wealth. Then 4-7 compare ṛk, yajus, sāman and Atharvāṅgiras (Atharvaveda) texts respectively to offerings to gods of milk, ghee, soma and fat and it is stated that the gods being delighted and satisfied with these, bestow on the man who performs brahmayajña affluence and security, life-breath, seed, his whole self and all auspicious blessings and streams of ghee and honey flow for his departed pitṛs. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 8 enumerates other works that may be recited in brahmayajña, the recital of which is like honey offerings to gods who being delighted and gratified bestow on the reciter the boons stated above, the works being Anuśāsanas (Vedāṅgas), vidyās (such as sarpa and devajana vidyā mentioned in Chāndogya VII. 1. 1), vākovākya (theological discourses called brahmodya, as in Vāj. S. 23. 9-12 and 45-62), Itihāsapurāṇa (traditional history and legends), Gāthās, Nārāśaṁsīs (i. e. stanzas in praise of heroes).[1678] The Tai. Ār. (II. 10-13) has a more lengthy passage on brahmayajña ; Tai. Ār. II. 10 is almost[1679] the same as Śat. Br. except in two respects, viz. in the Tai. Ār. Atharvāṅgirasaḥ are said to be honey offerings and brāhmaṇa texts, itihāsas, purāṇas, kalpas (works on śrauta ritual) and Gāthā Nārāśaṁsīs are said to be fat offerings and the rewards, bestowed by the gods when delighted by the brahmayajña, are long life, brilliance, lustre, prosperity, glory, spiritual eminence and food. Tai. Ār. II. 11 describes how and where brahmayajña is to be performed ' one who desires to offer brahmayajña should repair to a place so far away to the east, north or north-east of his village that the thatch covering houses is not visible and when the sun rises he should wear his sacred thread (in the upavīta form) under his right arm, should sit down (on a pure spot), should wash both his hands with water, should sip water thrice, should wipe his hand twice with water, should

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1677. Juhū, upabhṛt, dhruvā and sruva are sacrificial ladles and will be described later under śrauta sacrifices.

1678. According to the Tai. Br. II. 7. 5 ' मनुष्या वै नराशंसः ', vide शांख्यायनश्रौत 16. 11 where many lists of नाराशंस hymns occur, Ṛg. I. 125 being one hymn of that kind. अथर्व XX. 127. 1 has the word नराशंस and ऋ V. 18. 5. is नाराशंसी.

1679. Vide Appendix under note 1679.

once sprinkle his lips with water, and touch his head, eyes, nostrils, ears and heart; he should spread out a large seat of darbhas, should be seated facing the east with his legs crossed over each other (the left foot being underneath and the right foot on the left thigh) and then should repeat his Veda ; (it is said that) the darbhas are indeed the flavour (or sweetness) of waters and herbs ; he (by sitting on darbhas) makes his Veda full of sweetness. Placing his left hand on the right knee with the palm turned up and covering it with the right hand the palm of which is turned down and placing *pavitras* (blades of darbha) between both hands, he should begin with the syllable 'om' which is a yajus, which is the representative of the three Vedas, which is all speech, and is the highest syllable; this has been declared by a ṛk (Ṛg. I. 164. 39 is quoted). He recites the syllables bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ ; he thereby (by repeating the vyāhṛtis) employs the three Vedas. This is the truth (quintessence) of speech ; he thereby has employed the truth of speech. Then he recites thrice the Gāyatrī verse, which is addressed to Savitṛ, by its feet separately, then by half of it, then the whole verse without stopping. The sun is the creator of glory, he secures glory itself ; then he begins (the next day) the repetition of the Vedic texts from that point which he had noted (the previous day)'.[1680] Tai. Ār. II. 12 states that if a man is unable to go out of the village he may perform brahmyajña by revolving in his mind in the village itself the Veda by day or even by night; or if he cannot seat himself, then he may perform the brahmayajña even standing or lying down, since the principal matter is the recitation of the Veda (time and place being quite subordinate). Tai. Ār. II. 13 says that he should conclude the brahmayajña by repeating thrice the verse 'Adoration to Brahma (Veda or Prajāpati), to Agni, to the Earth, to herbs, to speech, to the Lord of speech (Bṛhaspati), I offer adoration to

1680. The idea is that one is not to begin to recite Vedic texts at random. When a man has recited a portion of any Veda one day, he should note where he stopped and continue his recitation next day from that point. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 19 also prescribes that one should go every day to the water-side before taking his morning meal and recite in a pure place a portion of the Veda in succession (i. e. one day he should begin where he stopped the previous day and so on). Vide Āśv. gṛ. III. 4. 6 where the Tai. Ār. allowing recitation of the Veda even while standing or lying down is quoted.

the great Viṣṇu'.[1681] Then he should sip water and return home; thereafter whatever he gives becomes the fee of the sacrifice (i. e. of brahmayajña).

The procedure of svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) in Āśv. gṛ. III. 2. 2–III. 3. 4 is practically in the same words as in the Tai. Ār. quoted above. One or two points may be noted. The Āśv. gṛ.[1682] prescribes that one should recite gazing at the horizon or one may close one's eyes or one may look in such a way that one feels that one can concentrate one's mind. According to the Āśv. gṛ. the shortest brahmayajña would be: om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ; the Gāyatrī verse repeated thrice; then at least one *ṛk* verse and then the verse 'namo brahmaṇe' (quoted above) repeated thrice. The Āhnikaprakāśa p. 329 says that one who knows only a portion of the Veda should recite as brahmayajña the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and other hymns and one who knows only the Gāyatrī should repeat 'om' as brahmayajña every day.[1683] Āśv. gṛ. (III. 3. 1) mentions the following works for *svādhyāya*, Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmeveda, Atharvāṅgirasaḥ, Brāhmaṇas, Kalpas, Gāthās Nārāśaṁsīs, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas. But it adds that one may recite only as much as one feels that one can afford to do with a concentrated mind.

The Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 4 prescribes several hymns and verses of the Ṛgveda for reciting in brahmayajña. Others following different Vedas and Śākhās differ as to the content of the brahmayajña. Vide Āhnika-prakāśa pp. 328–336 for brahmayajña according to Kātyāyana and according to the followers of Sāmaveda. Yāj. I. 101 prescribes that as time and ability allow one may include in brahmayajña the Vedas together with the Atharvaveda, Itihāsa and philosophical texts.

Brahmayajña is very rarely performed every day (except by the most orthodox *vaidikas* and *śāstris*) in modern times and a fixed formula of brahmayajña has been decided upon, which is recited once a year in Śrāvaṇa by most brāhmaṇas in the Deccan. The formula for students of the Ṛgveda is as follows:

1681. नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोस्त्वग्नये नमः पृथिव्यै नम ओषधीभ्यः। नमो वाचे नमो वाचस्पतये नमो विष्णवे बृहते करोमि ॥ तै. आ. II. 13. This occurs in आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 4 where महते is read for बृहते.

1682. स यावन्मन्येत तावदधीत्यैतया परिदधाति। नमो ब्रह्मणे...करोमीति। आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 4 on which Nārāyaṇa observes 'स यावत्कालमेकाग्रमनसा आत्मानं मन्येत तावत्कालमेवाधीयीत न बृहदाप्यध्येतव्या इति नियमः। सर्वथा समाहितमनसैवाध्येतव्यं नेपत्तानियम इत्यर्थः।'.

1683. एकदेशाध्यायिना पुरुषसूक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना प्रणवपाठेन नित्यं ब्रह्मयज्ञः कर्तव्यः। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 329.

After reciting 'om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ' and the sacred Gāyatrī, he recites Ṛg. I. 1. 1–9, then the first sentence of the Ait. Br., the first sentences of the five sections of the Ait. Ār.; the first sentences of the Black and White Yajurveda, of the Sāmaveda, of the Atharvaveda; the first sentences of the Nighaṇṭu and the six Vedāṅgas viz. Āśv. śrauta, Nirukta, Chandas, Nighaṇṭu, Jyotiṣa, Śikṣā, Pāṇini's grammar in order; the first 'pāda' of Yāj. I. 1 and of the Mahābhārata (I.1.1), the first sūtra of the Nyāya, Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Uttaramīmāṁsā; then a benedictory formula ('tacchaṁyor... catuṣpade') and lastly the verse 'namo brahmaṇe' is repeated thrice.[1684] After this brahmayajña, tarpaṇa of devas, sages and pitṛs follows.

The Dharmasindhu (III. pūrvārdha p. 299) says that brahmayajña is to be performed once either after morning homa or after midday saṁdhyā or after Vaiśvadeva, but those who study the Āśvalāyanasūtra should perform it only after midday *saṁdhyā*. After ācamana and prāṇāyāma one should make the saṁkalpa (śrīparameśvaraprītyartham brahmayajñam kariṣye tadaṅgatayā devarṣyācārya-tarpaṇam kariṣye) and if one's father is dead one should add in the saṁkalpa (pitṛtarpaṇam ca kariṣye). It then sets out how it is to be performed by various people, such as those who have studied all vedas or one veda or only a portion or when one has no time. It says that the followers of the Taittirīya śākhā repeat the words 'vidyud-asi vidya me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyam-upaimi' at the commencement and the words 'vṛṣṭirasi vṛśca me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyam-upāgām' at the end. If a man is unable to repeat brahmayajña sitting he may do it even when lying down.

The Dharmasindhu notes that according to the followers of the Taittirīya śākhā and of the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā tarpaṇa is not a part of brahmayajña and so tarpaṇa may be performed by them either before brahmayajña or even some time after brahmayajña.

1684. After Ṛg. I. 1. 1–9 the following are repeated अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमः । अथ महाव्रतम् । एष पन्था एतत्कर्म । अथातः संहिताया उपनिषद् । विदा मघवन्विदा । महाव्रतस्य पंचविंशतिं सामिधेन्यः । इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा । अग्न आयाहि वीतये । शं नो देवीरभिष्टये । अथैतस्य समाम्नायस्य । समाम्नायः समाम्नातः । मयरसतजभनलगसंमितम् । गौः ग्मा । पञ्चसंवत्सरमयम् । अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि । वृद्धिरादैच् । योगीश्वरं याज्ञवल्क्यम् । नारायणं नमस्कृत्य । अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा । अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा । तच्छंयोरावृणीमहे । गातुं यज्ञाय गातुं यज्ञपतये । दैवी स्वस्तिरस्तु नः । स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः । ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु भेषजम् । शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे । नमो ब्रह्मणे० (त्रिः). Vide Appendix under note 1684.